

CONSTITUENCY LEVEL POLITICS

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A CASE STUDY OF THE
CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION
AND
NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY
IN BRANTFORD, ONTARIO

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by

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A thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

MASTER OF ARTS (1977)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY

(Political Science)

Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Constituency Level Politics: A Case Study of
 The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and
 New Democratic Party in Brantford, Ontario

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SUPERVISOR: Dr. Henry J. Jacek

NUMBER OF PAGES:

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the development of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the New Democratic Party in Brantford, Ontario from 1932-1975. Other scholarly work done on the C.C.F. - N.D.P. has tended to concentrate on general - federal, provincial - levels, rather than on the individual constituency level.

The thesis argues that even though the Brantford C.C.F. proposed programmes embracing doctrinaire socialism, the Brantford N.D.P.'s policies have been overwhelmingly influenced by the managerial strategy of winning elections. The trend has been underlined with the advent of the Makarchuk - Blackburn era (1965-1975) in Brantford wherein party fortunes began to rise. The thesis further argues that the C.C.F. - N.D.P. is unique in Brantford primarily because of its candidates, Mac Makarchuk and Derek Blackburn. By virtue of their backgrounds as middle class communicators, the Brantford N.D.P. has become more professionalized and subsequently more respectable and successful locally.

In conclusion, it is argued that the chief difference between the Brantford C.C.F. and its counterpart, the N.D.P. has been a question of approach. When the C.C.F. sought to 'educate' the electorate through the use of doctrinaire platforms and labour candidates who preached rather than

campaigned, the N.D.P. adopted the strategy of winning elections with middle class candidates and solid, issue-oriented election campaign.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply indebted to several persons in Hamilton and in Brantford who, throughout the course of my Political Science studies at McMaster University, helped me to clarify my thoughts concerning this study and to accumulate the necessary data. Their advice and criticisms were indeed invaluable, and I am indebted to every one of them. I especially wish to thank Professors Henry J. Jacek, Tom C. Truman, and Roman R. March for their time and consideration extended during the course in which this thesis was written. I also wish to extend my sincerest thanks to Nelson Cox, Charles Strange, Mac Makarchuk, Derek Blackburn, Glenn Pattinson, and Charles Mackay, all of whom have had a profound influence on the subject which this thesis proposes to cover.

Walter J. Szmigielski
1977

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Thesis

The author believes that investigations of constituency-level politics are useful in providing more detailed information about Canadian politics.¹ Indeed, in a sense, party affairs federal or provincial, are sums of individual constituency or riding affairs. This M.A. Thesis is a case study of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) and the New Democratic Party (N.D.P.) at the level of ridings which have included Brantford, Ontario.

The purpose of the thesis will be to examine the basis of support of the C.C.F.-N.D.P. from its beginning to the present in the constituency of Brantford, for the years 1934-1975. This entails a comprehensive examination of C.C.F.-N.D.P. relations with labour organizations. The thesis will attempt to note trends or changes in this support throughout the years. An explanation of any changes uncovered will be attempted.

The study will also seek to examine the organizational efficiency of the C.C.F.-N.D.P. at the constituency level in Brantford. The role of money in C.C.F.-N.D.P. campaigns will be analyzed, as well as the C.C.F.-N.D.P. sources of contributions. Finally, the study will make an assessment of the quality of C.C.F.-N.D.P. candidates over the years in Brantford.

Review of Literature

Scholarly studies by such authors as Seymour Martin Lipset, Gerald Caplan, Leo Zakuta, Gad Horowitz, and Walter Young are vital to any study dealing with the C.C.F., N.D.P., and Canadian labour, and, therefore, merit some degree of investigation. For the sake of brevity, this thesis will outline the major generalizations about the C.C.F.-N.D.P. and its relations with organized labour. In particular, the hypotheses held in common will be noted, as well as the varying hypotheses.

Seymour Martin Lipset² suggests that the Saskatchewan C.C.F. succeeded in involving more people in direct political activity than any other political party in Canadian history. This situation was in fact the culmination of an almost unique combination of factors that created the formal structural conditions for widespread individual participation in community affairs. The wheat farmers of Saskatchewan had been faced, in the forty years since the province was created, with a series of major social and economic challenges requiring the establishment of a significant number of community institutions to meet them. This structure of grass-roots participation provided direct channels of communication between the mass of farmers and their leaders. The extent of direct participation meant that the farmers' movement always had to be sensitive to the needs of its members. As well, it resulted in heightened awareness on the part of the farmers of large-scale political

and economic events.

In 1941, the C.C.F. was the only political party to support fully the demands of the highly organized farmers. The Wheat Pool, the co-operatives, the Agrarian Progressive Party of the 1920's, and the C.C.F., were all built rapidly through the sophisticated network of organized farmer opinion.³ The fact that the province was so well organized on an occupational basis, enabled the C.C.F. to obtain the support of the politically conscious community leaders. By the early 1940's, C.C.F. committees, comprised mainly of the same people who were the officials of the other rural organizations, were operating in almost every district of the province. It was this machine that swept the C.C.F. into power in Saskatchewan. The C.C.F. became the political voice of the organized agrarian community. The organized farmers were brought into direct contact with their government through active participation in a class political party that controlled the province.

The relationship between the C.C.F. and rural community organizations was a two-way affair. C.C.F. leaders, in their capacity as local government officials and co-operative leaders, knew the needs of the community and the effect of government policies on the rural community. They employed the party organization as a direct pipeline of communication to the Legislature and the Cabinet. Generally speaking, the comparatively large number of farmers' organizations, co-operatives, and other civic-interest groups, encouraged the citizenry to par-

take in the government of their communities as a normal routine of daily life. But one must not underestimate the role of crisis in providing the impetus for such extensive political awareness and organization in the province of Saskatchewan.

Gad Horowitz suggests in Canadian Labour in Politics, that in contrast to the smoothness with which the C.C.F. developed its relationship with the organized wheat farmers, its attempts to form the same sort of relationship with labour met numerous obstacles. For instance, although the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress (T.L.C.) consisted almost exclusively of Canadian locals of craft unions and was significantly influenced by the American craft union leader Samuel Gompers, it never outwardly adopted the Gompers' approach. Gompers' rejection of socialism and an independent labour party was complete and unequivocal. His relationship with the socialists in the labour movement was one of personal, political, and ideological animosity. The T.L.C. never espoused socialism, for the socialists within it were always a minority. But, unlike the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.), the T.L.C. "never adopted the phraseology of laissez-faire and Lockean individualism".⁴ Socialism in the A.F.L., according to Horowitz, was not only a minority movement, but it was never taken seriously.⁵ In the T.L.C., socialism, while not the dominant ideology, was nevertheless more important than in the United States.⁶ Thus, socialism and an independent labour party was more legitimate in Canada as opposed to the United States.

By the early 1940's it became apparent that the C.C.F. had decided to build up a significant trade-union base.⁷ C.C.F. constitutions were amended and terms of affiliation were drawn up; a campaign for affiliations was begun in Ontario; and the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.) advised its Locals to affiliate.⁸ But why did the C.C.F. fail to become a party with a massive trade union base? Significantly, there was an organized Communist bloc opposed to affiliation in a substantial number of Locals.⁹

Secondly, Horowitz hypothesizes¹⁰ that the powerful example of the American Congress of Industrial Organization¹¹ (C.I.O.) approach to politics, and perhaps the direct influence of international headquarters, may have played a role in obstructing affiliation. The C.I.O. atmosphere encouraged political participation, but not in the form of direct formal affiliation to a political party. In addition, the leadership of the rival T.L.C. at times sought to establish a working relationship with the Federal Liberals.¹² This functioned in a manner most detrimental to intensified support for the C.C.F. in the C.C.L.

The proposals for trade union affiliation were made at the beginning of an era of significant growth in C.C.F. strength and popularity. The party expected to become the official opposition in the federal election of 1945. The full implementation of the affiliation strategy may have hinged upon the realization of this hope. However, the dis-

astrous defeat of the C.C.F. in 1945, appeared to have had two serious repercussions as far as trade union affiliation was concerned. Union enthusiasm for the C.C.F. dwindled. As well, C.C.F. enthusiasm about union affiliation subsided. When the C.C.F. seemed likely to expand in strength until it became the government, it invited into its ranks a steadily growing trade-union wing with minimal reservation, for its individual membership was flourishing at the same time. The equilibrium between its trade union and other sections was thus maintained.¹³

The abrupt halt and gradual decline of the C.C.F. in the latter part of the 1940's brought about a change in attitude. Horowitz suggests¹⁴ that any attempt to establish a significant trade-union base under the new circumstances would have threatened the fundamental C.C.F. policy of resisting transformation into a labour party pure and simple. While the C.C.F. was eager to secure trade union support, there always existed within its ranks a fear that the unions might take over the party. As well, there was a determination to safeguard both the status quo in the organizational structure of the C.C.F. and its status as a movement of dedicated socialists rather than a political party with a broad base among the masses. Such an attitude expressed itself in two ways: as opposition to the increasing power of labour within the party and as opposition to lessening the importance of socialist doctrine by the party hierarchy.

Even when the Ontario C.C.F. was actively seeking affiliations, there was a suspicion among unionists that they were not really wanted. There was always a feeling in C.C.F.-labour circles that the conditions of affiliation--particularly the basis of representation at conventions--did not give affiliated unions an adequate role in the C.C.F. apparatus. Horowitz suggests various sources of tension which are always present, to a greater or lesser extent, in the relations between unionists and party activists in the C.C.F.-N.D.P. Most importantly, there is the party activist's confirmed interest in consolidating his position within the party organization. This position can be imperiled by large-scale union affiliation or even by the influx of large numbers of new individual members, whether they be unionists or not. There is a tendency to preserve the existing power structure and prestige against changes.

The unions tend to be moderate, reformist, pragmatic, and not disposed toward theory, while the party activists leaned towards radicalism, rigidity, and a primary concern with socialist doctrine.¹⁵ There has always been apprehension in the C.C.F.-N.D.P. (of minor significance in the powerful right wing but especially important in the declining left wing) that an influx of unionists would bring about the weakening of the party's socialist philosophy and programme. The leadership of the C.C.F.-N.D.P. has been less radical and increasingly reformist, while simultaneously, its relationship with the labour

movement has become increasingly intimate. This has had the effect of providing confirmation of left-wing dissidents' apprehensions.

The social background of the unionist and those values which underlie his behaviour provide a distinct contrast with those of a middle-class C.C.F.-N.D.P. member. The C.C.F.-N.D.P. is a more democratic and a less monolithic organization than the typical union. Debate and democratic procedure are held in higher esteem in the party than in most trade unions, while solidarity and discipline are more highly revered in the unions than in the party.

The close relationship between the party leaders and the labour hierarchy results in a situation in which anyone with a complaint against the party leadership is apt to extend that dissatisfaction to the "power-mad labour bosses"¹⁶ and attribute the errors of his party's leaders to "labour domination".¹⁷

The non-unionist in the C.C.F.-N.D.P. may share to some extent the public's view of labour unions. If public sentiment towards the labour movement is adverse, then the relations between unionists and non-unionists within the party are likely to be strained as well.

There is a tendency among some party members to resent labour's failure to support the C.C.F.-N.D.P. more ardently than it has. Paradoxically, such resentment is likely to be experienced by those same individuals who fear "labour domina-

tion".¹⁸ As well, the fact that in many localities the leadership and membership groups of C.C.F.-N.D.P. and union organizations overlap or interlock, results occasionally in factionalism within each of the two organizations and between them. Ideally, union and party affairs should be kept separated. However, in practice, this dichotomy is never achieved.

Unlike Horowitz, who provides an interesting diagnosis of the practical problems and pitfalls encountered by the C.C.F.-N.D.P. in its efforts to court the Canadian labour movement, Irving Martin Abella deals with the interplay of nationalism, communism, and international unionism, in influencing the formation of the Canadian labour movement from 1935-1956.¹⁹ Abella argues that industrial unionism in Canada was organized, funded, and led by Canadians, frequently in opposition to American union aspirations. However, Horowitz asserts that a Canadian Union will normally abide by the precepts of the international union of which it is a part. It is Horowitz's contention²⁰ that the C.I.O. atmosphere fostered political participation, but not in the form of direct formal affiliation to a political party. Abella on the other hand, indicates the primary role played by Communist Trade Unionists-- J.B. Salsberg, C.S. Jackson, Dick Steele, and others in organizing the Canadian working class. In contrast, Horowitz downplays the importance of the Communist trade unionists in the early stages of the Canadian labour movement. He dismisses them as radicals whose chief purpose was the disruption

of the C.C.F.-N.D.P.'s attempt to consolidate a power base among Canadian trade unionists. In particular, Abella takes issue with Horowitz's argument that the hundred-day Ford Strike of September to December, 1945, was organized and manipulated by the Canadian Communist Party purely on the basis of political expediency.²¹

Samuel Gompers was opposed to the active participation of organized labour in partisan politics. Horowitz suggests²² that although the T.L.C. was comprised largely of Canadian Locals of American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.) Unions and was significantly influenced by Gompers, it never accepted his philosophy completely. Generally, the T.L.C. adopted a somewhat quasi-neutral policy with respect to socialism. Abella²³ suggests that the T.L.C. dominated the Canadian Labour Movement from the 1920's to the latter part of the 1930's. The T.L.C.'s position was dominant and its conservative ideology of craft unionism, which meant that only the most skilled and, therefore, key workers should be organized, prevailed over active political involvement. The T.L.C. conducted no organizing campaigns, spent meagre amounts of money, and hired few organizers. By the end of the 1930's, it had lost the bulk of its membership and was on the verge of collapse. In an era of rapid economic expansion, the T.L.C. deliberately chose introversion and consolidation.

Walter Young²⁴ adopts a somewhat unsympathetic approach to the relationship between the C.C.F. and the Canadian Communist

Party. Young argues that from the beginning, the C.C.F. was popularly judged to be of the same political persuasion as the Communist Party. The C.C.F. unwittingly suffered from guilt by association, and subsequently was compelled to establish a distinct and favourable public image. This task was further complicated by the major parties' efforts to discredit the C.C.F. by linking it with the Communist Party during election campaigns. Abella amply documents the dynamics of the process by describing the development of each of the major industrial unions: United Steelworkers, Mine-Mill and Smelter Workers, International Wood Workers of America, United Electrical Workers, and the United Automobile Workers. As Abella traces the birth and development of these unions, a trend emerges, namely that early Canadian industrial unionism was fundamentally left-wing and the progeny of Canadian, not American, initiative. In actuality, Abella contends that the C.I.O. was "dragged into Canada"²⁵ at a time when Canadians should have exercised control over their own labour movement. Abella's explanation for this paradox is that Canadian workers were attracted to the C.I.O. largely because of its symbolic importance. In spite of this left-wing Canadian component at the inception of the C.I.O. in Canada, the course of Canadian Unions in the late 1940's and 1950's led to conservative unionism. Abella draws attention to the antithetical tendencies inherent within the structure of the Canadian Labour Movement between such factions as the All-Canadian Congress of Labour (A.C.C.L.)

and the internationally-oriented forces centralized within C.I.O. organizations and represented by such prominent figures as Charles Millard, Silby Barrett, and others.²⁶ Abella documents the struggles both within and amongst the C.I.O. and the C.C.L. By means of painstaking interviewing, research, and analysis of the conventions, documents, and internal dichotomy that occurred within the upper echelons of the labour hierarchy, Abella shows the struggles and purges between left-wing and right-wing elements.

Generally speaking, the crux of Abella's work may be reduced to an analysis of the relationship between the C.C.L. and the C.I.O. in Canada and the two fundamental conflicts which hampered this relationship. The first of these was an internal problem, the struggle of both organizations to cleanse themselves of their Communist-dominated affiliates; while the second difficulty, an external problem, concerned the struggle of the C.C.L., and to a lesser extent of its C.I.O. affiliates, to achieve and then safeguard their autonomy from the aggressive intrusions of the American unions.

But Abella's work does have some weaknesses. His entire approach to the issue of the interaction of the forces of nationalism, communism, and international unionism, and their impact upon the Canadian labour movement from 1935-1956, is somewhat puzzling. Abella channels his concerns in an essentially institutional direction. Consequently, he divulges little about the historical context in which the C.C.L. was

organized. For instance, what effect did government opposition and industrial policy have on the development of the C.C.L.? What were the social and economic burdens conducive to the emergence and mobilization of the C.C.L.? This would seem to suggest that Abella has delineated the history of Canadian Labour from 1935-1956, without acknowledging and analyzing the cadres of the Canadian labour movement. As well, Abella does not adequately account for the de-radicalization of Canadian industrial unions. Abella seems to reduce political and ideological contention to a level of personal power-play politics. Further, he fails to provide an explanation as to why Canadian workers did not form their own unions in the 1930's. Abella's assertion that they were entranced by "continentalist ideology"²⁷ or by the belief in American ingenuity, is shallow and simply not adequately substantiated throughout his study. Finally, Abella's work is atheoretical in that his findings suggest neither a positive confirmation nor contribution toward a theoretical comprehension of union behaviour. Abella's study shows that one cannot sufficiently assess the history of a mass movement by focusing exclusively on the leadership element and omit the rank-and-file segment. His argument that most contemporary labour studies indicate that the average union member plays a relatively obscure role in union affairs may suggest more about the status of research methods than about actual union activity.

To this point, the literature has been primarily concerned with the external dynamics of the C.C.F.-N.D.P. and

the Canadian labour movement, particularly the basis of support of the party and an historical analysis of the trade union movement in Canada. Others, notably Leo Zakuta and Walter Young, explore the internal dynamics of the C.C.F.-N.D.P., specifically, the party/movement dichotomy.

Zakuta²⁸ discusses three stages of C.C.F. political party development and devolution: from that of a political movement (1932-1941) to a major party (1942-1945) and then to a minor party (1950-1961). The period from 1945-1949, is regarded as the period of major party decline.

During the various phases of C.C.F. development, several distinctive characteristics of each stage are noted. During the initial phase, the C.C.F. was a relatively unknown political entity. This phase was characterized by a profound degree of ideological concern, a fundamentally informal organizational structure, and intensive party involvement. During the second phase of development, the C.C.F. began to experience electoral popularity, along with the growth of personal prosperity among its members and extra-party involvement. As well, ideological concern was somewhat muffled and less distinctive. The party experienced a tremendous growth and development in formal organizational structure, and party involvement was both intensive and extensive. In the final phase, the C.C.F. experienced considerable electoral frustration, which in turn had adverse psychological repercussions upon the party. This phase was marked by less intensive and extensive party involve-

ment, a further relinquishment of ideological concern and uniqueness, additional growth in the personal prosperity of C.C.F. members, and extra-party involvement. In addition, the party's organizational apparatus remained highly formal and conventional.

The fact remained that after the 1930's, both Canada and the C.C.F. experienced dramatic changes. Economic prosperity and welfare legislation after 1945 had the effect of diminishing popular interest in the C.C.F., while changes in the attitude and lives of C.C.F. members rendered them more conservative and pragmatic. As a result, the C.C.F. relinquished its uniqueness and developed an increasing resemblance to the traditional political parties. The C.C.F. started as a radical and unique political movement but later adopted much the same outlook and structure of the traditional parties. The party could not be explained solely within the context of its principles. The party constitutes a group whose members agree to struggle for political power. The party seeks electoral victory and the platform which it presents to the people is intended as a means to victory. Success for a party is success at the polls.

As the C.C.F.'s character became more secular, simultaneously its position in terms of party strength, as determined through popular support, became more insecure. The C.C.F. suffered immensely from its electoral defeats. Electoral defeat led to despondency, which in turn debilitated the energies

of many C.C.F. members and diminished public interest. When the C.C.F.'s belief in "utopian socialism" waned, no rejuvenating "raison d'etre" was available as a substitute.²⁹ Consequently, the dual forfeitures of hope in immediate victory and also in ultimate success, inflicted irreparable damage upon the C.C.F.'s organization. As a result, the C.C.F. emerged as neither a major party nor a political movement.

Walter Young³⁰ provides an in-depth analysis of the party/movement theme in his discussion of the National C.C.F. He suggests that the C.C.F. lacked a flexible and pragmatic approach in coping with the changing attitudes of Canadian politics. The image of the party was moulded in the semblance of "prairie radicalism from iron supplied by Fabian intellectuals".³¹ The C.C.F.'s outlook paralleled that of a movement based on the premise that "there is universal agreement on the cause and cure of sin and that if such agreement is lacking it is the result of ignorance which education will remedy".³² In this respect, perhaps C.C.F.'ers were egotistical and smug in the sense that the intellectual attitude predominant within the party ranks was, not oddly enough, that socialism was the solution and that only socialists had the ability to grasp the truth. To this degree, the outlook of the C.C.F. was mildly dogmatic.

Many Canadians were ill-disposed towards the C.C.F. because many of them were reluctant to regard business, profits, and competition as necessarily detrimental to Canadian

society. These same people were not susceptible to the educational activities of the C.C.F. They simply believed that "Those who were victims of capitalism"³³ were merely the unfortunate losers in a game of chance. As well, the C.C.F. merely assumed that a Canadian working class existed. Objectively, such a class did exist, but its members were not conscious of their position as such. They were reluctant to identify with a party that did not correlate its policies and goals with their aspirations. Their hopes and dreams were fundamentally middle-class oriented. Young suggests that "Democracy and the rags-to-riches philosophy were a part of the Canadian ethic. Those who accepted the major premise of upward mobility for those with energy and initiative could not support the C.C.F."³⁴

Initially, the C.C.F. began by offering ways of ameliorating existing social circumstances. But with the resurgence of economic prosperity, the party adopted a somewhat pessimistic attitude by predicting future economic and social degeneration. The C.C.F. withdrew into a psychological shell for self-confidence and security. Eventually, the party accepted implicitly the liberal assumption by focusing its popular image on equality of opportunity rather than equality of being.

The C.C.F. was unsuccessful in developing worker class consciousness because the working-class failed to give up the dream of individual social mobility. Who, in Canadian society, was in a position to identify with the C.C.F.? Young³⁵ suggests

that those who found themselves estranged from society could, and did, identify with the socialist argument. Trade union leaders and activists were drawn toward the party because they were outcasts like the farmer. Many were dedicated socialists and consequently their support for the C.C.F. was not something extraordinary.

The dedicated socialists comprehended the attitude of society toward trade union activity. But the electorate whom the C.C.F. had to court for official recognition, was part of the established order; it abided by it and functioned within its boundaries. The concept of socialism was regarded as anathema by the press and much of the public-at-large.

Because the C.C.F. was a movement of protest, it attracted into its ranks those people who were dogmatically opposed to any form of authority (anarchists and rebels). The more dogmatic socialist and anarchist elements achieved a dominant role, more than their numbers justified, by virtue of the intensity of their dedication. The more doctrinaire segment of the C.C.F. was fully prepared to devote endless time and energy to debate and criticism. However, a series of electoral frustrations only serves to promote independence and irresponsibility among the most vocal elements in a party. Perpetual failure leads to a membership manipulated by the fanatic, who finds sufficient outlet for his ego.

Finally, the party/movement theme can be put into proper perspective in the following manner. As far as the

C.C.F. was concerned, the agency of change utilized was the political system. Consequently, the C.C.F. was both a movement and a party. It entered the Canadian political arena and became a part of it in order to give substance to the changes it professed. However, where the party and movement share a sort of symbiotic relationship, as in the case of the C.C.F., the aims of one aspect may occasionally hinder the aims of the other. Nonetheless, the C.C.F. had to operate within the existing political system in order to give credence to those goals it sought as a movement. This party/movement combination has both its advantages and disadvantages.³⁶ On the one hand, the symmetry and assurance of the political party system (elections, propaganda, Parliament, and opposition parties) affect the essence of the movement and the clarity with which it is able to perceive its goals. On the other hand, the nature of the movement (its chiliasm, dedication, iconoclasm, and sectarianism) influences the operation of the party. As the movement employs the party system to realize its goals, it must appropriate the techniques of the other parties and thereby becomes more of a party in the process. As the C.C.F. became embroiled in the struggle for votes with the traditional parties, some of the freedom of the movement was relinquished to the symmetry of the party and some of the apostolic zeal of the movement was sacrificed for the drive to organize constituencies for the party.

Gerald Caplan³⁷ presents a concise historical account of the problems encountered, both practical and theoretical,

by the Ontario C.C.F. The dilemma of the Ontario C.C.F. existed on a number of levels. Unlike Saskatchewan, where the C.C.F. came to power by means of the political support of the organized wheat farmers who were radicalized by the depression of the 1930's and the prolonged drought which accompanied it, Ontario's political tradition was by and large one of apathy. In Ontario, democracy signified nothing more than the casting of a ballot during elections. It did not imply active participation in the policy process. This factor accounted for a relatively small membership base and subsequent inadequate financing. In Ontario, the party failed to evolve into a mass political movement, as its counterpart in Saskatchewan had done.

Factionalism was also a factor contributing to the weakness of the Ontario C.C.F. The trade unionists perceived the left-wing middle-class academics as "naïve, utopian, ivory tower dreamers";³⁸ while the middle-class element regarded the trade unionists as "power hungry right-wingers".³⁹ They further "irrationally resented"⁴⁰ the failure of the union leaders to encourage their rank-and-file to affiliate with the party.

The Ontario C.C.F.'s greatest tactical blunder was that of an overly-optimistic belief in the competence of "the revered common man"⁴¹ in understanding socialist philosophy. In responding to unfavourable criticism, the C.C.F.'s customary reaction was initially to adopt a "pose of high-minded

self-righteousness"⁴² and subsequently to "stigmatize critics [as] unscrupulous, self-interested [apologists] for an immoral capitalist system".⁴³ It was evident that the C.C.F. suffered from delusions of grandeur and undue optimism. This was partially attributable to the intrinsic doctrine that history constituted an ally of socialism and that it would inevitably triumph. As the Ontario C.C.F. Executive proclaimed in 1936: "The stars in their courses are fighting for the cause of socialism".⁴⁴

The C.C.F. leaders themselves recognized that many people supported the party not because they were dedicated socialists, but rather because it was more socially acceptable. C.C.F. strategy was to galvanize the party rank-and-file into action by means of sweeping promises of inevitable victory. But this strategy backfired. Instead, there developed a general attitude of such overconfidence that party supporters "saw little need to give of themselves unsparingly in a task they considered superfluous: their party, after all, was destined for victory".⁴⁵ In theory, the goal had already been attained. Perhaps a parallel may be drawn here with labour's success-psychology.⁴⁶ In the absence of C.C.F. victories, the C.C.F. unionist was reluctant to increase his stake in the party, while the non-C.C.F. unionist was hesitant to make the initial investment. Labour support is contingent upon party victories. Party victories in turn, are dependent upon labour support. Consequently, labour's success psychology merely assists in maintaining the party's electoral frustration.

Union leaders want to back a winner, but they also want some guarantee of substantial dividends prior to making the ultimate commitment.

Even at its zenith, the C.C.F.'s popular support amounted to only a minority of the electorate. The fact remained that the majority of the electorate, including those who sympathized with many of the C.C.F.'s proposals, were too strongly attached to the traditional parties. Once the C.C.F. proved that it could amass impressive electoral support through a particular programme, then the two traditional parties, in order to save face, would simply take the wind from the C.C.F.'s sails by incorporating the new tenet themselves. As well, the C.C.F. assigned to itself the label of a "socialist party"⁴⁷ and thereby was popularly considered to be such. By assigning a specific ideological label to itself, the C.C.F. aided its political

It provided the traditional parties and anti-socialist propagandists with sufficient ammunition to destroy the popular credibility of the C.C.F.

The C.C.F.'s ideological convictions were not the only alienating factor. In actuality, those who embraced the party's ideology were simply out of touch. That is, the C.C.F.'s activists were not, with the exception of Saskatchewan, representative of the community-at-large. They constituted the marginal members of society: the estranged outcasts, rabble-rousers, malcontents, anarchists, and generally those who opposed authority in any form. It is interesting to note that much the same

generalization is made by Walter Young.⁴⁸ The C.C.F.'s image came to represent one of social and economic aberration.

Finally, the great majority of Canadians have conceived of socialism as a political philosophy intended to deny their most precious ambitions. Perhaps it was the greatest weakness of Canadian socialism that it never challenged this attitude. The C.C.F., at least in conventional electoral terms, ended as a dismal failure.⁴⁹

Concepts and Hypotheses

For the sake of economy, it is best to develop a few key concepts and hypotheses and to focus attention on a minimal number of primary questions. In formulating the concepts and hypotheses, an attempt will be made to relate them to the appropriate thesis chapters--(A) The Brantford C.C.F. (Chapter II); (B) The Brantford N.D.P. (Chapter III); and (C) The Party/Labour Relationship (Chapter IV). As well, it is fitting to develop the concepts and hypotheses around a set of core themes, namely: (1) the party/movement aspect of the C.C.F.-N.D.P.; (2) the degree of trade union support for the local C.C.F.-N.D.P.; (3) the status of the term socialism in context of the local party; (4) the socio-economic position of those who initially supported the local party, as well as the community status of those who comprised the local C.C.F.-N.D.P.; (5) periods of local C.C.F.-N.D.P. ascendancy and descendancy; and (6) local reaction to C.C.F.-N.D.P. electoral progress.

The major theme of the study is that local party affairs revolved around the internal conflict between left-wing and right-wing elements in the riding association. The left-wing professed varied sentiments about the existing social order and conceptions of its power structure. It emphatically despised the established social order. The left-wing supported the movement orientation of the C.C.F.-N.D.P. and feared the pragmatic party orientation of the moderate union leadership. The right-wing affirmed its belief in parliamentary democracy as the agency of change. Its opinions were generally moderate and devoid of marxist ideology.

The thesis will also investigate the degree to which factionalism existed within the ranks of the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P., how long the situation was tolerated, and how it was resolved. Morton⁵⁰ argues that the N.D.P. could not afford to tolerate the actions of the Waffle Faction for long because it constituted a "party with a party"⁵¹ and as such, greatly undermined the electoral potential and popular appeal of the N.D.P., as a political party. It is important to determine who supported the party-oriented right-wing, as well as the movement-oriented left-wing, the manner in which this schism affected the local party's electoral prospects, and the general socio-economic status of the members of each group.

The Communists, organized under the Labour Progressive Party (L.P.P.), proved to be a very real and damaging impediment to C.C.F. electoral prospects. In the Ontario Provincial Election of 1945, the L.P.P. contested thirty-seven seats, of

which twenty-seven were held by the C.C.F. Only five of the incumbent C.C.F. members of the Provincial Parliament did not face Communist opponents.⁵² In the final tally, the C.C.F. plunged from thirty-two seats in 1943 to twenty-two seats in 1945.⁵³ The L.P.P. realized that Mitchell Hepburn's Liberals had little chance of winning the 1945 contest and therefore Communist strategy was to help return George Drew's Conservative Party to office by defeating as many C.C.F. candidates as possible. The idea was to split the C.C.F. vote wherever possible. In the Federal Election of 1945, the C.C.F. experienced further humiliation at the hands of the L.P.P. Ten seats could have been won by the C.C.F. had it not faced Communist opponents.⁵⁴

Examination of the Communist threat involves an investigation of the L.P.P.'s strength in Brantford, the extent to which it hampered the C.C.F.-N.D.P.'s local electoral prospects, as well as the party's image and solidarity, and the point in time that Communist influence ceased to be a significant political factor. For instance, the Ford Strike of September-December, 1945, marked the beginning of the decline of Communist influence in the U.A.W.⁵⁵

The Second World War had a positive impact on C.C.F. electoral prospects. The Canadian People were "uprooted, the normal course of their lives altered or obliterated, and their concern for the future heightened".⁵⁶ To this extent, Canadian Society became more responsive to and aware of the idealism

of the C.C.F. Programme. It provided a refuge from the cruelties of the war. The war gave to the C.C.F. Programme the same relevance that the conditions on the Prairies had provided in the 1920's and early 1930's. The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (C.I.P.O.) Surveys for the period were indicative of the rise in popular support for the C.C.F. during the war. Beginning with the Federal Election of 1940, in which the party received eight percent of the popular vote, its support, as judged by the Survey, rose to ten percent in January 1942; 21 percent in September of the same year; 23 percent in February of 1943; and reached a peak of 29 percent in September 1943. Support for the party stabilized at 20 percent or more until the Federal Election of June, 1945, when it plummeted to 15 percent.⁵⁷ The most dramatic C.C.F. electoral progress occurred in Ontario in February 1942, when Joseph Noseworthy defeated Arthur Meighen, the Federal Tory Leader, in a Toronto by-election.⁵⁸ In the Ontario Provincial Election of 1943, the party entered the campaign without a single seat in the Legislature and emerged with thirty-four seats out of a possible ninety.⁵⁹ As well, C.C.F. income for the year ending June 30, 1944, exceeded \$28,000, an increase of more than 300 percent over the same period in 1942 and up \$11,000 from 1943.⁶⁰ The crisis situation provided by the Second World War, constituted a triggering event which attracted popular support for the party. Success helped to move the C.C.F. along that path by modifying its attitude towards the electorate.

As it achieved the status of a major party, the C.C.F. became concerned with bread-and-butter issues, previously neglected by the party because of their seeming irrelevance to socialism.

By the same token, when it appeared that the C.C.F. was in a position to achieve political power, people attached themselves to it and its ranks were swollen. But when "the bubble burst",⁶¹ this support quickly dissipated. For many, the prospect of victory encourages adherence to the party, but when this possibility is dimmed, they immediately depart. When the C.C.F. was at its nadir, "a sense of paralyzing weariness gradually overcame the group".⁶² At C.C.F. constituency meetings, a substantial amount of time was lavishly spent discussing trivia. There was, by and large, comfort to be found in a common misery. Demoralization appeared to be a common affliction during the party's era of despair. Gerald Caplan notes that when a crisis of the magnitude of the Great Depression of the 1930's terminated, socialism in Ontario came to represent something of an anachronism. It came to resemble "the classic image of the radical sect. It was small, poor, ineffectively organized, and isolated from the larger society".⁶³ In testing the validity of the foregoing hypothesis in terms of the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P., it is useful to illustrate the party's periods of development and decline by employing such indicators as popular vote within Brantford. In addition, it is advantageous to consider the essentials of the subject matter discussed at the party's constituency meetings during

these periods. To this extent, a comparison might be drawn between that activity undertaken by the C.C.F. and N.D.P. respectively, during the interim between elections. For example, Abella argues that such localities as Brantford were centres of intensive labour activity but that the C.C.F. organizations in such areas were alienated from the community-at-large.⁶⁴ This thesis will critically examine this generalization about Brantford.

The C.C.F.-N.D.P. experienced gradual ideological change during different periods of its existence. The most significant aspect was the noticeable shift from "virtual prohibition of capitalism"⁶⁵ during 1933, to description of the circumstances under which capitalism would be allowed to continue in 1944, to a progressive disposition to aid and inspire private business to "fulfill its legitimate functions",⁶⁶ in 1948. As well, neither the Constitution nor that Programme adopted by the N.D.P. at its Founding Convention in Ottawa on July 31-August 4, 1961 made any mention of the terms socialism or social democracy. Such terminology was omitted from the Regina Manifesto because of fear of being confused with National Socialism or Soviet Socialism. However, socialism still remains the avowed objective of the C.C.F.-N.D.P., but not the socialism of the 1930's, rather a hybrid variety of contemporary, pragmatic, and "liberalized socialism".⁶⁷ Clearly, the N.D.P. dispensed with "the aura, the image, and the reputation of the C.C.F.". ⁶⁸ In investigating the status of the term social-

ism in the context of the local C.C.F.-N.D.P., it is useful to consider the concept in regard to election campaigns. When campaigning for the Saskatchewan C.C.F. in 1933-1934, the party leaders quickly realized that many individuals associated the term socialism with adverse connotations of agnosticism, expropriation of land, and totalitarianism. Some of the agrarian candidates realized that greater mileage could be had from an Independent Farmers' Party that voiced opposition to the Eastern moneybags, than from a Socialist Party.⁶⁹ Perhaps glossing over the socialist concept is the most effective policy in securing popular support. To this extent, it might be informative to investigate the tone of the socialist concept, beginning with the rudimentary foundations of the Brantford C.C.F. and attempt to determine trends in ideological conviction that could be said to correlate with the party's electoral successes and failures.

In September of 1943, the C.C.L. Convention almost unanimously agreed to acknowledge the C.C.F. as the political spokesman of organized labour in Canada and further urged that all affiliated and chartered unions amalgamate with the party as well.⁷⁰ Relations between the Conservative Government of George Drew and the Ontario Labour Movement were in the process of rapid deterioration. The Ontario Provincial Federation of Labour (O.P.F.L.--The T.L.C.'s Provincial Federation) Convention of January, 1948, requested T.L.C. unionists in Ontario to "defeat all provincial legislators--both Tories and

Liberals--who had failed to support the federation's legislative proposals",⁷¹ and the Ontario Federation of Labour established a Political Action Committee (P.A.C.) with Murray Cotterill of Steel as director, and it subsequently conducted an independent public campaign in support of the C.C.F. Every C.C.L. Local in Ontario was encouraged to donate to the O.F.L.'s Campaign Fund. In the Ontario Provincial Election of 1948, twenty-one C.C.F. candidates were elected to the Legislature, most of them in industrial ridings where the O.F.L.-P.A.C. had been "a decisive factor in our success".⁷² The P.A.C. did its own organizing on the party's behalf and published and distributed C.C.F. leaflets. The unions' share of C.C.F. election expenditures soared from 10 percent in the Ontario Provincial Election of 1943 to 73 percent in 1959.⁷³ To this extent, it is useful to investigate the development of the party/labour relationship in Brantford.

It is important to investigate whether some trade unions are more aloof than others from the local C.C.F.-N.D.P. In undertaking such a task, it is best to note particular characteristics of union membership and the specific industry represented by various unions in the community. This may be important in establishing a correlation between union and non-union support for the local C.C.F.-N.D.P.

It has been observed that in any new political movement which claims to speak for an economically oppressed group, its initial supporters represent those who are better educated and

more articulate and who are in a better economic position within the oppressed group. They are, in a manner of speaking, the best-off of the worst-off. Class solidarity produces party victory.⁷⁴ In Saskatchewan, it was the well-to-do farmer who originally supported the C.C.F. in the 1930's. As well, the Saskatchewan C.C.F. was regarded as the legitimate spokesman for the majority of the province's citizens. The party represented the political voice of the rural community and was led by normal, prominent community leaders.⁷⁵ Therefore, perhaps equally important, is the participation of normal, prominent urban leaders in garnering working-class support for the C.C.F.-N.D.P. However, it should not be noted that trade union executives do not necessarily represent normal leaders in this respect. Rather, "the shopsteward or local president would correspond more closely."⁷⁶ It is thus important to investigate whether those people who maintained top positions within the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P. were in fact normal, prominent leaders of the Brantford labour community. In addition, it is significant to determine whether the most affluent members, the skilled workers of the local trade union movement, initially supported the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P.

Finally, during the period from 1942-1945, when the C.C.F. experienced a period of major party ascendancy, vigorous anti-socialist propaganda campaigns were conducted by the Liberal and Conservative Parties. It was a deliberate manoeuvre designed to portray the C.C.F. as part of a "vast, insidious, preternaturally effective, conspiratorial network

designed to perpetrate acts of the most fiendish character".⁷⁷ Ironically, it could be argued that the degree of attention given the C.C.F. represented an element of success in that the party was making an impact upon the electorate. That is, people were becoming aware of its existence and were responding to it. Investigation of this hypothesis entails an assessment of the relative impact of such ploys as the Red Scare upon the local party's electoral prospects.

Sources

For the purposes of this thesis, the data will consist of the following: (1) the Minutes of Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P. Executive Meetings, of Brantford and District Labour Council Executive Meetings, and of U.A.W. Executive Meetings; (2) the establishment of a set of core questions for the purpose of conducting personal interviews with prominent Brantford C.C.F., N.D.P., and Labour figures; (3) pamphlets, leaflets, and similar literature issued by the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P. and Trade Union Locals; and (4) minor emphasis on articles and commentaries in The Brantford Expositor concerning the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P. and local labour. Perhaps further clarification is required as to the nature and purpose of incorporating interviews in this thesis and how and why certain individuals were deemed to be prominent C.C.F.'ers, N.D.P.'ers, or labour figures.

With regard to the personal interviews, elite interviews⁷⁸ were conducted by the author. An elite interview basically concerns people in leadership roles and as such,

necessitates specialized treatment which is equal to their social prominence. An elite interview emphasizes the interviewee's definition of the situation, and it involves letting the interviewee introduce that which he considers of relevance to the situation at hand.⁷⁹ The personal interview was selected as a method of data selection for this thesis in order to supplement the documentary material.

Specific individuals such as Derek Blackburn, Member of Parliament (M.P.), Mac Makarchuk, Member of Provincial Parliament (M.P.P.), Charles Mackay,⁸⁰ Reginald Cooper,⁸¹ Glenn Pattinson,⁸² and others, were deemed to be prominent people because of their obvious status within the Brantford Community, because of their direct bearing on the text of this thesis, and through introductions and references from people who have previously had or have contacts with these individuals through some specific organization, situation, or institution.

Finally, the time period to be studied concerns the period from 1934 to 1975. The best scholarly reason for employing the aforementioned data and time period to be analyzed, is that they are simply the best possible approach open to me. By studying this lengthy period of time, it is hoped that the dynamic nature of the relationship between the C.C.F.-N.D.P. and organized labour in Brantford will be uncovered. Thus, this thesis will be able to supplement, accept, and reject generalizations which to date have been studied

only at the federal or provincial levels.

It was the author's expectation to rely mainly on documentary evidence for primary source material. Unfortunately, access to such material was difficult because of reluctance on the part of some local trade union officials to cooperate and because documents were either misplaced or destroyed. Charles Mackay informed this author that the Minutes of Brantford Labour Council Meetings, prior to 1960, were either lost or destroyed. Minutes of Brantford C.C.F. Constituency Meetings were simply impossible to locate. The author met with considerable opposition from certain officials of U.A.W. Local 397 when attempting to solicit the local's files. Consequently, the author was forced to rely heavily on personal interviews and commentaries in the Brantford Expositor.

The validity of the interview material must be taken into account. Stories tend to grow in the telling and, therefore, an awareness of the possibility of exaggeration and myth-making and the problems of recall must be explored. It is inadequate to make an uncritical acceptance of hearsay evidence. Additionally, it is important to note that quotes from the Brantford Expositor editorials are representative of local opinion only, if that.

The interviews conducted by the author sought to determine the validity of the respondent's perception of events.⁸³ In many instances, what the interviewer reported was critically examined. A primary concern of this interviewer was that the

responses obtained be valid. The author tried to determine in what respects an interviewee's statements were a reflection of the respondent's personality and perception and in which respects as a reasonably accurate record of actual events. Essentially, the method was to cross-check perceptions of events among the respondents for common understandings.

The accuracy of the respondent's reconstruction of past event depends on the degree of distortion⁸⁴ which has been introduced into the report and how much the interviewer can correct for this distortion. The main areas of distortion may be summarized in the following manner: (1) the respondent simply did not observe the details of what happened or cannot recollect what he did observe, but instead reports what he presumed to have occurred; (2) the interviewee reports as accurately as possible, but because his mental set has selectively perceived the situation, the data reported give a distorted impression of what occurred; (3) the respondent unknowingly modifies his report of a situation because of his emotional needs to shape the situation to accommodate his own perspective; and (4) the interviewer quite consciously modifies the facts as he perceives them in order to convey a distorted impression of what transpired.

Distortion was detected in a number of ways.⁸⁵ First of all, there was an important negative check--implausibility. If an account strongly strained the author's credulity and just did not seem at all plausible, then the author suspected

distortion. A second device used was any knowledge the author had concerning the unreliability of the respondent as an accurate reporter. During the course of repeated interviewing, after what the interviewee had told the author had been verified or corroborated by other reports, the author formulated his own understanding of what occurred. Thus, the author tried to distinguish reliable from unreliable accounts. A third method of detecting distortion was the author's knowledge of the interviewee's mental set and an understanding of how it might influence his perception and interpretation of events. Therefore, the author was on guard for distortion in a labour union leader's report of how management reneged upon a promise it made in a closed meeting.

The major way of detecting distortion and compensating for it,⁸⁶ was comparing a respondent's account with the accounts given by other interviewees. The author cross-checked the accounts given by different respondents for discrepancies and tried to clear these up by asking often for further clarification. If the various overlapping, related, or repetitious pieces of information hung together and there were no inconsistencies, the author felt confident that his understanding was valid.

Finally, it should be noted that the author was not looking for the true attitude or sentiment in conducting interviews. Respondents did hold conflicting sentiments at one time and they held varying sentiments according to the situa-

tion in which they found themselves. The interview itself was a social situation,⁸⁷ so the author considered how this situation might have influenced the expression of sentiments and the reporting of events.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹The electoral process at the constituency level encourages the rise of third parties. Conrad Winn and John McMenemy maintain that "Canada's parliamentary system . . . assisted the development of third parties. Under the Westminster parliamentary system employed in this country, the focus of electoral activity is the constituency election. The election of only a handful of Members of Parliament gives minor parties a certain legitimacy and credibility." Conrad Winn, John McMenemy, Political Parties in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1976), p. 29.

²Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950).

³Ibid., pp. 200, 203, 208.

⁴Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 58.

⁵Ibid., p. 59.

⁶Ibid., p. 59.

⁷Ibid., p. 61.

⁸Ibid., p. 61.

⁹Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 235-238.

¹¹Irving Martin Abella, Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

¹²Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour In Politics (University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 82.

¹³Ibid., pp. 80-86.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 141.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 142.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 142.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I (cont'd)

- ¹⁸Ibid., p. 142.
- ¹⁹Irving Martin Abella, Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour (University of Toronto Press, 1973).
- ²⁰Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 82.
- ²¹Irving Martin Abella, Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour (University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 146.
- ²²Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 58.
- ²³Irving Martin Abella, Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour (University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 2.
- ²⁴Walter Young, The Anatomy of A Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 256.
- ²⁵Irving Martin Abella, Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour (University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 216.
- ²⁶Ibid., pp. 44-46.
- ²⁷Ibid., pp. 217-220.
- ²⁸Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed (University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 140-142.
- ²⁹Ibid., pp. 148-150.
- ³⁰Walter Young, The Anatomy of A Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (University of Toronto Press, 1968), chapters 1 and 2.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 288.
- ³²Ibid., p. 289.
- ³³Ibid., p. 289.
- ³⁴Ibid., p. 289.
- ³⁵Ibid., pp. 290-294.
- ³⁶Ibid., pp.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I (cont'd)

³⁷Gerald Caplan, The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism (University of Toronto Press, 1973).

³⁸Ibid., p. 194.

³⁹Ibid., p. 194.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 194.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 195.

⁴²Ibid., p. 195.

⁴³Ibid., p. 195.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 195.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 196.

⁴⁶Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 247-252.

⁴⁷Gerald Caplan, The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism (University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 197.

⁴⁸Walter Young, The Anatomy of A Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 291.

⁴⁹Gerald Caplan, The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism (University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 199.

⁵⁰Desmond Morton, N.D.P.: The Dream of Power (Toronto: Hakkart, 1975), pp. 97, 130-131, 133-134, 137.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 132.

⁵²Walter Young, The Anatomy of A Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 276.

⁵³Ibid., p. 277.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 277.

⁵⁵Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 113.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I (cont'd)

⁵⁶Walter Young, The Anatomy of A Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 97-98.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 98.

⁵⁸Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 70.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 77.

⁶⁰Walter Young, The Anatomy of A Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 111.

⁶¹Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 129, 137.

⁶²Ibid., p. 126.

⁶³Gerald Caplan, The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 85.

⁶⁴Irving Martin Abella, Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 24.

⁶⁵Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), p. 74.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 74.

⁶⁷Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 205-207.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 207.

⁶⁹Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (University of California Press, 1950), pp. 160-163.

⁷⁰Irving Martin Abella, Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 75.

⁷¹Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour In Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 132.

⁷²Ibid., p. 133.

⁷³Ibid., p. 151.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I (cont'd)

⁷⁴Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950, pp. 215-219. Maurice Pinard, The Rise of A Third Party (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975).

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 215-229.

⁷⁶Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 143-146.

⁷⁷Gerald Caplan, The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 123.

⁷⁸Lewis Anthony Dexter, Elite and Specialized Interviewing (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 5.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 5-9.

⁸⁰Charles Mackay was, and still remains, a potent force in the Brantford trade union movement. He was recently named citizen of the year by the Brantford And District Labour Council.

⁸¹Reginald Cooper was one of the pioneers of the Brantford C.C.F. who achieved municipal prominence. He served as City Clerk for a good number of years.

⁸²Glenn Pattinson is prominent in Brantford labour circles and N.D.P. affairs.

⁸³Lewis Anthony Dexter, Elite and Specialized Interviewing (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 125.

⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 127-128.

⁸⁵Stephen A. Richardson, Barbara Snell Dohrenwend, David Klien, Interviewing (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1965), p. 131.

⁸⁶Robert L. Khan, Charles F. Cannell, The Dynamics Of Interviewing (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 38-42.

⁸⁷Lewis Anthony Dexter, Elite and Specialized Interviewing (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 131.

CHAPTER II

THE BRANTFORD C.C.F. CONSTITUENCY ORGANIZATION

Introduction

This chapter will determine the applicability of the major generalizations about the C.C.F., nationally and provincially, to the Brantford party. Five hypotheses will be tested. The evidence will be obtained from seventeen interviews conducted with previously active members of the Brantford C.C.F. Their responses will allow the testing of these hypotheses.

The interview situation constituted an informal discussion revolving around the central themes of internal party conflict, the party/movement aspect of the C.C.F. the occupational and organizational status of Brantford C.C.F.'ers, the religious and ethnic background of Brantford C.C.F.'ers, and the influence of the Communist Party in local C.C.F. election campaigns. The interviews were all recorded on cassette tapes and replayed for analysis. The questions posed during the interviews were open-ended. They were structured to provide the interviewee with full control of the interview situation while at the same time providing the author with the maximum benefit of the interviewee's understanding of past events. This approach permitted the author to subject the interview material to a qualitative content analysis which involved the

isolation of only those events which were important and common during repeated interviewing.

Certain shortcomings behind this approach must be pointed out, however. The author might have employed a quantitative content analysis for easy categorization of the interviewees' responses. This approach, coupled with its use of a more sharply focused line of questioning, would have provided a greater measure of reliability in the use of interview material. The leaders of the Brantford Liberal, Conservative, and Communist parties could have been interviewed as well. Their reports could have been used as a cross-check on the experiences of C.C.F.'ers. The possibility does arise, that because of the small number of C.C.F. interviewees the material obtained by the author could reflect an unintended distorted understanding developed over the years by the survivors of that era.

The major reason that a more sharply focused set of questions were not used is that the hypotheses were not clearly established at the time of the interviews. As the research developed the hypotheses became more sharply focused. Had this process occurred earlier, the hypotheses could have been transformed into more direct questions. But what has been obtained through the interviews is valuable because it represents an understanding of the party through the eyes of the people who participated in directing its affairs. Although this technique is not as useful as a more sharply focused inter-

view, this more exploratory technique is a common one and has been used by such scholars as Gad Horowitz, Desmond Morton, Gerald Caplan, and other scholars referred to in this thesis.

Within the framework of common C.C.F. beliefs, a deep ideological division persisted between the right-wing and the left-wing. Certain fundamental distinctions between them remained. The left-wing rejected entirely the existing social order and wanted to change its power structure without delay. The right-wing affirmed its faith in parliamentary democracy as the vehicle of change.¹ Was there a severe ideological discord between the right-wing and the left-wing in the Brantford C.C.F. or was there ideological consensus?

The national C.C.F. faced the dilemma of choosing between ethics and politics. For C.C.F.'ers, were politics an effort to realize ideals or an opportunity to reap whatever advantages could be gotten within the limits of ethics? For the right-wing party-oriented pragmatists, the goals of the C.C.F. were immediate with the sacrifice of principle. For the left-wing movement-oriented doctrinaires, change and not necessarily political power was important. Hence principle could always be kept pure. The C.C.F. as a movement was enthusiastically dedicated to the achievement of an ideal.

The C.C.F. as a party was prepared to work within the system, to abide by the rules of the game, and to accept the responsibility of holding political office.² Did Brantford C.C.F.'ers agree that they were a party or a movement? Was the local organization essentially movement-oriented or party-oriented?

Because the national C.C.F. was a movement of protest, it attracted to its ranks those who were opposed to authority in all its forms: anarchists, malcontents, and rebels. Consequently, the party suffered from a decidedly negative image. Since the C.C.F.'s leaders were not the normal community leaders, the party's representational base was severely limited. They tended, naturally enough, to attract to the party people like themselves.³ But Saskatchewan C.C.F.'ers were normal community leaders. The active members of the Saskatchewan C.C.F. were ordinary citizens involved in the normal activities of the community. This meant that the activists in the Saskatchewan C.C.F. would tend to proselytize among those who were likely to vote C.C.F. and who were in a majority in the community.⁴ Was the Brantford C.C.F. founded by societal outcasts or were its leaders and members of high standing among an aggrieved group?

The Ontario C.C.F. was dominated by the United Church. Its leaders were Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Its membership was overwhelmingly of British descent. This ethnocentricity did

not make the party more appealing to other ethnic groups.⁵

Was the Brantford C.C.F. an Anglo-Saxon Protestant organization, despite the large number of Roman Catholics and other ethnic groups within the Brantford community?

Ontario C.C.F. rank-and-file members and party leaders considered the Communists to be representative of the working-class. It was the fear of the Communist party as a competitor that accounted for the ambivalence of the C.C.F.'s attitude towards it. Both parties believed they were locked in mortal combat to determine the leadership of the working-class. The workers' support for the traditional parties was dismissed as a temporary detour. C.C.F.'ers always retained a kind of terrified awe of the Communists for their total dedication and cool amorality.⁶ Did or did not the Brantford C.C.F. welcome Communist support in elections?

Internal Conflict

In Canada and provincially it was believed that an internal dichotomy existed within the C.C.F. between left-wing and right-wing elements. The left-wing professed mixed feelings about the existing social order and conceptions of its power structure. It despised the established social order to a large extent; it sought to modify it swiftly and thoroughly, and it ascribed power, coherence, enormous intelligence, and relentlessness to its archenemy. The left-wing supported the movement orientation of the party and feared the pragmatic party orientation of the moderate union leadership. The right-wing affirmed its belief in parliamentary

democracy as the agency of change. Its opinions were generally moderate and devoid of Marxist Ideology.⁷

In Brantford, in the C.C.F., "you either totally accepted the C.C.F. or not at all".⁸ Attempts to tear the party asunder were virtually unheard of. In its early stages of development (1934-1938) the local organization did possess some members who were more radical in their approach than others. But this did not foment an internal split within the party.⁹ It was generally accepted by all party members that only through parliamentary means could the precepts of socialism be realized, and only in small doses at that. It was believed that to some extent, compromise was necessary, provided that the principles of the party were not abandoned. Practical socialism rather than doctrinaire socialism was the accepted medium for political action. It was regarded as vital to maintain an equilibrium between the philosophical and the pragmatic aspects of socialism because they were in a symbiotic relationship. Both were regarded as necessities in order to promote the "ideal ideology"¹⁰ of the party.

When party fortunes were at a low point a small number of dedicated, hard-core C.C.F.'ers always stuck together to at least keep a spark burning in the ashes. Factionalism was not a local C.C.F. affliction because there were so few who actually stayed with the party through thick and thin (8-12 on the average who made local party decisions).¹¹ However, the Brantford C.C.F. did have its share of so-called

"crackpots"¹² or those who were sidetracked from politics by religion. There were also internal disputes on a personal level. For example, Harry Cooper argued that the C.C.F. nominee for the 1953 Federal Election "was a Conservative . . . [he was] . . . just no good . . . he's not thinking our way nohow . . .".¹³ Mr. Cooper attempted to press the issue with the local party hierarchy but in utter frustration he conceded that "I'm a little guy, no one ever [listens] to [me]".¹⁴ There were personal differences but not enduring factional groups.

The Party/Movement Aspect of the C.C.F.

It is useful to provide both a conceptual and operational definition of the party/movement concept. Conceptually, a movement is an organization of like-minded individuals dedicated to a cause that is based on high ethical values. An identifiable trait of a movement is the zeal with which it pursues its ideals. The programme of a movement constitutes an enunciation of its ultimate goals and ideals, while the integrity of a movement resides with its ideology. Conversely, the party cannot be defined in terms of its principles. A party denotes a group whose members propose to conduct themselves in accordance with the competitive struggle for political power. A party seeks electoral victory and the platform which it presents to the people is intended as a means to victory. Success for a party necessarily entails success at the polls. Losing an election is a failure for a party but is not necessarily a defeat for a movement.¹⁵

From the beginning, the national C.C.F. was a movement of protest and it drew into its ranks mainly those who were devoted, who volunteered their time and money, and who remained with the party through a succession of electoral frustrations. Nonetheless, the C.C.F. had to operate within the existing party system in order to give credence to those goals it affirmed as a movement. As the party became embroiled in the struggle for votes with the traditional parties, some of the freedom of the movement was relinquished to the demands of the party and some of the ideological fervor of the movement was substituted for the drive to organize constituencies for the party. As the C.C.F. organization underwent institutional maturation, there was some toning-down of ideology, but the aspect of the party that was movement-oriented was never completely eradicated. Therefore, the party/movement concept may be reduced to a clash between the goals of electoral success (party-orientation) and political education (movement-orientation).¹⁶

The local party seemingly had both a philosophical and a pragmatic aspect. Philosophically, the party was a way of life. C.C.F.'ers were highly dedicated and gave of themselves unsparingly. It was as if they were "missionaries, preaching what they believed."¹⁷ What the organization taught was that C.C.F.'ers were working together for the common good of mankind. C.C.F.'ers believed that the "philosophy of democratic socialism offered by the party was the thing for Canada and [failed to understand] why everybody, who in a Christian

country [did not] jump out and adopt this right away."¹⁸

Interestingly enough, local C.C.F.'ers preferred not to regard themselves as a "political party [they] called it a movement . . . it was almost a religious movement."¹⁹ The Brantford C.C.F. was a tightly-knit clique of families. For instance, if the wife of any member was pregnant, the wives of the other members of the organization would assist by caring for her children, doing her housework, and so forth.²⁰ To this extent, C.C.F.'ers practised what they preached. They would frequently quote the Bible, but were not fanatical about it. Many of them simply believed that the C.C.F. was more of a religion--"a lot of them felt they were following the teachings of Christ" in principle.²¹ Perhaps community came out of necessity. After all, C.C.F.'ers broke with traditional patterns of voting and as such felt somewhat isolated within the social milieu and hence resorted to self-reliance. C.C.F.'ers sacrificed their electoral prospects for the sake of the movement and its righteousness. C.C.F.'ers "knew they were right"²² and this factor held them together in spite of the lack of electoral success.

Pragmatically, the C.C.F.'s goal was the alleviation of the pressing economic suffering of the day through the fielding of candidates in the political arena. As far as politics were concerned, C.C.F.'ers were mere novices. In this manner, the party sought to give substance to the provisions of the Regina Manifesto. The C.C.F. constituted a

resonator for the Regina Manifesto: "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, what's more logical than co-operating together to solve our problems? Here we are in the midst of plenty [while the] farmers out West are taking corn and boiling it to make coffee. Here we are in [Brantford] walking almost barefoot beside warehouses full of shoes."²³ The C.C.F. was a protest movement against the total incapacity of the governments of Canada to cope with a rather elementary problem. How was it that a nation as wealthy as Canada in terms of natural wealth and resources, could be booming almost one year and be destitute the next? To the average C.C.F.'er, this was simply an illogical sequence of events. The solution was simple economics--the elimination of poverty in the midst of plenty.²⁴ Canada was a brutal country in the 1930's, brutal to the poor. Yet C.C.F.'ers by no means had some "divine vision".²⁵ They knew from experience. Their ideas had come largely from the U.K. and in the 1930's England already had progressive social legislation such as unemployment insurance, health insurance, medical care, and a generally advanced educational system. Such benefits gave people the security to live from day-to-day without an ominous cloud hanging over everyone. Such measures at least gave people a fighting chance against disasters that were largely beyond their control--unemployment, ill-health, etc. In terms of progressive social legislation, C.C.F.'ers considered Canada to be "virgin territory".²⁶ However, the party's protest was fundamentally

of an internalized nature in that so few of the electorate responded to their clamour. That is, the electorate would protest the abominations of the Conservative Administration of R.B. Bennett, who had vowed "to fill the bread buckets of the workers",²⁷ but voted into office a Liberal Administration. To this degree, the C.C.F. suffered communication problems in that it failed to convince the electorate that there was no real distinction between the Liberals or the Tories when it came to ameliorating the plight of the common man. Additionally, C.C.F.'ers generally accepted that they "might be going too fast"²⁸ as far as the provisions of the Regina Manifesto were concerned and, therefore, resolved that socialism had to be introduced in small doses.

Brantford C.C.F. meetings could be characterized as having both a pragmatic and a philosophical approach. The economic crisis brought about by the depression was prominent in discussions at local party gatherings and the members usually expounded upon the provisions of the Regina Manifesto and how they would alleviate the economic distress.²⁹ In the 1930's Brantford's farm implement industry was, for all practical purposes, at a standstill and there was no form of organized relief for the jobless. If a married man was fortunate enough to qualify, the Corporation of the City of Brantford hired him for approximately three days a month at forty-five cents an hour.³⁰

One of the highlights of debate at C.C.F. meetings was the nationalization of Canadian industries and natural resources

as a solution to the economic destitution wrought by the depression.³¹ Such discussion of public ownership and nationalization seemingly provided a psychological haven from the cruelties of the depression. Therefore, C.C.F. meetings were preoccupied with the improvement and strengthening of the Canadian economy by returning into the possession of the people the natural resources and wealth that was rightfully theirs and the acquisition and provision of a decent job for the average workingman. C.C.F.'ers were both concerned and alarmed that there were "too many empty bellies",³² and that many had inadequate or no shelter whatsoever. They believed that people simply wanted a job, respectable housing, and adequate nourishment. In fighting for such goals, the party resolved to employ the three "P's"--Peace, Persuasion, and Parliament.³³ The C.C.F. had both a moral conviction and a profound belief in the marvels that could be performed if only the electorate could be educated to vote it into office.

Some semblance of parliamentary procedure was maintained in conducting C.C.F. meetings because the party had both a commitment to the Canadian Parliamentary System and because it was the most effective manner of conducting party business. A formal agenda was eventually adopted at the meetings. For example, minutes from the previous meeting were read; any correspondence was discussed; the treasurer's report, which was tabled on a quarterly basis, was examined; and a free forum period was set aside in which party members could voice their

own opinions at will.³⁴ C.C.F. constituency meetings frequently dealt with "housekeeping matters"³⁵ such as methods of procuring funds for the party coffers, ways of augmenting the membership roll, sending delegates to conventions, and drafting resolutions to conventions. It was frequently pointed out that during a particular election some issues were not adequately discussed or that the C.C.F. permitted its opponents to get away with too much without providing a formal rebuttal. But quite often the meetings turned into general discussions.

By and large, C.C.F. meetings were not very stimulating. After an election, the party "kind [of] broke up for awhile"³⁶ because of general disillusionment with the outcome. On the average, attendance hardly surpassed 15 to 20 percent of the available party membership, particularly when party fortunes were at a low ebb.³⁷ Consequently, a small dedicated core of the party faithfully controlled C.C.F. meetings throughout the city. Significantly, when the local party experienced periods of electoral ascendancy, the tone of the concept of socialism, as discussed at C.C.F. meetings, became more pragmatic, secular, and credible. By the same token, when the local C.C.F. was in the doldrums of electoral despondency, the concept of socialism became rigid and dogmatic. The more abysmal party fortunes became, the tighter the group became and one was obviously among the more doctrinaire elements. Among the people who comprised this group, a noticeable shift to the "left"³⁸ occurred. For example, the members fervently

talked about controlling the means of production and the means of distribution.³⁹

In regard to election campaigns, C.C.F. candidates had to be devoted to the party cause because they knew well in advance that hope in victory was futile, that there was no well-oiled party apparatus, that finances were meagre, that there were few campaign workers, and that the tide of public opinion was continually running against them. It was hardly an encouraging approach to fighting an election. Therefore, the fundamental strategy espoused by C.C.F. candidates was principally to educate the public and attempt to increase the party's vote.⁴⁰ For example, Clare Easto, the C.C.F. candidate in the Ontario provincial election of 1959, used the campaign strategy of conversing with the electorate to convince them to start thinking "as . . . working [people] . . . and take a good look at things instead of . . . voting for the boss when they go down [to vote] so that [they're] gonna get the same treatment [they] would if [they were] in the plant."⁴¹ It was essentially a campaign geared toward educating the electorate to think C.C.F.

Electorally, the C.C.F. was in the uncomfortable position in which it had to rely on the "swing vote"⁴² for its anticipated support and, therefore, party candidates found a radical approach a hindrance in promoting their campaign platforms. (See Appendix C, pages 234-235.)

Early C.C.F. campaigns did embrace some of the ideas of the Regina Manifesto. The early reaction to the Regina

Manifesto was that there was going to be a complete overhaul of the capitalist system and in the words of C.C.F.'ers, because "there was everybody for himself and the devil catch the 'hindmostest'".⁴³ The system was exposed for what it was by many of the orators brought in by the party who pounded away at the idea that there had to be some radical change before the system would be equitable for all. It must be recalled that the great majority of the local C.C.F.'ers had been denied higher education and, therefore, had "to pick it up"⁴⁴ as they went along. C.C.F. candidates would not venture onto a platform and preach the principles and theories of democratic socialism. The electorate was hard to interest in "pie-in-the-sky" platforms.⁴⁵ But C.C.F. candidates were social democrats to the extent that they accepted implicitly the principle that the natural resources and the means of production should be placed under the auspices of public control.

When attempting to explain the principles behind public ownership, C.C.F. candidates would cite as an example, Ontario Hydro, which was in fact a form of socialism because there was "no competition, it was owned by the state".⁴⁶ It was necessary to focus attention on what the electorate could understand. There simply was not enough time during an election campaign to go out and "teach socialism".⁴⁷ To this extent, the party aspect of the local C.C.F. predominated during election campaigns.

The leading C.C.F. activists had a staunch belief that future triumph would ultimately come if only the party continued

to persevere. This was the reason that the local party never failed to put up a candidate. People did not vote so much against the candidate as they did against the party.⁴⁸ The name C.C.F. had unfortunate connotations,⁴⁹ particularly when the Regina Manifesto affirmed that "No C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism . . .".⁵⁰ People would mistakenly regard the C.C.F. as the "Canadian Communist Federation".⁵¹ Furthermore, some of the literature employed by C.C.F. candidates ". . . was over the heads of most of the people".⁵² Many people who realized that the C.C.F. was a workingman's party failed to comprehend the dynamics of the party or the meaning of the concept of socialism. Actually, there simply were not that many dyed-in-the-wool socialists around.

Party candidates who were labour people and who represented the pragmatic party orientation of the C.C.F. (Jack Gillies and Clare Easto for example) were not readily acceptable, even within the working class milieu. Some sort of jealousy seemed to prevail.⁵³ This paradox may be partially explained by the fact that the average workingman seems to lack faith in his "own brother, so to speak".⁵⁴ A workingman does not like to be told how he should vote: "they don't want to be corraled, they don't want to become part of a voting mob."⁵⁵ Some local party leaders also believed that when labour leaders tried to get the rank-and-file to vote for the C.C.F., the workers became resentful because this

seemed to deprive them of their autonomy as individual voters. As well, the working class believed that the party had to field educated candidates such as a doctor, a lawyer, or generally someone "more highly educated than they themselves and they themselves tended to be workers".⁵⁶ The workers expressed deference to elitist values in that they often believed that a candidate had to command a broad base of popular appeal in the hope of being successful.⁵⁷ However, there were exceptions. Charles Strange, who worked as a factory labourer at the Brantford Universal Cooler plant, was elected in 1943 on the coat-tails of a province-wide C.C.F. sweep.

Therefore, Brantford C.C.F.'ers saw themselves as both a party and a movement. They were primarily a party, especially in regard to election campaigns, constituency meetings, candidates, and pressing issues of the day. But the Brantford C.C.F. was enough of a movement that the organization was essentially an unmitigated electoral failure.

The Occupational and Organizational Status of Brantford C.C.F.'ers

The local party was comprised largely of working people such as trade unionists, a few teachers and small businessmen, and some active church people. Its initial founders were hardly anarchists, marxists, social misfits and the like. Rather, they were individuals of respectable social stature within the community. A number of the party's supporters had achieved a certain degree of prominence within the Brantford

community. For example, Jimmy Coles, then a teacher of wood-working at the Brantford Collegiate Institute, had no qualms about admitting his sympathy for and affiliation with the C.C.F.⁵⁸ In addition, Jimmy Harris was then an active member of the Brantford Trades and Labour Council, and on the Board of Directors of the Brantford Sanatorium.⁵⁹ Jack Matthews was on the staff of the Brantford Expositor, a municipal alderman, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Brantford General Hospital.⁶⁰

People such as Walter Townsend, Walter Fear, Ray Mann, Beryl Angus, Ciele Plant, Reginald Cooper, Bob Herbert, Bill Hanson, Stan Statham, Harry Cooper, Walter Taylor, Charles Brock, Nelson Cox, Leonard Lear, Charles Strange, George Cox, Albert Kite, Douglas Carter, Robert Misner, Jimmy Harris, and Jack Matthews, were instrumental in moulding the fabric of the local C.C.F. However, it was not possible to establish precisely what position these people held within the Brantford C.C.F. Table 2.1, page 70, shows the occupational status of these individuals and others mentioned throughout the course of the chapter who were associated with the local party. At some time or another most of the aforementioned held positions on the Executive of the Brantford C.C.F. However, as this data is vague with respect to the specific position held and its duration, it would seem impractical to even attempt to construct a chart bearing on this point. It has been determined that Beryl Angus acted in the capacity of party Secretary

from 1934-1937,⁶¹ that Nelson Cox was Chairman of the party's Organizing Committee from 1934-1945,⁶² that Douglas Carter served as party Treasurer from 1935-1940,⁶³ that at some time between 1935-1941, Charles Strange held the positions of Secretary, Treasurer, and Chairman,⁶⁴ and that from 1956-1958 Larry Wagg was President of the Brantford C.C.F.⁶⁵

The Religious and Ethnic Background of Brantford C.C.F.'ers

A substantial number of the early C.C.F.'ers belonged to the United Church with an insignificant minority being atheists. The party connection of United Churchmen in the Brantford C.C.F. reflects the affinity of Methodism for the British Labour Party. However, initially, there were very few Roman Catholics who joined the party. For example, Jimmy Coles was then lay leader at Grace Anglican Church in Brantford⁶⁶ and Jimmy Harris was an active participant in the Brant Avenue United Church.⁶⁷ Generally, Brantford C.C.F.'ers were predominantly of Anglo-Saxon Protestant background.⁶⁸ The weakness of the party at this stage was that it did not attract Roman Catholics and non-British ethnics into the ranks.

The Communists

Generally speaking, the Communist Party (L.P.P.) was not really a threat to the Brantford C.C.F. as much as it was a nagging worry.⁶⁹ The C.C.F. really was at a loss as to how to grapple with the L.P.P. presence and, therefore, simply adopted a strategy of attempting to ignore it.⁷⁰ It was never the policy of the L.P.P. to launch a frontal attack on the C.C.F. because in doing so, it would be abetting the C.C.F.

cause at a time when the traditional parties were desperately trying to stigmatize the C.C.F. with the L.P.P. label. If it appeared as if a C.C.F. candidate had even a remote possibility of winning election, the L.P.P. would conduct a behind-the-scene effort to dampen his spirits and "most likely with the blessing and the assistance of [the other parties] particularly the Liberal Party".⁷¹ But on the surface the L.P.P. was always trying to be "too nice" to the C.C.F., "we're all the same really you know".⁷²

It was the L.P.P.'s policy to have one of its own members present at local C.C.F. public meetings and rallies. In Brantford, an L.P.P. member by the name of Garth Armstrong made a habit of attending such C.C.F. functions.⁷³ Those L.P.P. members who attended C.C.F. functions posed "embarrassing"⁷⁴ questions. Frequently, the Communist Party would import out-of-town talent into Brantford such as Tom Scarlet from Hamilton.⁷⁵ The L.P.P. would occasionally bring in speakers of its own, such as Tim Buck, and would hold public meetings at which leaflets and pamphlets were distributed. At C.C.F. functions L.P.P. members were identifiable by their use of such phrases as "the bosses".⁷⁶ The C.C.F. M.L.A. believed it was the L.P.P.'s goal to destroy the C.C.F. organization. Particularly in the 1950's, the L.P.P. made public statements encouraging the electorate to vote for the C.C.F. In many cases this was "the kiss of death"⁷⁷ for the C.C.F. Consequently, L.P.P. strategy generated popular suspicion that the C.C.F. was in

league with the Communist Party. Thus, when Reginald Cooper ran for the C.C.F. in the 1949 Federal Election and in both the 1948 and 1951 Ontario Provincial Elections, he was popularly respected throughout the Brantford community as a "good fellow, but he's in the wrong party; I wouldn't want anybody looking into my bank account".⁷⁸ In this manner the L.P.P. sought to disrupt the local C.C.F. infrastructure. The Communist Party fielded candidates on three occasions during the C.C.F. era but the C.C.F. loss could not be blamed on the Communists.⁷⁹ Table 2.2 (pages 74-78) shows that the greatest popular vote ever achieved by the Communist Party in Brantford was 2.38 per cent.

Conclusion

Whereas Leo Zakuta says that the ongoing ideological debate within the C.C.F. led to internal conflict over party programme, strategy, and organization,⁸⁰ in the case of the Brantford C.C.F. there was basic ideological consensus. It was generally accepted that socialism would be easier to promote if there was a balance between its philosophical and pragmatic elements. Internally at least, ideological conflict was limited and even then it was useful as a cleansing agent in time of electoral frustration. Although personality clashes occurred, they posed no real threat to party unity. But more than anything, the relatively small size of the party organization prevented the development of any vigorous internal conflict.

As Walter Young notes,⁸¹ the relationship between the movement and the party aspects of the Brantford C.C.F. was close and interdependent. The movement succeeded to the extent that it did because the party was able to pose a threat to the established order through legitimate channels. Consequently, the movement and the party aspects intermeshed, one aiding the development and aims of the other. Pressing issues kept the party aspect alive, while the movement aspect allowed the C.C.F. organization to survive repeated electoral defeats. For example, as far as C.C.F. activity between elections was concerned, the party lived "from crisis to crisis".⁸² During the C.C.F. era, the real issue in Brantford was always unemployment. This was one of the reasons the C.C.F. stayed alive. The party died many deaths but would always rise up from the ashes to resume the fight again. In the interim between elections, a dedicated core of the party faithful "kept the ball rolling".⁸³ What held them together was a feeling of being a part of a great movement. There was a sort of religious fervor about it.⁸⁴ Herein lies the significance of the party/movement theme. While the party fared haplessly on the electoral front, the movement gave C.C.F.'ers solace from its electoral pitfalls. In many respects the movement was like a religion, a psychological haven into which C.C.F.'ers could channel their deepest anxieties in time of despair. C.C.F.'ers believed that they were contributing something positive. There was a righteous cause which demanded unyielding and

uncompromising dedication. The challenge kept the spark alive. C.C.F.'ers believed that they were "fighting for their children and for their children's children".⁸⁵ Between elections the local party's approach was one of education because unless the electorate was aware of the principles of the C.C.F., they would not be able to vote intelligently.

Unlike Walter Young's argument that the founders of the C.C.F. were societal outcasts,⁸⁶ this study has suggested that, in support of Lipset's study, the Brantford C.C.F. was founded by the better-off among the manual or labour group, particularly skilled workers.⁸⁷ The point is that the most articulate were usually the better-off within their own social milieu. Ironically, in most cases in Brantford the strongest opposition to the C.C.F. came from the poorest section of the city, from those areas in which C.C.F.'ers knew the people were suffering the most from the impact of the depression. Those whom the party believed would benefit the most from what it advocated, were quite generally the most adamant against it. The Brantford Conservative Party usually attracted the affluent vote at one end of the social spectrum and the impoverished vote at the opposite end.⁸⁸ Additionally, during the C.C.F. era there was a great deal of immigrant labour, mainly from continental Europe, in Brantford. The problem was that they were fearful of "Russian Communism"⁸⁹ and proceeded to stigmatize the C.C.F. with this label. Fear arising from a misconception of what the C.C.F. represented and fear

of losing their jobs if they in any way professed C.C.F. sympathies, netted the party few votes from the immigrant group. The party directed its appeal primarily to the workers. In doing so, it assumed the existence of class differences, that the members of the classes were aware of these differences, and that they were prepared to support the party which identified itself with their class interests. It would seem that the workers' response tended to be more along the line of status consciousness rather than class consciousness. Consequently, their identification was not with the party that represented the class they were in but with the party that represented the status they sought.

In support of Gerald Caplan's argument,⁹⁰ the Brantford C.C.F. was predominantly an Anglo-Saxon Protestant organization. As Gad Horowitz argues, Canadian socialism is British and non-Marxist.⁹¹ The socialist ideas of British immigrants to Canada were significant because they accommodated a political culture which already contained non-liberal elements. Therefore, socialism was not alien to Canada. As well, socialism was not introduced by foreigners. The personnel and ideology of the Canadian labour and socialist movements have been primarily British. Many of those who built these movements were British immigrants with past experience in the British labour movement. Many others were Canadian-born children of such immigrants. Canada was British North America, under the British crown and the British flag. The English-Canadian culture not only gave legitimacy to the British socialist

immigrant's political ideas and absorbed them,⁹² but it also absorbed him as an individual into the English-Canadian community with minimal strain, without demanding that he alter his entire way of life before being granted full citizenship. He was acceptable to begin with, by virtue of being British.

The Brantford C.C.F. did not want communist support in elections. There was a tendency on the part of the public-at-large and of the press to speak of the C.C.F. and the communist party in the same breath. The C.C.F. suffered from guilt by association and, as a result, had to devote considerable attention to the task of establishing and maintaining a distinct and favourable public image. The task was further complicated by the insistence of the traditional parties to link the C.C.F. with the communists for campaign purposes. In Brantford, the communists continued to chide the C.C.F. by mounting a constant barrage of anti-C.C.F. statements. However, the communists posed no real threat to the local party's electoral fortunes.

Electorally, the Brantford C.C.F. died a failure for it succeeded in electing but one sitting member and that was in the Ontario Provincial Election of 1943. But the party was also a success in that it accomplished more as a political catalyst, prodding the other parties to institute progressive social legislation. If it had not been for the pioneer work done by the C.C.F., its successor, the N.D.P., would not have had a foundation on which to build. The C.C.F. era could con-

ceivably be characterized as "a growth situation".⁹³ The C.C.F. attempted to consolidate a power base within the Brantford community among the working class and eventually laid the foundation for the success of the N.D.P. No matter how dismal things seemed, there always remained that core of the local electorate, that is the 8.5 percent⁹⁴ who could be counted upon to support the party. The local C.C.F. kept a significant minority of voters and provided the building blocks of the Brantford N.D.P. Because of its relatively small membership and distinctive values, along with the regular involvement of a membership highly committed to the socialist legacy of the Depression, the Brantford C.C.F. maintained a high level of internal cohesion. These characteristics explain the endurance of the party in the face of perpetual electoral failure.

One of the principal problems with the C.C.F. was that its organizational base was too restricted and its membership was stagnant. More importantly, C.C.F.'ers failed to realize that class division was a minor political cleavage. Unlike the C.C.F., Brantford N.D.P. activists tend to have higher social status than their supporters. The goal of the Brantford N.D.P. is the creation of elites who are somewhat broadly representative of the community in order to attenuate local cleavages. The acceptance of the systematic and universal values of socialism, with its value and programme-orientation, made it difficult for the Brantford C.C.F. to cope with local

problems and concerns in any convincing manner. Particularly when the general political mood of the Brantford community was one of reservation and conservatism during the Depression years.

Many of the local C.C.F.'ers were bitter about changing to the N.D.P. Some of them believed that the new organization would simply resemble "a watered-down version of socialism . . . [of] what they had been preaching and trying [to accomplish]".⁹⁵ Apart from "the inborn resistance to change",⁹⁶ C.C.F.'ers regarded their party as "the saviour of the world"⁹⁷ and believed that change would contaminate the purity of their ideals. Some of the local C.C.F.'ers believed that organized labour was going to dominate the new organization. But C.C.F.'ers were not bitter to the extent that they formed splinter groups or joined the Communist Party. There were a few though, such as Walter Townsend, who were instrumental in forming the Brantford C.C.F., who divorced themselves completely from active participation in N.D.P. affairs--"they were not going to be subject to change".⁹⁸ The N.D.P. took from the C.C.F. the will to fight or more aptly put in the words of Jean Jaures, it strove to "take from the altars of the past the fire, not the ashes."⁹⁹

TABLE 2.1 Important Brantford C.C.F. Members

NAME	OCCUPATION
Beryl Angus	Housewife ^a
George Aslin	President of the Canadian Brussel Weavers' Union at Harding Carpets Ltd. ^b
C.E. Birkett	Carpenter ^c
George Birkett	Factory Worker at the Brantford Slingsbys Co. ^d
Albert Brock	Building Contractor ^e
Charles Brock	Building Contractor ^f
Douglas Carter	Salesman ^g
Lorne Charlick	Plant Steward at Brantford Coach and Body Ltd., Vice-President and President of U.A.W. Local 397 ^h
Harry Cooper	Employee of the Robbins and Myers Manufacturing Co. ⁱ
Reginald Cooper	Winder at the Robbins and Myers Manufacturing Co. ^j
William Cowherd	Employee of the Toronto Globe and Free Methodist Minister ^k
George Cox	Foreman at the Brantford Cordage Plant ^l
Nelson Cox	Barber ^m
Walter Dowden	Tailor ⁿ
Clare Easto	Factory Worker at the Brantford Slingsbys Co., Business Agent with the C.L.C. ^o
Walter Fear	Pipe Fitter at Waterous Ltd. ^p
Jack Gillies	Financial Secretary of U.A.W. Local 458 ^q
Bill Hanson	Timekeeper at Massey-Harris Co. ^r
Jimmy Harris	Factory Labourer ^s
Bob Herbert	Painter at Cockshutt Farm Equipment Ltd. ^t
Albert Kite	Employee at Cockshutt Farm Equipment Ltd. ^u
Leonard Lear	Carpenter ^v

TABLE 2.1 (cont'd)

NAME	OCCUPATION
Charles MacKay	Moulder at Massey-Harris Ltd., Operator at Hussman Refrigeration Co., Ltd., ^w Chairman of U.A.W. Local 397 P.A.C.
Ray Mann	Painter ^x
Jack Matthews	Stereotypist at the <u>Brantford Expositor</u> , Mayor of Brantford ^y
John Maycock	Teacher ^z
Margaret McLellan	Retired ^{aa}
Bill Minnery	Construction Worker, Business Agent ^{bb}
Robert Misner	Machinist ^{cc}
Ceicle Plant	Employee at Cockshutt Farm Equipment ^{dd}
Ernest Pusey	Production Manager at the Brantford Slingsbys Co. ^{ee}
Stan Statham	Employee at Robbins and Myers Ltd., ^{ff} Presently disabled
Charles Strange	Stockkeeper at Universal Cooler Ltd ^{gg}
Walter Taylor	Carpenter ^{hh}
Walter Townsend	Woodworker at Brantford Coach and Body Ltd. and President of Brantford U.A.W. Local 397 from 1943-1945 ^{jj}
Larry Wagg	Employee of the <u>Brantford Expositor</u> -Journalist, ^{kk} President of I.T.U. Local 378, Secretary-treasurer of Brantford Trades and Labour Council

^aInterview with Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.

^bInterview with George Aslin, 2:30 p.m., May 27, 1976.

^cVernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1937.

^dIbid., 1937.

^eIbid., 1940.

^fIbid., 1940.

^gIbid., 1941.

^hInterview with Lorne Charlick, 7:00 p.m., May 27, 1976.

ⁱInterview with Harry Cooper, 2:00 p.m., June 1, 1976.

^jInterview with Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

^kVernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1934.

^lIbid., 1938.

^mInterview with Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976.

ⁿVernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1938.

^oInterview with Clare Easto, 6:00 p.m., May 26, 1976.

^pVernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1938.

^qInterview with Jack Gillies, 9:30 a.m., May 27, 1976.

^rInterview with William Hanson, 4:00 p.m., June 11, 1976.

^sVernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1938.

^tIbid., 1938.

^uIbid., 1940.

^vIbid., 1937.

^wInterview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

^xVernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1938.

^yIbid., 1940.

^zInterview with John Maycock, 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976.

^{aa}Interview with Margaret McLellan, 11:30 a.m., May 29, 1976.

^{bb}Interview with William Minnery, 8:30 p.m., June 4, 1976.

^{cc}Vernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1938.

^{dd}Ibid., 1939.

ee Ibid., 1939.

ff Interview with Stan Statham, 9:30 a.m., June 2, 1976.

gg Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

hh Vernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1941.

ii Ibid., 1938.

jj U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meetings, 1943-1945.

kk The Brantford And District Labour Council, Labour Review, 1975, pp. 44-45.

TABLE 2.2 Provincial and Federal Election Results in Brantford, 1934-1959

PROVINCIAL ELECTION RESULTS

DATE ^a	CANDIDATES ^b	OCCUPATION ^c	PARTY ^d	% POPULAR VOTE ^e
June 19, 1934	Morrison M. McBride	Mayor of Brantford	Independent	50.16
	William G. Martin	Minister	Conservative	38.06
	William J. Cowherd	Toronto Globe	C.C.F.	11.76
		Journalist		
Oct. 6, 1937	Morrison M. McBride	Mayor of Brantford	Indep.-Lib.	53.71
	R.W.E. McFadden	High school teacher	Conservative	36.44
	Leonard R. Lear	Carpenter	C.C.F.	9.84
July 20, 1938*	Henry C. Hagey	Manager of the	Liberal	45.30
		Liquor Control Board		
		of Ontario		
	Reginald Walsh	Private businessman	Conservative	37.22
	Walter J. Dowden	Tailor	Labour	17.05
Aug. 3, 1943	Paul Debragh	Not available	Socialist-Labour	0.41
	Charles A. Strange	Stock keeper	C.C.F.	39.72
	Henry L. Hagey	Manager, Liquor Control Board of Ontario	Liberal	31.19
	Gordon D. Campbell	Not available	Prog.-Cons.	28.33
June 4, 1945	Stanley H. Dye	Soldier	Prog.-Cons.	36.95
	D.D. Williamson	Managing Director of Brantford Laundry Ltd.	Liberal	36.67
	Charles A. Strange	Night-billing clerk	C.C.F.	23.92
	S. Kowal	Factory labourer	Communist	2.38

TABLE 2.2 (cont'd)

PROVINCIAL ELECTION RESULTS

DATE	CANDIDATES	OCCUPATION	PARTY	% POPULAR VOTE
June 7, 1948	George T. Gordon	Owner of Gordon's Grocerteria	Liberal	37.58
	Reginald Cooper	Factory worker	C.C.F.	31.30
	Charles C. Slemin	Private businessman	Prog.-Cons.	25.93
	Stanley H. Dye	Not available	Indep.-P.C.	5.17
June 22, 1951	George T. Gordon	Owner of Gordon's Grocerteria	Liberal	38.44
	Reginald Cooper	Factory worker	C.C.F.	31.85
	K.V. Bunnell	President of Insur- ance Agency (Bun- nell Hitchon Ltd.)	Prog.-Cons.	29.69
June 7, 1955	George T. Gordon	Owner of Gordon's Grocerteria	Liberal	39.55
	James Humble	Owner of Humble Taxi Co.	Prog.-Cons.	37.48
	John Maycock	Teacher	C.C.F.	21.85
	Samuel Minchinick	Not available	Communist	1.11
June 11, 1959	George T. Gordon	Owner of Gordon's I.G.A.	Liberal	45.08
	Max Sherman	Owner of Sherman's Merchandise Sales Co.	Prog.-Cons.	36.86
	Clare Easto	Business agent for C.L.C.	C.C.F.	18.05

TABLE 2.2 (cont'd)

FEDERAL ELECTION RESULTS				
DATE ^f	CANDIDATES ^g	OCCUPATION ^h	PARTY ⁱ	% POPULAR VOTE ^j
Oct. 14, 1935	W. Ross MacDonald	Lawyer	Liberal	43.69
	Robert Edwy Ryerson	Private businessman	Conservative	38.53
	William J. Cowherd	District manager of the <u>Toronto Globe</u>	C.C.F.	9.57
	Alan Kneale	President of Insurance agency (Kneale General Insurance Ltd.)	Reconstruction	7.11
March 26, 1940	W. Ross MacDonald	Lawyer	Liberal	51.23
	Eardly Wilmont	Not available	National Government	40.35
	Jack Matthews	<u>Stereotypist at Brantford Expositor</u>	C.C.F.	8.40
June 11, 1945	W. Ross MacDonald	Lawyer	Liberal	47.91
	Walter J. Dowden	Tailor	Prog.-Cons.	38.61
	Nelson Cox	Barber	C.C.F.	13.46
June 27, 1949	W. Ross MacDonald	Lawyer	Liberal	53.12
	John T. Shillington	Lawyer	Prog.-Cons.	28.52
	Jack H. Gillies	Financial Secretary of U.A.W.-C.I.O. Local 458	C.C.F.	17.69
	Dorise W. Nielson	Not available	Communist	0.99
June 10, 1957	Jack Wratten	Businessman	Prog.-Cons.	41.01
	W.J. McCormack	Accountant	Liberal	33.15
	Margaret McLellan	Retired	C.C.F.	24.54

TABLE 2.2 (cont'd)

FEDERAL ELECTION RESULTS				
DATE	CANDIDATES	OCCUPATION	PARTY	% POPULAR VOTE
March 1, 1958	Jack Wratten	Businessman	Prog.-Cons.	55.24
	Jim Leslie	Lawyer	Liberal	30.25
	John Maycock	Teacher	C.C.F.	14.64

* By-Election

^a Roderick Lewis, Chief Election Officer of the Province of Ontario, Centennial Edition of a History of the Electoral Districts, Legislatures and Ministries of the Province of Ontario 1867-1968, pp. 24-25.

^b Ibid., pp. 24-25.

^c Vernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1934, 1937, 1938, 1943, 1948, 1951, 1955, 1959.

^d Roderick Lewis, Chief Election Officer of the Province of Ontario, Centennial Edition of A History of the Electoral Districts, Legislatures and Ministries of the Province of Ontario 1867-1968, pp. 24-25.

^e Ibid., pp. 24-25.

^f J. Murray Beck, Pendulum of Power (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1968), pp. 206, 223, 241, 259, 276, 291, 311.

^g Canadian Parliamentary Guide, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1936, 1941, 1946, 1950, 1954, 1958, 1959.

^h Vernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1935, 1940, 1945, 1949, 1953, 1957, 1958.

ⁱCanadian Parliamentary Guide, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1936, 1941, 1956, 1950, 1954, 1958, 1959.

^jIbid., 1936, 1941, 1946, 1950, 1954, 1958, 1959.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), p. 17.

²Walter Young, The Anatomy of a Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 294.

³Ibid., p. 301.

⁴Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (University of California Press, 1950), pp. 160-163.

⁵Gerald Caplan, The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 68.

⁶Ibid., p. 82.

⁷Ibid., pp. 9-11.

⁸Interview with Lorne Charlick, 7:00 p.m., May 26, 1976.

⁹Interview with John Maycock, 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976.

¹⁰Ibid., 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976.

¹¹Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

¹²Interview with Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

¹³Interview with Harry Cooper, 2:00 p.m., June 1, 1976.

¹⁴Ibid., 2:00 p.m. June 1, 1976.

¹⁵Walter Young, The Anatomy of a Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 5-9.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 4-8.

¹⁷Interview with Stan Statham, 9:30 a.m., June 2, 1976.

¹⁸Interview with Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

¹⁹Ibid., 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

²⁰Interview with Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II (cont'd)

²¹Interview with Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.

²²Ibid., 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.

²³Interview with Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

²⁴Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

²⁵Ibid., 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

²⁶Ibid., 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

²⁷Interview with Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976.

²⁸Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

²⁹Interview with Lorne Charlick, 7:00 p.m., May 26, 1976.

³⁰Interview with Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

³¹Interviews with Lorne Charlick, 7:00 p.m., May 26, 1976; Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976; Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976; Harry Cooper, 2:00 p.m., June 1, 1976; Stan Statham, 9:30 a.m., June 2, 1976; Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976; Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976; William Hanson, 4:00 p.m., June 11, 1976.

³²Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

³³Interview with Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976.

³⁴Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

³⁵Interview with John Maycock, 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976.

³⁶Interview with Harry Cooper, 2:00 p.m., June 1, 1976.

³⁷Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

³⁸Interview with John Maycock, 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976.

³⁹Ibid., 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976.

⁴⁰Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

⁴¹Ibid., 6:00 p.m., May 26, 1976.

⁴²Interview with George Aslin, 2:30 p.m., May 27, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II (cont'd)

- ⁴³Interview with Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ⁴⁴Interview with Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁴⁵Interview with Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ⁴⁶Interview with Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m. June 2, 1976.
- ⁴⁷Ibid., 1:30 p.m. June 2, 1976.
- ⁴⁸Interview with Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ⁴⁹Interviews with Clare Easto, 6:00 p.m., Jay 26, 1976; Lorne Charlick, 7:00 p.m., May 26, 1976; Jack Gillies, 9:30 a.m., May 27, 1976; George Aslin, 2:30 p.m., May 27, 1976; Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976; Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m. May 31, 1976; Harry Cooper, 2:00 p.m., June 1, 1976; Stan Statham, 9:30 a.m., June 2, 1976; Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976; Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976; Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976; William Hanson, 4:00 p.m., June 11, 1976.
- ⁵⁰National C.C.F., The Programme of the C.C.F., Section 14--An Emergency Programme, p. 16.
- ⁵¹Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ⁵²Ibid., 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ⁵³Interview with Robert Taylor, 9:00 p.m., May 25, 1976.
- ⁵⁴Interview with Derek Blackburn, 12:30 p.m., June 5, 1976.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., 12:30 p.m., June 5, 1976.
- ⁵⁶Interview with Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ⁵⁷Interview with William Mowle, 6:00 p.m., June 1, 1976.
- ⁵⁸Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁶¹Interview with Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ⁶²Interview with Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II (cont'd)

- ⁶³ Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁶⁵ Interview with William Minnery, 8:30 p.m., June 4, 1976.
- ⁶⁶ Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁶⁸ Interviews with Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976; Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976; Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ⁶⁹ Interviews with George Aslin, 2:30 p.m., May 27, 1976; Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976; Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976; Reginald Cooper, 1:30 p.m., June 2, 1976; Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976; Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976; William Hanson, 4:00 p.m., June 11, 1976.
- ⁷⁰ Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁷² Ibid., 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁷³ Interview with William Hanson, 4:00 p.m., June 11, 1976.
- ⁷⁴ Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁷⁵ Interview with William Hanson, 4:00 p.m., June 11, 1976.
- ⁷⁶ Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ⁷⁷ Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ⁷⁸ Interview with William Hanson, 4:00 p.m., June 11, 1976.
- ⁷⁹ Refer to Table 2.2 , pages 74-78.
- ⁸⁰ Leo Zaluka, A Protest Movement Becalmed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), p. 24.
- ⁸¹ Walter Young, The Anatomy of a Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 187.
- ⁸² Interview with George Aslin, 2:30 p.m., May 27, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II (cont'd)

- ⁸³ Interview with Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid., 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ⁸⁶ Walter Young, The Anatomy of a Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 301.
- ⁸⁷ Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (University of California Press, 1950), pp. 160-163.
- ⁸⁸ Related through the personal experiences of C.C.F. candidates, Nelson Cox, 11:00 a.m., May 31, 1976, and Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976, while campaigning for election.
- ⁸⁹ Interview with Beryl Angus, 6:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ⁹⁰ Gerald Caplan, The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 68.
- ⁹¹ Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 24-25.
- ⁹² Ibid., pp. 24-25.
- ⁹³ Interview with John Maycock, 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976.
- ⁹⁴ Refer to Table 2.2, p. 74-78.
- ⁹⁵ Interview with William Minnery, 8:30 p.m., June 4, 1976.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid., 8:30 p.m., June 4, 1976.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid., 8:30 p.m., June 4, 1976.
- ⁹⁸ Interview with Lorne Charlick, 7:00 p.m., May 26, 1976.
- ⁹⁹ David Lewis and Frank Scott, Make This Your Canada: A Review of C.C.F. History and Policy, 1942, p. ii.

CHAPTER III

THE BRANTFORD N.D.P. CONSTITUENCY ORGANIZATION

Introduction

The focus of this chapter will involve a continuation of the task pursued in Chapter II, the determination of those individuals who were party-oriented and movement-oriented within the local N.D.P., as well as an assessment of the roles played by such figures. Such factors as the stages of development of the local party organization, its platforms and policy, ideology, factionalism, and its political impact in terms of the quality of N.D.P. candidates, will be investigated. Additionally, tables will be drawn up depicting N.D.P. electoral outcomes on both the provincial and federal levels in Brantford, as well as graphs plotting C.C.F.-N.D.P. local popular vote federally and provincially against the party's national and provincial voting trends. Due to a lack of documentary evidence, a substantial portion of the data contained within the chapter was amassed chiefly through a series of elite interviews. Consequently, certain charts and tables which may have proved useful to certain sections of the chapter have been left out for this reason.

It is useful to summarize both the federal and provincial redistribution of electoral boundaries affecting the urban area of Brantford since 1933. Federally, in 1933¹ the

Electoral District of Brantford encompassed the city of Brantford, that portion of Brant County contained in both Oakland Township and the Township of Brantford situated south and west of the Grand River. In 1947² the major revision was the addition of that portion of Brant County included in Brantford Township and that segment of Brantford Township situated south and west of the left bank of the Grand River. In 1952³ the boundaries were redefined to include that part of Brantford Township lying to the east of the city of Brantford. In 1964⁴ another redistribution made the city of Brantford a part of the new Electoral District of Brant which included that portion of Brant County contained in the city of Brantford; Brantford Township, with the exception of the town of Paris; Onondaga Township, with the exception of Six Nations Indian Reserve No. 40; and that segment of Wentworth County contained within Ancaster Township, but not the town of Dundas. In 1970⁵ another revision certified that the Electoral District of Brant was to consist of that portion of Brant County contained in the townships of Brantford, Burford, Oakland, and Onondaga; the city of Brantford; and that part of Haldimand County situated on Indian Reserves No. 40, 40A, and 40B. In 1974⁶ the Federal Electoral District of Brant was redefined to consist of Brant County, with the exception of the townships of Burford and South Dumfries and the town of Paris. (See Appendix D, page 236 .) Provincially, in 1933⁷ the Electoral District of Brantford consisted of the city of Brantford and that part of Brantford Township lying south of the Grand River. In 1966⁸ a further revision certified that the Electoral

District of Brantford consist of the townships of Brantford and Oakland. (See Appendix D, page 236 .)

Party Development (1961-1965)

Prior to the N.D.P. Founding Convention of 1961, a number of New Party Clubs were established in the area. Every Sunday local C.C.F.'ers would venture out into areas such as Paris, Galt, Preston, etc., or wherever they could get a dozen or more people together to discuss the future course of the new political party. William Minnery, John Maycock, George Aslin, Larry Wagg, and Charles Mackay were instrumental in forming the local New Party Clubs. The clubs gave the N.D.P. a fundamentally "democratic character".⁹ Their objective was to act as the blueprint for the design of the N.D.P. Each New Party Club was allowed to draft a set of resolutions to be presented at the Founding Convention. The clubs also constituted an attempt to dispel the popular misconception that the C.C.F. was subversive and that the new political organization would be the same. But one obstacle that plagued the C.C.F. and to some extent the early stages of the Brantford N.D.P., was the climate of Soviet-U.S. relations with its paranoia. It was hardly an atmosphere for the cultivation of socialist beliefs, particularly when the local media associated the C.C.F.-N.D.P. with Communism.

Charles Mackay attended the Founding Convention of the New Democratic Party in Ottawa, from July 31 - August 4, 1961, but was among those who voted against the name N.D.P. for the

simple reason that, "it's gonna end up being called N.D.P. instead of C.C.F., right back to the same old thing again. I was in favour of 'Democratic Party'. . ."¹⁰ The transition was perhaps necessary in order to attract professional people into the party ranks.¹¹ Possibly the very name and image of the C.C.F. antagonized the professional class--"socialism was something they shouldn't be associated with."¹² It was a taboo word. A greater number of professionals, notably teachers, played a prominent role in the formation of the early Brantford N.D.P. There were also small businessmen, sympathizers in the legal profession, trade unionists, and C.C.F.'ers who played an important role as well. Perhaps it was the fresh image of a young, aspiring political party with new ideas and a different approach, that attracted this new wave of support. It seemed many of them were becoming cynical toward the old-line parties.

Generally speaking, from 1961-1965 the local organization was overflowing with ideas, but never seemed able to implement them. Issues that were fundamental to C.C.F. meetings, notably the concept of public ownership or nationalization, were toned down with the advent of the N.D.P. The period from 1961-1965 could be loosely characterized as a "period of listening"¹³ on the part of the local electorate to N.D.P. policy. It was the era of a grass-roots beginning. The early N.D.P. constituted more of a "family affair".¹⁴ It met at the Brantford Trades and Labour Club and held social functions such as dances, balls, masquerades, etc., in an effort to raise funds

for the party coffers. Lack of adequate finances to put together an effective electoral organization was an acute problem of the early N.D.P. Card-carrying membership during the period was insignificant. Brantford N.D.P. Executive Meetings were generally quiet and to a certain extent akin to those of the old C.C.F. For example, comments such as, "I heard somebody moved into town, he might be a good candidate", or, "I read something in the paper where a guy made a statement that is in our line, I wonder if he's an N.D.P.'er. . . Let's approach him. . ." ¹⁵ were typical.

In 1963, "everything was just kinda falling apart" ¹⁶ for the local N.D.P. Riding association. Meetings were rarely held, if at all. On the average, approximately two executive meetings per month were called during 1963-1964. Canvassing efforts were exceedingly poor. N.D.P. campaigns were not really campaigns. They were essentially "tokenistic". ¹⁷ The problem with the N.D.P. candidates during this period was that they did not appeal to the local electorate. They too frequently dealt with federal and provincial level problems and failed to bring the message home on a local level. It was really a question of adaptability and communication of the issues on the part of the candidates. The party rank-and-file believed that, in order to win an election, it was necessary to field a candidate who was generally "more highly educated than . . . themselves and they . . . tended to be workers". ¹⁸ It was generally believed that if the party could put up candidates who were middle class, other people within the community might be more inclined to vote

for them, "other than the dedicated core".¹⁹ Another difficulty of the early N.D.P. was a general attitude of "leave it to the dedicated few to do the job"²⁰ between elections. In fact, Doris Dewar intimated that had the local N.D.P. actually elected a member prior to 1965 "they wouldn't have been ready to handle what needs to be handled as a member".²¹

By 1965 the local party situation had deteriorated to such an extent that Jim Bury, then Provincial N.D.P. Party Secretary, was compelled to visit Brantford on September 10, 1965, at a meeting at the Brantford Y.M.-Y.W.C.A. His purpose was to put the pieces back together and to assist the party in finding a suitable candidate to contest the November 8, 1965 Federal Election.²²

The Party in Perspective (1965-1975)

With the advent of Mac Makarchuk as the N.D.P. candidate in the 1965 Federal Election, "there was a certain charisma . . . added that had never been there before."²³ Even after his defeat in the federal contest, Makarchuk proceeded to join all the local organizations he could in order to achieve a favourable reputation within the Brantford community. For example, he became involved with the Brantford And District Labour Council, the Newspaper Guild, and various community projects such as the Brantford Civic Centre. By arguing on the local radio station's Off-The-Cuff open-air talk programme, and by writing letters to the Editor of the Brantford Expositor, he kept his name before the public. Additionally, the local N.D.P. established a party newspaper called Grassroots, under

Makarchuk's tutelage. (See Appendix E, pages 237-249 .) Furthermore, William Mowle, Robert Good, Issac Turner and Mac Makarchuk drafted a local N.D.P. Riding Constitution. (See Appendix F, pages 250-54 .) Thus, in 1965 the rudiments of an organization were inaugurated.

In the period from 1965-1975 many people were attracted by the bandwagon atmosphere and, therefore, people who in the past sympathized with the N.D.P., but viewed an N.D.P. vote as a wasted vote, now voted for their first preference. The local party frequently sent some of its members to its school in Bolton, where they were taught the skills and techniques of effective campaign organization.

After 1965 there was a noticeable shift in the nature of those issues discussed at N.D.P. executive meetings. Trivial local issues were shelved for prominent local issues such as housing, welfare, taxation, etc. The meetings became more of an educational experience. During elections the N.D.P. rarely mentioned socialism. Very few N.D.P.'ers "talk socialism".²⁴ The subject of discussion during election campaigns was generally typical of, "Oh, we're gonna win . . ." or "they'll run down the opposition."²⁵ There has been a definite shift towards a preoccupation with winning elections above all other considerations. This represents a stark contrast to the middle class intellectual C.C.F.'ers who resigned from the party when it became the N.D.P., those who "talked socialism but didn't want to act, the 'armchair socialists' . . . the middle income earner who had a heart for the suffering of the poor but really

didn't want to get up . . . and do anything."²⁶

One of the chief problems of the Brantford N.D.P. throughout this period has been in attempting to get people actively involved in the period between elections. In the interim period, the local party organization has been dormant. Part of the problem is a lack of grassroots people who are able to take a positive approach to such activity as forums, meetings, seminars, or generally community-level involvement. The local organization usually holds an executive meeting every month and three or four general meetings per year. Apathy and complacency are the party's greatest foes between elections. Only the power of "election fever"²⁷ seems to mobilize the party rank-and-file into action. At election time the local organization can amass a force of 800-1,000 volunteer workers. But if an individual of the stature of T.C. Douglas or David Lewis came to address the local party between elections, they would be fortunate to attract 50-75 people.

Discussion at N.D.P. executive meetings has not been known for policy debates but rather for pre-occupation with organization and practical matters such as memberships, financial status, and local issues. Brantford is fundamentally an industrial town with a work force primarily composed of factory labourers. Their hopes and aspirations include good housing, job security, education for their children, and equitable taxation. To this extent, it could be argued that the N.D.P. is concerned with the major concerns of the Brantford community. Brantford could be loosely regarded as a microcosm of Canada

with a good cross-section of society (enclaves of affluence, labour, middle class, and so forth). It is "fashionable"²⁸ to be an N.D.P.'er in Brantford because both of its sitting members are N.D.P. The N.D.P. is clearly not the same as the C.C.F. Nationalization or the concept of public ownership has been toned-down considerably by the N.D.P. On occasion it is alluded to, but only in jest--"maybe we'll have to nationalize Bell Telephone if old 'Ma Bell' . . . doesn't smarten up."²⁹

The socio-economic status of the contemporary party hierarchy is higher than it was ten years ago.³⁰ The N.D.P. to-day is "a little more used to a [hard] liquor diet now, than [it] was more used to a beer diet ten years ago." Activity between elections is not at a high pitch but organizational life continues. It is geared toward paying off election debts, amassing party funds, planning for future elections, hammering out policy, and analyzing conventions. By and large, activity between elections is concerned with internal matters. Social functions are few. Finally, the problem faced by the N.D.P. in fielding labour candidates is both complex and yet trivial: "If [an individual] were on the line [he] . . . would hate [his] union boss just as much as [his] company boss and the chances of [him] running out and voting [N.D.P.] because he told [him] to vote [N.D.P.] are nil."³¹

Campaigns and Candidates

A table has been constructed depicting Brantford N.D.P. electoral outcomes federally and provincially. (See Table 3.2, pages 93-96.)

TABLE 3.2 Provincial and Federal Election Results in Brantford, 1962-1975

PROVINCIAL ELECTION RESULTS

DATE ^a	CANDIDATES ^b	OCCUPATION ^c	PARTY ^d	% POPULAR VOTE ^e
Sept. 25, 1963	George T. Gordon	M.P.P.	Liberal	43.41
	Dick Beckett	Not available	Prog.-Cons.	43.35
	Bill Humble	City fireman	N.D.P.	12.28
	Winnifred M. Robinson	Bookkeeper	Independent	0.75
Oct. 17, 1967	Mac Makarchuk	Journalist	N.D.P.	35.84
	Andy Donaldson	Not available	Prog.-Cons.	34.14
	Bruce R. Forbes	General Manager of Forbes Brothers	Liberal	30.01
		Car Sales Ltd.		
Oct. 21, 1971	Dick Beckett	Mayor	Prog.-Cons.	45.03
	Mac Makarchuk	Journalist	N.D.P.	32.78
	Ken Lefebvre	Lawyer	Liberal	22.17
Sept. 19, 1975	Mac Makarchuk	Municipal alderman	N.D.P.	31.07
	David Carll	Physician	Liberal	31.09
	Dick Beckett	Politician	Prog.-Cons.	29.47
	William P. Small	Retired	Communist	0.37

TABLE 3.2 (cont'd)

FEDERAL ELECTION RESULTS				
DATE ^f	CANDIDATES ^g	OCCUPATION ^h	PARTY ⁱ	% POPULAR VOTE ^j
June 18, 1962	James E. Brown	Lawyer	Liberal	44.80
	Jack Wratten	Businessman	Prog.-Cons.	35.00
	Robert Good	Farmer	N.D.P.	16.23
	Geoffrey Styles	Parts Service Manager at Koehring-Waterous Ltd.	Social Credit	4.67
April 8, 1963	James E. Brown	Lawyer	Liberal	42.70
	Andy Andreason	Not available	Prog.-Cons.	35.00
	William Humble	City fireman	N.D.P.	14.99
	Herbert Motz	Not available	Social Credit	3.06
Nov. 8, 1965	James E. Brown	Lawyer	Liberal	40.85
	Ken Hodge	Radio announcer	Prog.-Cons.	32.51
	Mac Makarchuk	Journalist	N.D.P.	25.76
	Paul Seddon	Not available	Social Credit	0.80
June 25, 1968	James E. Brown	Lawyer	Liberal	39.58
	Derek Blackburn	High school teacher	N.D.P.	30.46
	Geoffrey Styles	District manager of Koehring-Waterous Ltd.	Prog.-Cons.	29.39
June 1, 1971*	Derek Blackburn	High school teacher	N.D.P.	43.06
	Bob McIntosh	Not available	Liberal	32.22
	Emory Knill	Manager of Brant Mutual Fire Insurance Co.	Prog.-Cons.	28.90
	A.J. Sid Hamelin	Not available	Social Credit	0.80

TABLE 3.2 (cont'd)

FEDERAL ELECTION RESULTS				
DATE	CANDIDATES	OCCUPATION	PARTY	% POPULAR VOTE
Oct. 31, 1972	Derek Blackburn	High school teacher	N.D.P.	43.06
	Dick Mundy	Not available	Liberal	31.71
	Alex Keresturi	Tobacco farmer	Prog.-Cons.	25.21
July 12, 1974	Derek Blackburn	High school teacher	N.D.P.	42.07
	Vernon Young	Farmer	Liberal	37.64
	Alex Keresturi	Tobacco farmer	Prog.-Cons.	19.95
	Paul E. Jarbeau	Student	Communist	0.34

* By-Election

^a Roderick Lewis, Chief Electoral Officer of the Province of Ontario, Centennial Edition of a History of the Electoral Districts, Legislatures and Ministries of the Province of Ontario 1867-1967, p. 25; Roderick Lewis, Chief Electoral Officer of the Province of Ontario, 1971 Ontario Election Summary From The Records, p. 4; Roderick Lewis, Chief Electoral Officer of the Province of Ontario, 1975 Ontario Election Summary From The Records, p. 6.

^b Ibid., p. 25; Ibid., p. 4; Ibid., p. 6.

^c Vernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1963; 1967; 1971; 1975.

^d Roderick Lewis, Chief Electoral Officer of the Province of Ontario, Centennial Edition of a History of the Electoral Districts, Legislatures and Ministries of the Province of Ontario 1867-1967, p. 25; Roderick Lewis, Chief Electoral Officer of the Province of Ontario, 1971 Ontario Election Summary From The Records, p. 4; Roderick Lewis, Chief Electoral Officer of the Province of Ontario, 1975 Ontario Election Summary From The Records, p. 6.

^eIbid., p. 25; Ibid., p. 4; Ibid., p. 6.

^fJ. Murray Beck, Pendulum of Power (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1968), pp. 329, 351, 374, 399; The Brantford Expositor, June 2, 1971; November, 1972; July 13, 1974.

^gCanadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa: Queen's Printer), June 2, 1971; November 1, 1972; July 13, 1974.

^hVernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1962, 1963, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1972, 1974.

ⁱCanadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa: Queen's Printer), 1963, 1964, 1966, 1969; The Brantford Expositor, June 2, 1971; November 1, 1972; July 12, 1974.

^jIbid., 1963, 1964, 1966, 1969; Ibid., June 2, 1971; November 1, 1972; July 12, 1974.

The N.D.P. candidate during the 1962 federal contest considered himself to be a so-called parachute candidate. Robert Good had initially contested the 1962 by-election in Brant-Haldimand where he polled 2,626 votes and ran a poor third. Being a part of the "farm movement" he was an "outsider" in the context of the Brantford community.³² In 1962, the local N.D.P. grass-roots organization was not adapted to fighting an election. Being a farmer, Mr. Good wanted to enrich the N.D.P. with agrarian ideas. To this extent he was quite probably not in the mainstream of local party thought. It was his belief that the N.D.P. differed from the traditional parties in "the degree of concern over 'man's inhumanity to man', not in some doctrinaire platform planks."³³ (See Appendix G, pages 255-56 .)

During the 1963 federal campaign the N.D.P. seemed to be stigmatized by the endorsement of the Communist Party.³⁴ This generally occurred when there was no opportunity for a rebuttal. It usually came over the radio or appeared in the newspaper on the final day of the campaign. Furthermore, there were those individuals who were on the verge of voting for the N.D.P., but when it came down to marking the ballot, simply could not bring themselves to support the party. At the polling booth "they would sorta come out with a sorta sheepish downcast look, as though 'well I would liked to have done it, but gee I just couldn't do it this time.'"³⁵ According to William Humble, the local party received support from people from all walks of life during the 1963 federal election. If

it were simply the working class against the majority, the N.D.P. would have attained political power on numerous occasions. To this extent, the Brantford N.D.P. is not polarized along class lines to any degree. Locally at least, it tends to attract a mosaic of support.³⁶ (See Appendix H, pages 257-260.)

During the 1965 federal campaign Mac Makarchuk spoke on a somewhat academic level. By and large, this approach was out of place in the Brantford working-class community. Additionally, a fair degree of red-baiting occurred during the campaign. For instance, at one particular public meeting, Makarchuk was informed that if he won the election he would automatically become "Commissar of Agriculture".³⁷ But the party organization resolved that if the Communist Party advertised in the Brantford Expositor "no retaliatory advertising [would] be placed."³⁸ Approximately ten people volunteered their services during the 1965 campaign as canvassers.

By 1967 the local organization began to display a degree of organization potential. As well, Makarchuk's credibility was high by this time. He worked hard during the 1967 provincial campaign by going out and knocking on doors: "he went out and got in with the people, he didn't talk down to [them]." ³⁹ Makarchuk also received a certain sympathy vote on being fired from the Brantford Expositor. He was refused a leave of absence to work on his campaign but being headstrong, Makarchuk followed his own conscience and was subsequently fired. Interestingly, the local media refused to publicize the fact that Makarchuk

was fired. But a group of newsmen at Brantford radio station C.K.P.C. took it upon themselves to send out a summary of these events to the Canadian Press and it was ultimately carried in the Toronto newspapers and over the radio. In fact the news caught the attention of Gordon Sinclair who publicly berated the Brantford media for having acted so rashly.⁴⁰

The 1967 provincial campaign itself was very much an issue-oriented one and embraced such topics as housing, taxation, welfare, and unemployment. During the campaign Makarchuk addressed himself chiefly to speaking "the language and 'vernacular' of the trade unionists."⁴¹ There were approximately 500 volunteers helping out with the N.D.P. campaign.

Prior to 1967, the potency of the party was still scoffed at in Brantford. But following the N.D.P. victory in 1967, the local party and its policies became respectable alternatives. In the Brantford area, the N.D.P. now had achieved major party status.

The 1971 Ontario Provincial Election, which proved to be disastrous for the local N.D.P., was perhaps indicative of the fact that elections and their outcomes are a culmination of many factors. Things such as the Brantford Welfare Inquiry,⁴² the incumbent's desire to engage in confrontation politics, the Brantford Texpack Strike, coupled with a general provincial swing to William Davis' Tories, were the major factors contributing to the N.D.P. defeat in Brantford.

As far as the Brantford Welfare Inquiry was concerned, Makarchuk openly declared in the Ontario Legislature that the

situation at the local welfare office in Brantford City Hall was deplorable and that he intended to rectify matters. He was immediately challenged by Brantford Alderman, George Ludlow, to make the same statements without his immunity as an M.P.P. Makarchuk took the bait and thereupon issued a public challenge on the Brantford City Hall steps.⁴³ It was believed by the party activists that there were instances where the administrators of the local office "were using some . . . women sexually and giving them the Welfare The ones that wanted Welfare . . . had to go to bed with the guy."⁴⁴ There were also situations in which older people who moved into pensioners' flats said that they were being cheated by welfare officials who would "come in and give them buttons for their furniture and antiques"⁴⁵ Approximately five charges in all were laid but three were dismissed due to insufficient evidence. Makarchuk lost credibility because when it came to the crunch, those people who lodged formal complaints against the welfare office refused to testify in a court of law. Makarchuk made public allegations without being assured of the reliability of his complainants. In fact he proceeded to gather affidavits after he issued his inflammatory remarks about the local welfare situation.⁴⁶ The local media intimated that Makarchuk had issued statements which he could not legally substantiate. The popular folklore was that Makarchuk tried "to get money for bums"⁴⁷ and that he irresponsibly cost Brantford taxpayers an unnecessary \$50,000 in the course of the investigation. This comment was actually made by Richard Beckett on

C.T.V.'s Channel 9 and it received province-wide coverage.⁴⁸ The Brantford media insinuated that Makarchuk was consorting with indolent welfare recipients who lived off society. Consequently, cynicism was fomented among those who would have ordinarily supported the N.D.P. The only positive aspect of the welfare investigation was that the local welfare office was removed from municipal jurisdiction and placed under the auspices of the Province of Ontario.⁴⁹

The Brantford Texpack Strike constituted another blow to Makarchuk's credibility. The leaders of the Canadian Chemical Workers' Union, Kent Rowley and Madeline Parent, both communists, were prominently involved in the Texpack Strike. Both were expelled from the United Textile Workers' Union in 1941.⁵⁰ Significantly, Rowley never received official labour endorsement during the strike, although some local people sympathized with him.⁵¹ During the course of the strike, sporadic demonstrations were staged and the situation was aggravated by a mild confrontation with the Brantford Police Force. Additionally, there were Marxists, Marxist-Leninists, Trotskyites, and other groups at the Texpack site. In all probability, if such groups had made progress during the strike, they would have taken the opportunity to discredit the N.D.P.'s image as the defender of the workers' rights. Members of the Waffle, James Laxer, Mel Watkins, Bruce Kidd and others, were also present at the Texpack scene. They were fighting for the concept of Industrial Democracy, wherein workers actually participated on the Board of Management.⁵² Consequently, the real

issue of wages, which the strike was fundamentally about, became clouded.

To complicate matters further, Makarchuk positioned himself in the forefront of the Texpack Strike by actually participating in some of the demonstrations. There was a parade in which Makarchuk was in the forefront and a rally at which he spoke out for square for the Texpack people. The chief difficulty was that "the media and the underground work that was done . . . the whispering campaigns . . .",⁵³ hurt Makarchuk. They abused him and branded him as a radical. The irony of the Texpack Strike was that the workers returned to their jobs for precisely the same wage they had prior to the strike. Coupled with the Welfare Inquiry, the Texpack Strike provided "[Richard] Beckett's crowd" with sufficient political material to smear Makarchuk as a "goddamn rabble-rouser".⁵⁴ Mac Makarchuk suffered from guilt by association. Finally, these events culminated when the ". . . opposition decided to gang up on Mac Liberals by the hundreds swung over to the Establishment's chosen one--'Dirty Dickie'".⁵⁵

An agreement was made between the local Liberals and Progressive Conservatives to the effect that if the Liberals worked hand-in-hand with the Tories to defeat Makarchuk, they would return the favour by assisting the Liberals in dethroning Derek Blackburn. There was even a 'liberals for Beckett Committee' organized.⁵⁶ Significantly, this arrangement was made without prior consultation with the Liberal candidate-- "he was deserted by his own party."⁵⁷ The ganging-up technique

was not so much pro-Beckett as much as it was anti-Makarchuk. In this instance Makarchuk was the victim of both unfortunate circumstances and his own political disposition. During the course of the ganging-up, red-baiting was employed. The opposition parties circulated rumours among the congregation of St. Michael's Ukrainian Church in Brantford to the effect that Makarchuk was a communist. Additionally, a letter was also circulated among the local Ukrainian community which warned that "the disciples of the red devil will be at your door."⁵⁸

In the 1971 Federal By-Election the so-called "Renwick Formula"⁵⁹ or technique of mass canvassing was introduced. N.D.P. people were imported from such centres as Galt, London, Hamilton, and Toronto to assist in the engineering of the campaign. Such personalities as Michael Lewis, Hans Brown, Larry Palmateer, Jo Surick, and Frank Stevens composed the official campaign committee. It was the type of election in which the party "could have run any kind of a candidate . . . and would have won."⁶⁰ As well, there was significant anti-government sentiment at the time. The local N.D.P. had an especially effective organization heavily staffed by New Democrats from other constituencies. Furthermore, Derek Blackburn had contested the 1968 Federal Election for the N.D.P. and had run a respectable second. (See Table 3.2, page 93.)

In both the 1972 and 1974 Federal Elections and the 1975 Ontario Provincial Election, the Brantford electorate returned N.D.P. members. Derek Blackburn had served his constituents well whereas Richard Beckett, the Progressive Conserva-

tive M.P.P., had reneged on his obligation to his constituents. For example, if someone had a problem and failed to get satisfaction from Beckett, both Blackburn and Makarchuk would help in whatever way they could. Furthermore, many people realized that there had been a "get Mac campaign"⁶¹ in 1971. Finally, Makarchuk's record as a municipal alderman also enhanced his chances of election, coupled with the generally anti-Tory sentiment throughout Ontario in 1975. As well, Derek Blackburn fought his campaign on a local level. (See Appendix I, pages 261-265.)

Generally, the essence of local N.D.P. campaigns has been door-to-door canvassing or a "people campaign".⁶² It is a method designed to approach the electorate on a face-to-face basis. As well, sign campaigns have been utilized by the local party. The strategy in this regard has been "to be the first-est with the mostest"⁶³ by putting up campaign signs with the least possible delay. In this respect, the N.D.P. normally outnumbers the opposition by three to one in recent Brantford elections. To implement this scheme, canvassers are required to work on approximately two hundred polls. Normally it is party policy to dispatch two canvassers to cover each Poll. The general strategy embraced in fighting elections in terms of campaign platforms, has not been a reliance on party-prepared literature but rather a more personalized campaign emphasizing the candidate and federal/provincial issues on a local level, such as housing, energy, health, unemployment benefits, and job security.⁶⁴

This technique was used to a large extent in both the 1974 Federal Election and the 1975 Ontario Provincial Election. Adaptability to local conditions has been the keynote of contemporary N.D.P. campaigns. It is local party policy to complete at least three canvasses of each poll. Under the sometimes mildly tyrannical tutelage of campaign manager Glenn Pattinson, this task is carried out. The strategy behind canvassing is to discern where the party's potential vote is and then get it in. Locally, the N.D.P. polls between ninety and ninety-five percent of its canvassed or predetermined vote.⁶⁵ What is unique in the Brantford context is an elaborate scheme whereby the N.D.P. has at its disposal ten mobile citizen-band radio-equipped automobiles on election day so that the party can get an immediate report on a particular poll. In this manner, the party is able to transport canvassers to various polls in order to get the remainder of the N.D.P. vote to the polls.

During the 1975 provincial campaign most of the major industrial complexes in the city were bombarded with party literature. Canvassing has been done with such regularity that people become accustomed to it and expect someone to call. On the part of the canvasser there is a sense of pride in his job. For example, on election night, typical comments such as "What's the result from this Poll? Jesus Christ, I polled my vote!",⁶⁶ would seem to indicate a high level of concern.

Finally, by drawing a comparison between the percentages of popular vote of the local C.C.F.-N.D.P. federally with the

party's popular vote nationally, it is interesting to note that the local party's popular vote exceeds the national trend, with the exception of 1940. The same was discernible when considering the C.C.F.-N.D.P. popular vote provincially, as opposed to the party's local popular vote, with the exception of 1963. This suggests that the local constituency has been more pro C.C.F.-N.D.P. than the average constituency. (See Graph 3.1, page 107 and Graph 3.2, page 109 .)

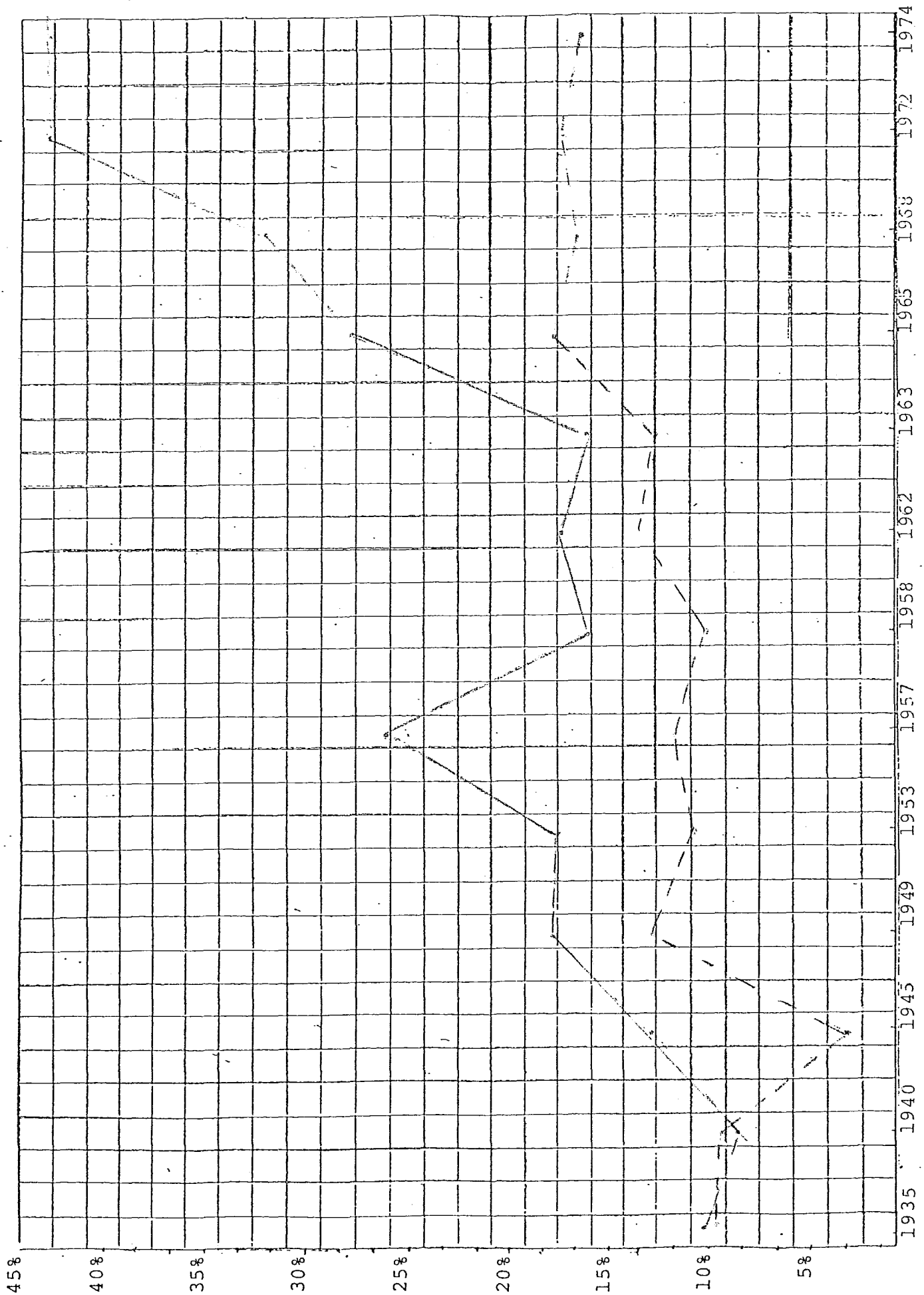
Internal Dichotomy

The Waffle merits some degree of attention. A rather unique set of circumstances led to its eventual development as an autonomous organization in Brantford. It is important to consider the Waffle from the party's point of view as well as from the Waffle perspective.

As far as the party was concerned, the Waffle element was comprised chiefly of middle-class people. The members of the Waffle were "elitists on the left".⁶⁷ The Waffle argued that if one watered-down the concept of socialism in the quest for political power, one prostituted and perverted the principles of the party. In this manner the Waffle element constituted the movement aspect of the N.D.P. The Waffle element achieved local prominence between 1969-1971. The "party people" all of a sudden felt as if they were the "old guard".⁶⁸ The goal of the Waffle was to push the N.D.P. further to the 'left' on the political spectrum.

The Waffle drew into its ranks an extremely active and dedicated core of followers such as David Neumann, George Hess,

GRAPH 3.1 Percentage of Popular Vote for the C.C.F./N.D.P.
in Federal Elections



GRAPH 3.1

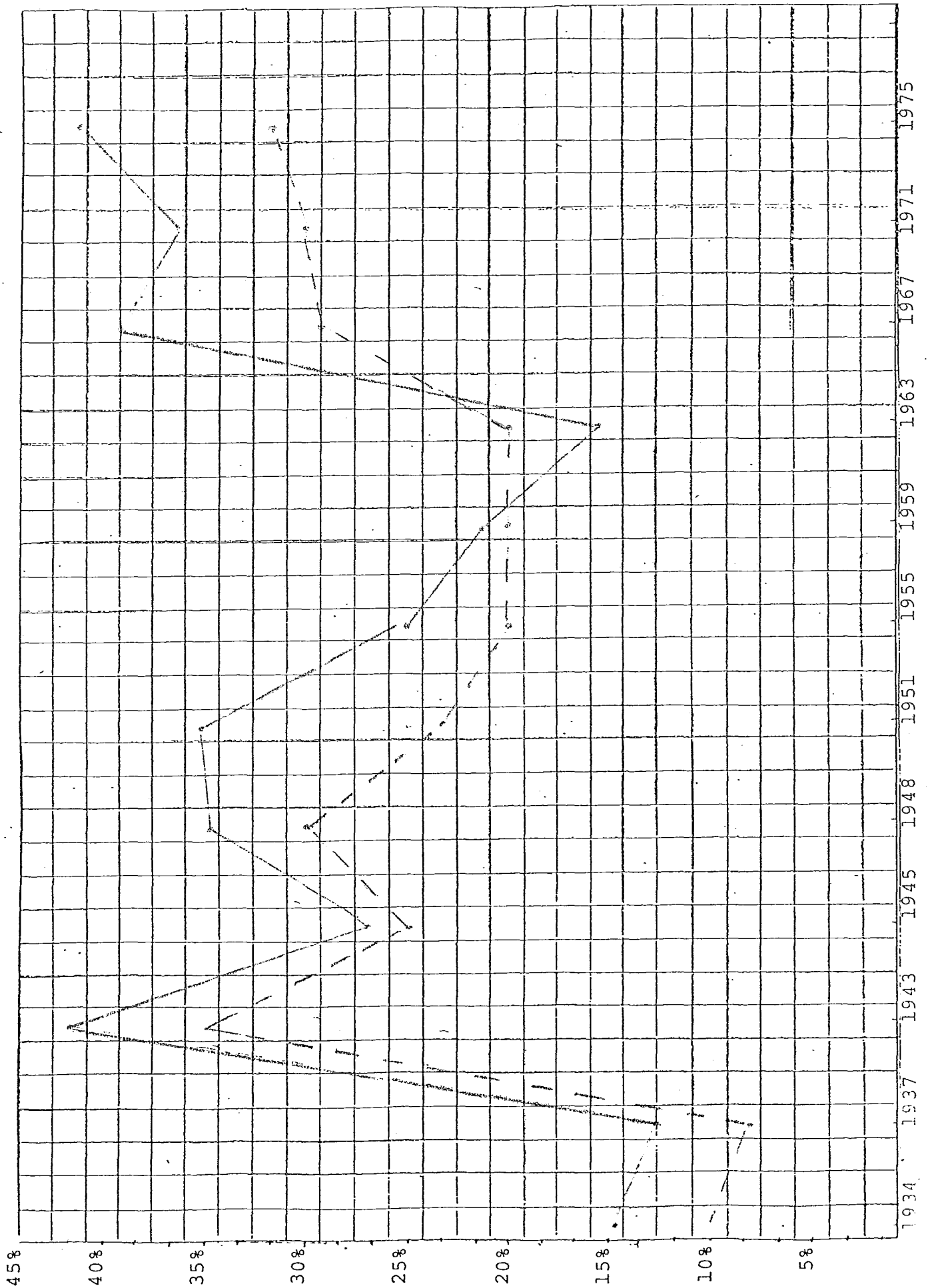
National C.C.F./N.D.P. Vote^a = -----

Brantford C.C.F./N.D.P. Vote^b = _____

^aRefer to Table 2.2 and Table 3.2.

^bJ. Murray Beck, Pendulum of Power (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1968), pp. 221, 239, 257, 273 287, 309, 327, 349, 371, 397, 419; Brantford Expositor, November 1, 1972 and July 13, 1974.

GRAPH 3.2 Percentage of Popular Vote for the C.C.F./N.D.P.
in Provincial Elections



GRAPH 3.2

Provincial C.C.F./N.D.P. Vote^a = -----

Brantford C.C.F./N.D.P.^b = _____

^aRefer to Table 2.2 and Table 3.2.

^bMartin Robin, Canadian Provincial Politics (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1972), pp. 204-205; Roderick Lewis, Chief Electoral Officer of the Province of Ontario, 1971 Ontario Election Summary From the Records, p. 1; Roderick Lewis, Chief Electoral Officer of the Province of Ontario, 1975 Ontario Election Summary From the Records, p. 1.

Elfreida Neumann, Harry Sanders, Len Padyk, Ken Pope, Deirdri Chisholm, and Margaret Robbie. (For a description of their occupational background and party positions, refer to Table 3.1, pages 112-118.) The problem the local Waffle caused was to make N.D.P. executive meetings confrontation sessions. The Waffle segment constituted "the egg-headed ivory tower dreamers; the university types who could sit down and plan and solve all the problems of the world."⁶⁹ The Waffle was more concerned with rhetoric and debating than with practical politics.

When an important vote would come up at an executive meeting, the Waffle would sometimes be dominant. That is, the "general N.D.P. centre-of-the-road group"⁷⁰ might not attend the meeting, whereas the Waffle made it a point of attending and thus swayed the meeting. At the time, the Waffle faction held many of the key positions on the local N.D.P. Executive. They professed a strong belief in the total nationalization of Canadian industry and natural resources. Whenever a call to convention came up at N.D.P. executive meetings the local party delegates would end up being predominantly Waffle. Thus, when a Waffle Resolution came on the convention floor, Brantford was represented by the Waffle. Consequently, the local party image in the eyes of the N.D.P. as a whole, came to be one of radical aberration.

The Waffle was generally a source of embarrassment to the local N.D.P. and it drove a wedge between the party infrastructure. The Waffle represented the doctrinaire, left-wing movement aspect of the party. Ideologically, the Waffle tried

TABLE 3.1 Important Brantford N.D.P. Members

NAME	PARTY POSITION ^a	OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
George Aslin	President (1960-1962) Director-at-large (1966, 1971-1974)	Labour Conciliator ^b and arbitrator
Derek Blackburn	Director-at-large (1966, 1968-1970) M.P. for Brant Riding (1971-present)	High school teacher ^c
Deidri Chisholm	Director-at-large (1971-1972, 1975)	Teacher ^d
Len Davies	Vice-president (1969) Director-at-large (1971-1972)	High school teacher ^e
Doris Dewar	Secretary (1963-1966, 1968-1970, 1973-1974) Director-at-large (1967, 1975)	Housewife and day care centre worker at "Jack and Jill" Nursery ^f
Karen George	Director-at-large (1966, 1968-1970)	Housewife and operator of "Jack and Jill" day nursery ^g
Robert Good	Vice-president (1961-1962) Candidate (1962 federal election)	Farmer ^h
Harry Guest	Election worker	Member of the Executive Board of U.A.W. Local 458--Plant unit chairman (1961-1964, 1969-1970); Vice-president (1969-1970); Guide (1965-1968); Financial Secretary Treasurer (1971-1973); President (1973-1975) ⁱ

TABLE 3.1 (cont.)

NAME	PARTY POSITION	OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
Lee Heindel	President (1967) Director-at-large (1968, 1971-1972) Treasurer (1969)	Plumber ^j
George Hess	Director-at-large (1969) Vice-presi- dent (1970-1972)	Local Businessman ^k
William Humble	Vice-president (1963-1964) Direc- tor-at-large (1965) Candidate (1963 federal election, 1963 Ontario pro- vincial election)	City fireman; Presi- dent of the Brantford Professional Fire- fighters Association, Local 460 (1965-1966); President of the Brant- ford Labour Council (1962-1963); Executive officer of the Brantford Labour Council (1961) ^l
Fred Jennings	President (1963- 1964)	Executive officer of the Brantford Labour Council (1961); First Vice-president of the Brantford Labour Council (1962-1963); President of the Brantford Labour Council (1964-1969); President of the Inter- national Union of Brewery Workers, Local 334-A (1960-1964) ^m
Orville Kerlew	Vice-president (1968-1970)	Municipal alderman for Brantford (1969-1970); ⁿ Recording Secretary of the Brantford Labour Council (1968); ^o Executive Board Member of the Brantford Labour Council (1969) ^p

TABLE 3.1 (cont.)

NAME	PARTY POSITION	OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
John Korbick	Area Director (1970)	Executive Board Member of the Brantford La- bour Council (1971) ^d
Charles MacKay	Vice-president (1966, 1968-1971) Director-at-large (1961-1964, 1974- 1975)	President of the Brant- ford Labour Council (1970); ^r President of U.A.W. Local 397 (1967- 1968); Vice-president of the Brantford Labour Council (1961); Treas- urer of the Brantford Labour Council (1973- 1975); Executive officer of the Brantford and District Labour Council (1963, 1968-1969) ^s
Mac Makarchuk	President (1966) Secretary (1967) Director-at-large (1970, 1972, 1974) M.P.P. for Brant- ford (1967-1971, 1975-present)	Municipal alderman (1972-1975); ^t Executive officer of the Brantford Labour Council (1967- 1968) ^u
John Maycock	Treasurer (1961- 1962) Secretary (1963-1964) Presi- dent (1965)	Teacher ^v
Daniel McPhee	Director-at-large (1973-1974) Vice- president (1975)	Employee of Massey- Ferguson Ltd. and plant P.E.C. Chairman (1975) ^w
William Minnery	Director-at-large (1961-1962, 1967- 1970) Vice-presi- dent (1971-1974)	Expediter; Secretary of Local 1081, Labourers' International Union of America (1974-1975) ^x
William Mowle	Secretary (1961- 1962) Vice-presi- dent (1966)	Foreman with Bell Tele- phone Limited ^y

TABLE 3.1 (cont.)

NAME	PARTY POSITION	OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
Elfreida Neumann	Director-at-large (1970)	Housewife ^z
David Neumann	Vice-president (1970)	High school teacher ^{aa}
Len Padyk	Area Director (1969-1970)	Tobacco farmer ^{bb}
Robert Papple	Director-at-large (1975)	Retired ^{cc}
Glenn Pattinson	President (1968- 1974) Director- at-large (1975)	President of the Inter- national Electrical Workers Union, Local 555 (1961-1965); Inter- national Representative of Local 555 (1972-1973); Canadian President of the I.U.E. ^{dd}
Ken Pope	Youth representa- tive (1970)	Student ^{ee}
Richard Riewe	Director-at-large (1970)	Employee at Massey- Harris Ltd. ^{ff}
Margaret Robbie	Secretary (1970- 1972) Treasurer (1973-1974)	Federal Civil Service Employee ^{gg}
Harry Sanders	Director-at-large (1969) Treasurer (1970-1972)	Local businessman- screen printer ^{hh}
Ronald Stockdale	Director-at-large (1970)	Real estate agent ⁱⁱ
Robert Taylor	Election canvas- ser	Teacher ^{jj}

TABLE 3.1 (cont.)

NAME	PARTY POSITION	OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
Issac Turner	Treasurer (1963-1964)	Secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, Local 378 (1961-1963); ^{kk} Executive officer of the Brantford Labour Council (1962) ^{ll}
Larry Wagg	Vice-president (1961-1962)	President of the Brantford Labour Council (1961) ^{mm}
Basil Young	Director-at-large (1971-1972, 1974)	Employee at Canadian Trailmobile Ltd. ⁿⁿ

^aBrantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meetings, March 9, 1965; April 18, 1966; June 20, 1967; February 25, 1968; February 2, 1969; March 10, 1970; April 14, 1971; March 9, 1972; February 18, 1973; January 27, 1974; January 21, 1975.

^bInterview with George Aslin, 2:30 p.m., May 27, 1976.

^cInterview with Derek Blackburn, 12:30 p.m., June 5, 1976.

^dVernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1971.

^eIbid., 1969.

^fInterview with Doris Dewer, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

^gInterview with Karen George, 8:00 p.m., June 7, 1976.

^hLetter from Robert Good, June 1, 1976.

ⁱU.A.W. Local 458, Executive Board Member Lists, 1961-1962; 1963-1964; 1965-1966; 1967-1968; 1971-1973; 1973-1975.

^jBrantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, February 2, 1969.

^kIbid., February 2, 1969.

- ^l Interview with William Humble, 7:00 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ^m Interview with Fred Jennings, 1:30 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ⁿ Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, February 2, 1969.
- ^o The Brantford And District Labour Council, Brantford Labour Day Souvenir Programme, 1968, p. 14.
- ^p Ibid., 1969, p. 16.
- ^q Ibid., 1971, p. 18.
- ^r Ibid., 1970, p. 15.
- ^s Ibid., 1967, p. 10; 1968, p. 16.
- ^t Interview with Mac Makarchuk, 8:00 p.m., June 6, 1976.
- ^u The Brantford And District Labour Council, Brantford Labour Day Souvenir Programme, 1967, p. 10; 1968, p. 16. Mac Makarchuk was also Secretary of Local 87, Brantford Unit of Toronto Newspaper Guild, from 1966-1967. Refer to The Brantford And District Labour Council, Brantford Labour Day Souvenir Programme, 1966, p. 12; 1967, p. 10.
- ^v Interview with John Maycock, 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976..
- ^w Obtained through the cooperation of Glenn Pattinson, September 8, 1976.
- ^x Brantford And District Labour Council, Brantford Labour Day Souvenir Programme, 1976, p. 13; 1975, p. 50.
- ^y Interview with William Mowle, 6:00 p.m., June 1, 1976.
- ^z Interview with Elfrieda Neumann, 8:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ^{aa} Interview with Dave Neumann, 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ^{bb} Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, February 2, 1969.
- ^{cc} Interview with Robert Papple, 6:30 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ^{dd} Interview with Glenn Pattinson, 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976.

- ee Vernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1970.
- ff Ibid., 1970.
- gg Ibid., 1975.
- hh Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, February 2, 1969.
- ii Vernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1970.
- jj Interview with Robert Taylor, 9:00 p.m., May 25, 1976.
- kk The Brantford And District Labour Council, Brantford Labour Day Souvenir Programme, 1961, p. 19; 1962, p. 12; 1963, p. 12.
- ll Ibid., 1962, p. 14.
- mm Ibid., 1961, p. 3.
- nn Vernon Directories Limited, City of Brantford, 1974.

to take the N.D.P. back to the days of the Regina Manifesto. So, the Waffle could be loosely regarded as the heir of the movement-oriented C.C.F. But to some extent the Waffle did contribute something positive to the party. The local N.D.P. was becoming lethargic, particularly at conventions, and there was a prevalent attitude of taking things for granted, e.g., "I don't have to do this, let someone else do it."⁷¹ To this extent, it was necessary to have groups that thought differently, such as the Waffle, in order to stimulate people to formulate their ideas. The Waffle faction provided the local party with an impetus to rejuvenation.⁷²

From the Waffle perspective, Harry Sanders' grievances against the N.D.P. involved a question of attitude because union members sometimes acted as if they were capitalists, not democratic socialists. That is, when a union member "has nothing else on his mind and he wants more money, he is just as capitalistic in his outlook as his boss."⁷³

What influenced the emergence of the Waffle in the local party organization was the belief that N.D.P.'ers were becoming "pretty good liberals."⁷⁴ The N.D.P. was ignoring its principles and scruples and generally all that made it the New Democratic Party, that is, a social democratic party, in search of political power. The Waffle said the party should have been pursuing the principles of democratic socialism: "When you are willing to suffer, then you win." It once had a policy, "based on human needs, based on human dignity."⁷⁵ It is the goal of democratic socialism to substitute for the world of compe-

tion one of co-operation. The "party element" in the N.D.P. was strongly committed to trade unionism and its involvement in party affairs, "strongly union capitalistic".⁷⁶ But "principles are principles, and you stick to them even when you are crucified."⁷⁷ Power tends to corrupt and desecrate the purity of the principles and the ideals. The Waffle said the N.D.P. fails to realize that unemployment insurance, welfare, old age pensions, etc., "are gifts of a capitalistic society"⁷⁸ designed to pacify people. Principles appeal to people and mobilize them for political action.

With the departure of the Waffle the N.D.P. lost a catalyst and "its fuel".⁷⁹ Democratic socialists are not permissive, but have strong ideals with a belief in law-and-order and laws against any criminality, "even the criminality of capitalistic aspects."⁸⁰ But the local Waffle destroyed itself because it was unwise "in [its] expressions and in accusing people."⁸¹

A series of complex and unique events led up to the eventual division between the local N.D.P. and the Waffle. After the 1965 Federal Election, Makarchuk requested David Neumann to organize a local N.D.P. Youth Group. The venture was successful because the group issued a publication known as Interchange. (See Appendix J, pages 266-79 .) It held social functions, seminars, bottle drives to procure funds for the party coffers, and generally persuaded many young people to become involved in N.D.P. affairs.⁸² There was even an N.D.P. Youth Executive. But antagonism was fomented between the estab-

lished party people and the N.D.P. Youth Group. Although the party wanted a youth group, the local N.D.P. executive did not want the youth group to be too influential within the party infrastructure.

The N.D.P. executive became hostile toward the youth group because of a fear that the youth group would displace the established local leaders and would become too vocal and embarrass the party. Therefore the party preferred to relegate the youth group to a peripheral status. The youth group wanted representatives from its own executive to sit on the N.D.P. executive.⁸³ Eventually, they were successful and Ken Pope was admitted to sit on the Brantford N.D.P. Executive in 1970 as a youth representative.⁸⁴ But by doing so, a great deal of controversy was raised.⁸⁵

In September of 1969 a general membership meeting was held to vote on resolutions for the October 28-31, Federal Convention in Winnipeg. Numerous resolutions were drafted and approved at the meeting, including the provisions of the Waffle Manifesto.⁸⁶ Immediately thereafter, charges were levied at N.D.P. executive meetings to the effect that the N.D.P. Youth Group had dominated the vote and had "packed the meeting"⁸⁷ in favour of the Waffle Manifesto. But this was inaccurate because the youth group itself was divided on the issue of the Waffle Manifesto. Although the majority of its members voted for its provisions, at least four voted against it.⁸⁸ There was an element of fear in the attitude of those N.D.P.'ers who were opposed to the Waffle Manifesto because ". . . it was

something new, something different, too radical . . . it's gonna embarrass the party . . . the youth was kinda packing the meeting . . . Dave Neumann's organizing the youth to take over the party in Brantford."⁸⁹

Mac Makarchuk became exceedingly hostile to the Waffle. He went so far as to travel to Toronto to inform Stephen Lewis about the local chain of events. As a matter of fact, Brantford became one of the first constituencies in Canada to pass the provisions of the Waffle Manifesto.⁹⁰

Approximately three weeks after the September 1969 meeting, another was held at the Brantford Building Trades Hall for the purpose of electing delegates to the Winnipeg Convention and to resolve whether the local organization should pay the expenses of those delegates who could not afford to pay for themselves. But people such as Glenn Pattinson expressed the opinion that the Federal Convention was meaningless because there was no leadership contest at stake.⁹¹ Ultimately it was resolved to pay the travelling expenses of those delegates who could not afford to do so. Four out of five delegates supported the provisions of the Waffle Manifesto. But perhaps more significantly, Stephen Lewis, the guest speaker at the meeting, launched an unprecedented verbal onslaught against the constituency organization for endorsing the principles of the Waffle Manifesto.⁹² This attack occurred prior to the splitting-off of the Waffle as an autonomous organization in Brantford.

One problem of the local N.D.P. organization was that it was moribund. As a result, the Waffle believed that a debate about the future course of the party was necessary in order to provide the stimulus for re-invigoration. The Waffle element regarded itself as a caucus within the N.D.P. lobbying for certain ideas. It disputed the concept that the N.D.P. was simply an election machine which emerged at election time, fielded candidates, sponsored a few social functions and renewed memberships in the interim, and then went into hibernation. The Waffle maintained that the party should be sponsoring policy conferences, issuing press releases, taking a positive stand on community issues, and generally that activity should not be confined to fighting elections. The N.D.P. should become a community leader. But the so-called "old guard" (Glenn Pattinson, George Aslin, Mac Makarchuk, and others)⁹³ were resentful of the Waffle faction because it was perceived as a threat to their party positions.

At the January 1970 N.D.P. executive meeting, a motion was approved that called for the fielding of party-endorsed municipal candidates in the December 7, 1970 municipal elections in Brantford.⁹⁴ According to the Waffle, politics had to begin at the community level. By and large, municipal politics in Brantford had become non-competitive with numerous acclamations. Rarely did anyone choose to oppose Brantford Mayor, Richard Beckett. The strategy behind the running of party-sponsored municipal candidates was to oppose the local non-N.D.P. politicians and to further strengthen the party organi-

zation for future electoral contests; federal, provincial, or municipal.

Those who ran under the party banner included David Neumann for mayor; Charles Mackay and Len Davies as aldermen for Ward 1; Richard Rieve as alderman and Ray Tolhurst for P.U.C. in Ward 2; George Hess and Orville Kerlew (incumbent) as aldermen and William Minnery, for P.U.C. in Ward 3; Deirdri Chisholm and John Korbick as aldermen and Tom Bratton for P.U.C. in Ward 4; and Harry Sanders as alderman for Ward 5; and Claudia Carver, Harry Guest, and Daniel McPhee for Board of Education. In all, there were a total of twenty-five positions to be filled.⁹⁵ A committee was then established to implement the proposal. But many of the "old guard"⁹⁶ were infuriated by the decision and refused to assist with the task of running the municipal campaign. They took an attitude of "it was your idea, you got the membership to support it, you implement it."⁹⁷ Subsequently, a booklet was compiled which contained the policies and platforms of the party candidates, as well as a constitution of the Brantford N.D.P. Ward Association. (See Appendices K, pages 280-300 and L, page 301.)

The party's goal was to make the 1970 Brantford Municipal Elections an issue-oriented affair and not simply, "Joe Smith versus Harry Brown I'm a member of the Jaycees."⁹⁸ But when it came to choosing a candidate to contest the position of mayor, a split ensued between David Neumann and Ronald Stockdale. Stockdale lost out in his bid to secure the mayoral

candidacy to David Neumann. Stockdale initially pledged to throw his lot behind David Neumann, but later he reneged. He issued a press release a week later and announced that he would be running as an independent against Neumann. This rift of course impaired the party's chances for success in the municipal contest because Stockdale took along with him other party people such as Margaret Robbie. To further complicate matters, the "old guard", those who had had considerable experience at running elections,⁹⁹ were adamantly opposed to lending assistance to the candidates. Consequently, the great majority of those who ran under the party banner were novices.

The N.D.P. opponents to the party slate of municipal candidates, such as Alderman George Ludlow, employed a strategy which attacked "the big party machine" participation on the municipal level.¹⁰⁰ They charged that the party-endorsed candidates were simply party hacks dictated to from Toronto. Toward the end of the campaign, when most of the groundwork had been completed, some of the "old guard"¹⁰¹ began to lend assistance on a limited basis, primarily because they saw that the entire venture had not collapsed as they had hoped. As well, they were keenly aware that if the party fared that poorly, it would cast an unfavourable reflection on the party in subsequent elections. Therefore, it was fundamentally a question of expediency to do the best they could with what they had. But the outcome was disastrous, as indicated by Table 3.3, pages 126-127. The party-endorsed candidates received a mere eleven percent of the total vote polled, thereby losing

TABLE 3.3 Official Tally of the December 7, 1970 Brantford
Municipal Election(s)^a

POSITION	CANDIDATES
City Mayoralty ^b	Howard Winter (54.8%) Ronald Stockdale (18.1%) *David Neumann (12.9%) Maurice Sussman (10.6%) Kenneth McColeman (3.4%)
City Council - Ward 1 ^b	Andrew Donaldson (39.2%) Howard Jones (32.3%) Arthur Kelly (17.6%) *Charles MacKay (10.7%)
- Ward 2 ^b	Robert Moore (29.2%) Arthur Stanbridge (21.1%) Andy McDonald (18.7%) Rae Gazer (15.8%) *Len Davies (10.6%) *Richard Riewe (4.2%)
- Ward 3 ^b	Howard Minard (34.1%) Victor Symes (26.8%) *Orville Kerlew (18.2%) Gordon Papple (10.7%) *George Hess (6.5%) David Guy (3.4%)
- Ward 4 ^b	Charles Ward (27.6%) Hazel Devereux (23.2%) Patrick Luciani (19.8%) *Deirdri Chisholm (12.5%) George Emsley (7.0%) *John Korbick (5.3%) Richard Fair (4.4%)
- Ward 5 ^b	Charles Bowen (45.4%) Norman Ford (17.9%) Frank Hader (13.4%) Allan Hughes (13.3%) *Harry Sanders (10.6%)

TABLE 3.3 (cont.)

POSITION	CANDIDATES
Brantford Public Utilities Commission	
- Ward 1 ^b	Bruce Forbes (acclamation)
- Ward 2 ^b	William Dickens (37.2%) Ted Donald (36.1%) *Ray Tolhurst (26.5%)
- Ward 3 ^b	Jack Wratten Jr. (68.4%) *William Minnery (31.5%)
- Ward 4 ^b	John Turvey (52.6%) *Tom Bratton (23.8%) John Lemay (23.6%)
- Ward 5 ^b	Roy Guscott (acclamation)
Brant County Board of Education - City of Brantford ^b	Mary Welsh (9.3%) Gordon Cook (9.2%) Henry Hagey (8.8%) Jack MacDonald (7.0%) John Castle (6.9%) Donald Dowden (6.0%) John Dundass (5.7%) Edward Pass (5.6%) Freeman Farrington (5.3%) Jack Harris (5.3%) Kenneth Coles (5.2%) Harold Stibbards (5.0%) John Lewis (4.7%) Guy Price (3.5%) *Claudia Carver (3.3%) *Harry Guest (3.2%) Alexander Muir (2.0%) Robert Lester (1.9%) Jack Philpott (1.3%)
- Separate School Representative on the Board ^b	Grace Manese (53.7%) *Daniel McPhee (46.2%)

*N.D.P. Candidates

^a Brantford Expositor, Wednesday, December 9, 1970, p. 21.^b Ibid., Saturday, November 21, 1970, p. 11.

twenty-five percent of those who voted for the N.D.P. in the previous Federal Election of 1968. Not a single candidate was elected on the party ticket.¹⁰²

Perhaps certain questions must be raised when a party fields candidates on the municipal level. What role is there for politics in deciding, for example, on a sewer extension or a park programme? Could not a divisive partisan debate impede the Council's capacity to govern in the interests of the entire community? It is naive to assume that the electorate will support a party slate. It won't, unless it believes that it will constitute an improvement over non-affiliated candidates. Significantly, the local N.D.P. was divided over the wisdom of the manoeuvre. However, the formal participation of the N.D.P. on the municipal level stimulated concern in local government, which had been lacking before. Since then, there has not been an acclamation on the municipal level. Finally, one of the more positive aspects of the party's formal municipal involvement was the recruitment into the N.D.P. of many new faces, from contacts made during the campaign.

Until 1971, there was no local Waffle organization as such in the N.D.P., although there were individual Waffle sympathizers. In 1971, the Federal N.D.P. Leadership Convention, the Brant By-Election, and the Ontario Provincial Election occurred. At the instigation of David and Elfrieda Neumann, who were assigned the task of renewing party memberships, Deirdri Chisholm approached Derek Blackburn for the express purpose of renewing his party membership.¹⁰³ After considerable

coaxing, Blackburn was persuaded to renew, but with the stipulation that in the forthcoming Federal By-Election, all he would have to do would be to appoint the election enumerators. Because Blackburn had polled second place in the 1960 Federal Election, this was his prerogative, and it was his intention to appoint some of his acquaintances from the town of Paris.¹⁰⁴ (See Appendix M, page 302.) At the same time, he was strongly opposed to running under the N.D.P. banner in the 1971 contest.

In the meantime, at the Federal N.D.P. Leadership Convention, Makarchuk tried to persuade John Harney to run as a parachute candidate in the local by-election.¹⁰⁵ Makarchuk was being somewhat presumptuous because he made this request of Harney before he was forced out of the leadership race. Following the leadership convention, an emergency meeting of the Brantford N.D.P. Executive was called to decide upon a candidate in the forthcoming federal by-election. Ultimately Blackburn was persuaded to run, but only under pressure from Federal N.D.P. Headquarters in Ottawa. David Lewis had just been selected as party leader and consequently the federal by-election would serve as a testing ground for his credibility as party chief. It was imperative for the national party to see to it that an appropriate candidate was chosen to carry the local N.D.P. banner. Additionally, a latent threat was made by the national party office to the effect that no money would come from the Ottawa coffers nor the necessary manpower to assist in the by-election unless Blackburn secured the party nomination.¹⁰⁶ In contacting various party members in

order to amass support for his candidature, David Neumann was confronted with the excuse that unless rank-and-file support was thrown behind Blackburn, the local party would not receive financial assistance or manpower from the federal party or the trade unions. Some person or persons unknown, had taken the liberty of impressing upon all concerned that under no circumstances could Derek Blackburn be defeated for the party nomination. But interestingly, the rules of the nomination procedure had been conveniently altered at Blackburn's nomination. Customarily, one had to be a party member for a specified length of time prior to becoming eligible to vote at a nomination meeting or one had to renew his membership before he could vote. But these rules were modified on this occasion so that anyone could literally "renew their membership at the door".¹⁰⁷ The party sought out those people who, for years, could not be successfully approached to renew their memberships because the party was afraid that a Waffle sympathizer might win the nomination.

After the federal leadership convention and the Brant By-Election, the "Lewis Dynasty"¹⁰⁸ directed its energies against the Waffle and its sympathizers presumably because James Laxer had made too powerful a showing during the leadership race. From 1971-1972, there was a great deal of animosity within the local party because "Stephen Lewis started his axe swinging".¹⁰⁹ The Waffle retorted with the argument that there were other groups within the N.D.P. that communicate with each other between conventions. For example, the Waffle contended

that organized labour constituted a faction within the party that communicates extensively and which is very influential at conventions. The Waffle argued a "double-standard"¹¹⁰ was being used.

One of the activities engaged in by the Waffle was to lend assistance to workers in strikes by joining them on the picket lines. During the Brantford Texpack Strike a number of Wafflers from Toronto and other centres came down to lend moral support to the strikers. Simultaneously, David Neumann and the Brantford N.D.P. Executive were preoccupied with making preparations for the 1971 provincial contest in Brant Riding against Robert Nixon and were, therefore, unable to become actively involved with the Texpack situation. In the meantime, George Hess, Lee Heindel, and others who were both N.D.P.'ers and sympathizers of the Canadian Communist Party,¹¹¹ took it upon themselves to establish an autonomous local Brantford Waffle organization. Hess advertised a Waffle meeting in The Tribune, the official publication of the Canadian Communist Party. Neumann immediately reported the matter to James Laxer and Mel Watkins because the Waffle and the Communist Party were "at loggerheads"¹¹² on numerous issues. Furthermore, the Waffle could ill afford to have one of its own groups advertising in a Communist publication because it could easily be employed by David Lewis and the N.D.P. hierarchy as political ammunition against them. Neumann was thereby requested by both Laxer and Watkins to rectify the problem created by Hess. He subsequently created a legitimate Waffle organization in

Brantford. The Waffle was on the defensive and was trying to defend its position within the N.D.P. because it was threatened with expulsion.

In summary, the Brantford N.D.P. Executive believed that an election could never be won on a Waffle platform. They feared that by raising the issue of independence, the Waffle would "strike pretty close to home on trade unions, the American trade unions in Canada".¹¹³ When the Waffle emphasized the issue of American control of Canadian culture and economy, the N.D.P. would ultimately be compelled to come to grips with the labour question, the stark reality of American labour union domination of Canadian unions. When the Waffle launched attacks on the labour movement at N.D.P. Conventions, people such as Dennis McDermott and David Lewis became very concerned. McDermott once maintained that the Waffle was comprised largely of "social misfits".¹¹⁴ After all, by raising the union issue, the Waffle was striking at the very heart of the N.D.P.

Locally, most party people despised the Waffle element on a personal basis. Those who were local Waffle sympathizers were the same people who had managed the municipal campaign of December 1970. After the 1971 provincial contest the Waffle issue achieved local prominence. Once Stephen Lewis began to attack the Waffle with all his force as party leader, then the general tendency was to say, "obviously what the leader says is gospel, then obviously there's something wrong, we gotta support that".¹¹⁵ In Brantford the Waffle supported the party, it was active on membership drives, it organized policy

meetings, and so forth. Those who were Waffle sympathizers in Brantford were not Wafflers in the organized sense. It was, therefore, rather difficult for the "old guard"¹¹⁶ to mount an offensive against them. They needed an excuse, which Stephen Lewis provided. Subsequently, the local Waffle formed an autonomous organization and functioned as such from 1972-1974. Membership was meagre--eighteen members as of March 20, 1973; seventeen members as of November 15, 1973; and eighteen members as of January 20, 1974.¹¹⁷ The Waffle also sponsored policy meetings and debates with such personalities as Bruce Kidd, John Maclean, John Richards, James Laxer, and others as guest speakers. As well, its financial position was weak, a bank balance of \$11.69 as of September 17, 1974 and \$31.69 as of October 2, 1974.¹¹⁸

The Communists

The policies of the N.D.P. differ from those of the Communist Party in that they constitute an attitude of appeasement--"we'll bargain . . . we'll buy them out . . . we'll try and see what we can do".¹¹⁹ The Communist Party did not want to ameliorate the plight of the Canadian worker through normal democratic channels. Some of the N.D.P. Waffle group is programmed much closer in outlook to the programme of the Communist Party. The Waffle endorsed socialism, at least socialism as a variety of government wherein the means of production would be placed in the hands of the working class. But the Waffle

never intended to inaugurate change through revolutionary means. It debated the issue to a large extent and sought to assimilate the more leftist groups such as the Communist Party, and ultimately transform the Waffle faction into a political party. The Communist Party encouraged the Waffle to remain a part of the N.D.P. and strive toward shifting the party further to the left. The Communists frowned upon the Waffle decision to separate from the N.D.P. The Waffle became analagous to a voice crying in the wilderness with neither the potential to organize an effective political machine nor the capability of attracting an attentive electorate.

The Communist Party in Brantford has a current card-carrying membership of approximately 30-35 members and a bank balance of roughly \$100.00.¹²⁰ From 1968-1969 the local party was at its zenith with roughly fifty card-carrying members and an approximate bank balance of \$500.00.¹²¹ The party is currently at its nadir because "times are good" and "the antagonism against the party, the propaganda, is severe".¹²² Ontario Communist Party Leader, William Stewart, maintains that the N.D.P. is currently under the control of its right wing but that "underneath are forces striving for fundamental solutions".¹²³ It is the party's belief that it can invigorate the left and centre of the N.D.P. and isolate the right wing. For the future, the Communist Party believes that as popular cynicism and frustration continue to mount, an anti-monopoly coalition will emerge composed of the Communist Party, the N.D.P., dis-

enchanted Liberals, and trade unionists.¹²⁴

Party Finance

Aside from memberships, the Brantford N.D.P.'s major source of revenue has been the 400 Club Draw. This is simply a club of 400 individuals who, for a fee of \$10.00, the party awards five weekly prizes of \$20.00 for ten weeks. In the eleventh week, the party awards a grand prize of \$1,000.00 and four secondary prizes of \$50.00. As Table 3.4 (page 136) indicates, the 400 Club Draws were productive.¹²⁵

Finally, in a contest sponsored by the area constituencies of Kitchener, Perth, Wellington South, Waterloo North, Brantford, and Waterloo South, five trophies were awarded for: (A) the highest membership, (B) the highest finances, (C) the top canvassers, (D) the highest percentage increase over 1967 in terms of finances, and (E) the highest percentage increase over 1967 in terms of membership. The contest ran from January 31, 1968 to April 30, 1968. The tentative 1968 targets set by the Brantford N.D.P. in terms of membership and finances were 400 members and \$2,400.00, respectively.¹²⁶ As well, the award for the top individual canvasser went to Charles Mackay of Brantford. Table 3.7 (page 140) indicates the outcome of the contest for the Brantford N.D.P., from July 31, 1967 to April 30, 1968, in terms of categories (A), (B), (D), and (E).¹²⁷ The Brantford N.D.P. succeeded in winning every trophy except for the highest membership. Data is simply insufficient and unreliable in order to produce a table indicating Brantford

TABLE 3.4 Money Raised From 400 Club Draws,
January 1972 - December 1974^a

DATE	AMOUNT - (\$)
January 30, 1972	2,338.06
April 11, 1972	3,378.00
May 9, 1972	2,400.00
June 5, 1972	2,604.00
January 18, 1973	1,200.00
April 12, 1973	2,869.00
February 13, 1974	3,764.00
April 11, 1974	2,000.00
December 23, 1974	3,774.00
TOTAL:	\$24,327.06

^aBrantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meetings, January 30, 1972; April 11, 1971; May 9, 1972; June 5, 1972; January 18, 1973; April 12, 1973; February 13, 1974; April 11, 1974; December 27, 1974.

TABLE 3.5 Funds Derived From N.D.P. Memberships,
June 1970 - May 1973^a

DATE	MEMBERSHIP	AMOUNT (\$)
June 1, 1970	214	766.50
August 10, 1970	289	1,043.50
November 30, 1970	34	146.00
March 31, 1971	128	1,266.40
May 31, 1971	327	2,075.60
January 31, 1972	48	280.00
February 28, 1973	175	1,561.00
May 31, 1973	329	2,635.40
TOTAL:		\$9,694.40

^aProvincial N.D.P., The New Democratic Party of Ontario--
Membership and Finance Reports, June 1, 1970, p. 2; August
10, 1970, p. 2; November 30, 1970, p. 2; March 31, 1971,
p. 2; May 31, 1971, p. 2; January 31, 1972, p. 2; February
28, 1973, p. 2; May 31, 1973, p. 2.

TABLE 3.6 N.D.P. Campaign Budgets in Brantford,
June 1962 - September 1975

ELECTION DATE	BUDGET - (\$)
June 18, 1962 (Federal)	3,350.00 ^a
April 8, 1963 (Federal)	3,500.00 ^b
September 25, 1963 (Provincial)	3,000.00 ^c
November 8, 1965 (Federal)	5,167.00 ^d
October 17, 1967 (Provincial)	10,000.00 ^e
June 25, 1968 (Federal)	14,000.00 ^f
June 1, 1971 (Federal By-election)	19,000.00 ^g
October 21, 1971 (Provincial)	9,120.00 ^h
October 31, 1972 (Federal)	7,477.00 ⁱ
July 12, 1974 (Federal)	12,500.00 ^j
September 18, 1975 (Provincial)	17,500.00 ^k

^aTelephone Conversation with Robert Good, September 9, 1976.

^bTelephone Conversation with George Aslin, September 10, 1976.

^cIbid., September 10, 1976.

^dBrantford N.D.P., Minutes of Special Election Meeting, September 24, 1965.

^eBrantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, February 9, 1967.

^fObtained through the cooperation of Glenn Pattinson, September 10, 1976.

^gIbid., September 10, 1976.

^hBrantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, July 16, 1971.

ⁱBrantford N.D.P., Final Election Statement of the Brantford Riding N.D.P. Party, October 31, 1972.

^jIbid., July 12, 1974.

^kObtained through the cooperation of Glenn Pattinson, September 10, 1976.

TABLE 3.7 Results of 1968 Membership Drive^a

DATE	FINANCES	MEMBERSHIP
July 31, 1967	\$1,151.00	211
January 31, 1968	25.00	31
April 30, 1968	2,083.00	240

^aBrantford N.D.P., President's Report For 1968, p. 1.

N.D.P. membership on a yearly basis.

Concluding Remarks

The relationship of the party/movement theme to the N.D.P. era may be explained in the following manner. Whereas the movement aspect was an integral component of the local C.C.F.'s existence, the party aspect took precedence during the N.D.P. era. The movement provided C.C.F.'ers with a psychological refuge from electoral defeat. During the N.D.P. era the chief preoccupation became the attainment of political power. With each election loss, the party strove more diligently to win in subsequent contests. Graphs 3.1 (page 107) and 3.2 (page 109), and Tables 3.2 (page 93), 3.4 (page 136), 3.5 (page 137), 3.6 (page 138) and 3.7 (page 140) suggest that these efforts were increasingly rewarded.

The emergence of the Waffle element represented an ideological reaction against the party-orientation of the Brantford N.D.P. The growing nationalism among academics, students, teachers, journalists, and others, may be explained as a spillover effect from the student demonstrations and Vietnam War protests in the United States. The Waffle was seemingly out of place in the 1970's. It sought to assert itself at a time when the party element was firmly dominant. The Waffle clamoured for intrinsic change through radical means, radical to the extent that it evoked the hostility of the "old guard".¹²⁸ The Waffle represented the movement aspect of the party with its high intellectual caliber and doctrinaire socialism.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the Waffle was more than a movement in the way the C.C.F. was a movement. Locally, Wafflers could not sit back and wallow in self-pity. The N.D.P. did not constitute a psychological outlet for electoral defeat as it did during the C.C.F. era because the N.D.P. was enjoying increasing success at the polls. Ultimately, the Waffle chose expulsion rather than subjection to the electorally successful party-oriented N.D.P. of the 1970's.

It has been established that the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P. failed to make electoral progress until the advent of the Makarchuk-Blackburn era (1965-present). Even when the local C.C.F. fielded labour candidates (Reginald Cooper, Jack Gillies, Clare Easto) it did not succeed in shaking its losing streak. Members of the local labour unions were reluctant to support party candidates whose socio-economic status was no better than their own. It was generally believed that if the party could run candidates who were in a better socio-economic position than the party rank-and-file, other people, both deferential workers and middle-class voters, might be persuaded to vote for them.

It may be argued that since the occupational backgrounds of both Mac Makarchuk and Derek Blackburn deal with communication skills (journalism and teaching) they are in a better position to establish political rapport with the electorate. As middle-class communicators, they possess the ability to appeal to local labour while at the same time not alienating the members of their own class.

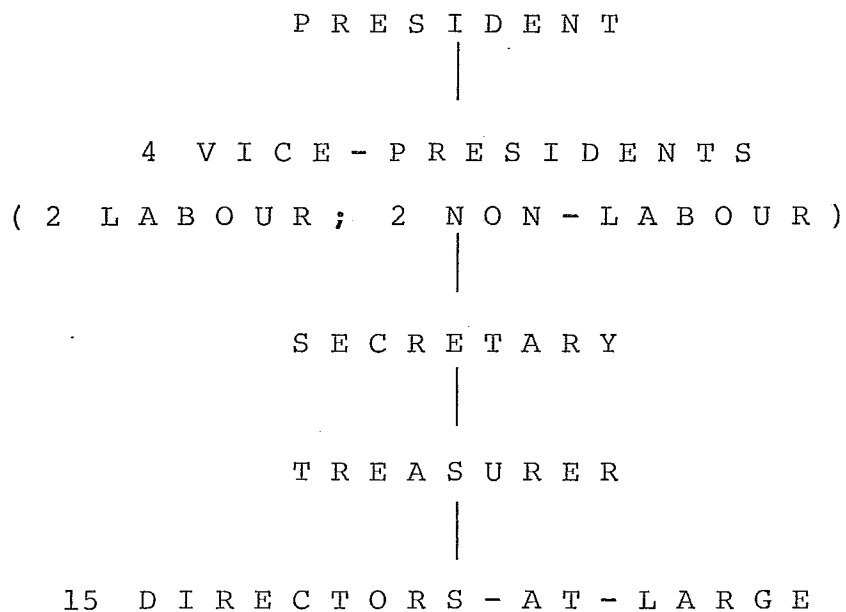
Both Makarchuk and Blackburn could hardly be regarded as doctrinaire fanatics. They have the ability to command the support of local labour by being well-educated and thus more respectable to the deferential members of the working-class. By virtue of their socio-economic status, they escape labour's contemptuous attitude toward party candidates who are members of their own class, while at the same time lending a sympathetic ear to labour's problems. The Makarchuk-Blackburn era may be said to represent the ushering in of a trend towards professionalization in context of the Brantford N.D.P.

Table 3.4 (Money Raised From 400 Club Draws), 3.5 (Funds Derived From N.D.P. Membership), and 3.7 (Results of 1968 Membership Drive), all suggest a new, pragmatic approach to politics by the Brantford N.D.P. The 400 Club Draw in particular constitutes an innovative method of procuring funds for the local party coffers. Tables 3.5 and 3.7 indicate a trend toward the expansion of the party's grass-roots base. Finally, Table 3.6 (N.D.P. Campaign Budgets in Brantford) suggests a greater preoccupation with fighting elections, as substantiated by the growth in campaign budgets.

In terms of the Brantford N.D.P., the Makarchuk-Blackburn era witnessed the emergence of the party-oriented right-wing over the movement-oriented left-wing. Ideologically, the Brantford N.D.P. has more or less accommodated itself to capitalism. This was reflected in persuading the left-wing Waffle element to leave the party. No political party can

hope to gain credibility in a political culture based on the 'myth of classlessness' without softening its class-based ideology. Whereas Table 2.1 (pages 70-73) suggested that the Brantford C.C.F. had a predominantly working-class profile, Table 3.1 (pages 112-118) strongly suggests that the Brantford N.D.P. has more of a middle-class profile. Having come to the realization that class is a weak determinant of party support, the Brantford N.D.P.'s role would seem to be one of reducing class conflict in favour of moderation of party policy. In contrast with the C.C.F., the Brantford N.D.P. has concentrated its resources on constituency and poll organization, assuming that superior electoral organization will balance the costly election campaigns of the Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties. More simply put, the managerial strategy of the Brantford N.D.P. emphasizes electoral organization over the development of socialist policy options.

CHART 3.1 General Structure of the Brantford N.D.P.
Executive as of 1975^a



^aBrantford N.D.P., Minutes of Annual Meeting, January 20, 1975.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹The Representation Act, 1933, 23-24 George V, Chapter 24.

²Ibid., 1947, II George VI, Chapter 71.

³Ibid., 1952, I Elizabeth II, Chapter 48.

⁴The Electoral Boundaries Readjustment Act, 1964, 10 Elizabeth II, Chapter 31.

⁵Ibid., 1970, R.S.C. 1970, Chapter E-2.

⁶Ibid., 1964-1965, R.S.C. 1970, Chapter E-2, amended by Chapters 10, 23, 25, and 28, Statutes of Canada 1974-75.

⁷The Representation Act, 1933, 23 George V, C. 56, Bill Number 125.

⁸Ibid., 1966, Elizabeth II, C. 137, Bill Number 92.

⁹Interview with William Minnery, 8:30 p.m., June 4, 1976.

¹⁰Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

¹¹Federal N.D.P., New Democratic Party: The Story of its Foundation (The New Democratic Party of Canada, 301 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa), p. 2.

¹²Interview with John Maycock, 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976.

¹³Interview with William Humble, 7:00 p.m., May 31, 1976.

¹⁴Interview with Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

¹⁵Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

¹⁶Interview with Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

¹⁷Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

¹⁸Interview with Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

¹⁹Ibid., 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

²⁰Ibid., 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (cont'd)

- ²¹Ibid., 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ²²Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Open Meeting at the Brantford Y.M.-Y.W.C.A., September 14, 1965.
- ²³Interview with Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ²⁴Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ²⁵Ibid., 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ²⁶Interview with Derek Blackburn, 12:30 p.m., June 5, 1976.
- ²⁷Interview with Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- ²⁸Interview with Karen George, 8:00 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ²⁹Ibid., 8:00 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ³⁰Ibid., 8:00 p.m., June 7, 1976.
- ³¹Interview with John Maycock, 10:00 a.m., June 10, 1976.
- ³²Letter from Robert Good, June 1, 1976.
- ³³Ibid., June 1, 1976.
- ³⁴Interview with William Humble, 7:00 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ³⁵Interview with William Humble, 7:00 p.m., May 31, 1976.
- ³⁶Interview with William Humble, 7:00 p.m., May 31, 1976; Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976; William Minnery, 8:30 p.m., June 4, 1976.
- ³⁷Interview with Mac Makarchuk, 8:00 p.m., June 6, 1976.
- ³⁸Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Special Election Meeting, September 24, 1965.
- ³⁹Interview with Glenn Pattinson, 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976.
- ⁴⁰Interview with Mac Makarchuk, 8:00 p.m., June 6, 1976.
- ⁴¹Ibid., 8:00 p.m., June 6, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (cont'd)

⁴²"Text of Judge Leach's Welfare Inquiry Report," The Brantford Expositor, Wednesday, November 5, 1969, p. 5.

⁴³Interview with Karen George, 8:00 p.m., June 7, 1976.

⁴⁴Interview with William Minnery, 8:30 p.m., June 4, 1976. William Minnery conducted his own investigation into the local welfare situation.

⁴⁵Ibid., 8:30 p.m., June 4, 1976.

⁴⁶Interview with Karen George, 8:00 p.m., June 7, 1976.

⁴⁷Interview with Mac Makarchuk, 8:00 p.m., June 6, 1976.

⁴⁸Ibid., 8:00 p.m., June 6, 1976.

⁴⁹"Text of Judge Leach's Welfare Inquiry Report", Brantford Expositor, Wednesday, November 5, 1969, p. 5.

⁵⁰Interview with Glenn Pattinson, 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976.

⁵¹Ibid., 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976.

⁵²Ibid., 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976. The Ontario Waffle, For a Socialist Ontario in an Independent Socialist Canada (Resolutions proposed for the Ontario N.D.P. Party Convention, October 1970), pp. 1-6; Globe and Mail, October 12, 1971, pp. 4-5; October 15, 1971, p. 8.

⁵³Ibid., 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976.

⁵⁴Ibid., 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976.

⁵⁵Brantford N.D.P., President's Report For 1971, p. 4.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 4.

⁵⁷Interview with Mac Makarchuk, 8:00 p.m., June 6, 1976.

⁵⁸Ibid., June 6, 1976.

⁵⁹Desmond Morton, N.D.P.: The Dream of Power (Toronto: Habbart, 1975), p. 90.

⁶⁰Interview with Elfrieda Neumann, 8:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (cont'd)

1976. ⁶¹Interview with Glenn Pattinson, 8:00 p.m., May 28,

⁶²Ibid., 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976.

⁶³Ibid., 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976.

1976. ⁶⁴Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2,

1976. ⁶⁵Interview with Glenn Pattinson, 8:00 p.m., May 28,

⁶⁶Ibid., 8:00 p.m., May 28, 1976.

1976. ⁶⁷Interview with Glenn Pattinson, 8:00 p.m., May 28,

⁶⁸Interview with Karen George, 8:00 p.m., June 7, 1976.

1976. ⁶⁹Interview with Glenn Pattinson, 8:00 p.m., May 28,

⁷⁰Interview with Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

1976. ⁷¹Interview with Glenn Pattinson, 8:00 p.m., May 28,

⁷²Interview with Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

⁷³Interview with Harry Sanders, 10:30 a.m., June 1, 1976.

⁷⁴Ibid., 10:30 a.m. June 1, 1976.

⁷⁵Ibid., 10:30 a.m., June 1, 1976.

⁷⁶Ibid., 10:30 a.m., June 1, 1976.

⁷⁷Ibid., 10:30 a.m., June 1, 1976.

⁷⁸Ibid., 10:30 a.m., June 1, 1976.

⁷⁹Ibid., 10:30 a.m., June 1, 1976.

⁸⁰Ibid., 10:30 a.m., June 1, 1976.

⁸¹Ibid., 10:30 a.m., June 1, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (cont'd)

- ⁸²Interview with Dave Neumann, 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁸³Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, March 18, 1969.
- ⁸⁴Interview with Dave Neumann, 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁸⁵Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Annual Meeting, February 9, 1969.
- ⁸⁶Ibid., September 23, 1969.
- ⁸⁷Interview with Dave Neumann, 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁸⁸Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁸⁹Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁹⁰Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁹¹Interview with Elfrieda Neumann, 8:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁹²Interview with Dave Neumann, 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁹³Interview with Elfrieda Neumann, 8:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁹⁴Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, January 5, 1970.
- ⁹⁵Brantford Expositor, Saturday, December 5, 1970, p. 29.
- ⁹⁶Interview with Elfrieda Neumann, 8:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁹⁷Ibid., 8:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁹⁸Interview with Dave Neumann, 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ⁹⁹Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ¹⁰¹Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- ¹⁰²Brantford Expositor, Wednesday, December 9, 1970, p. 21.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (cont'd)

- 103 Interview with Dave Neumann, 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 104 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 105 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 106 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 107 Interview with Elfrieda Neumann, 8:00 p.m., June 8,
1976.
- 108 Time Magazine, May 3, 1971, pp. 6-10.
- 109 Interview with Dave Neumann, 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 110 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 111 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 112 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 113 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 114 Interview with Harry Sanders, 10:30 a.m., June 1,
1976.
- 115 Interview with Dave Neumann, 8:00 p.m., June 8, 1976.
- 116 Interview with Elfrieda Neumann, 8:00 p.m., June 8,
1976.
- 117 Brantford Waffle, Minutes of Executive Meetings,
March 20, 1973; November 15, 1973; January 20, 1974.
- 118 Ibid., September 17, 1974; October 2, 1974.
- 119 Interview with Canadian Communist Party Leader
William Small, 7:00 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- 120 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- 121 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- 122 Ibid., 7:00 p.m., June 2, 1976.
- 123 Brantford Expositor, April 12, 1976.
- 124 Ibid., April 12, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (cont'd)

¹²⁵Brantford N.D.P., President's Report For 1971, p. 3.

¹²⁶Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting,
January 29, 1968.

¹²⁷Ibid., January 29, 1968.

¹²⁸Interview with Elfrieda Neumann, 8:00 p.m., June 8,
1976.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTY/LABOUR RELATIONSHIP

Introduction

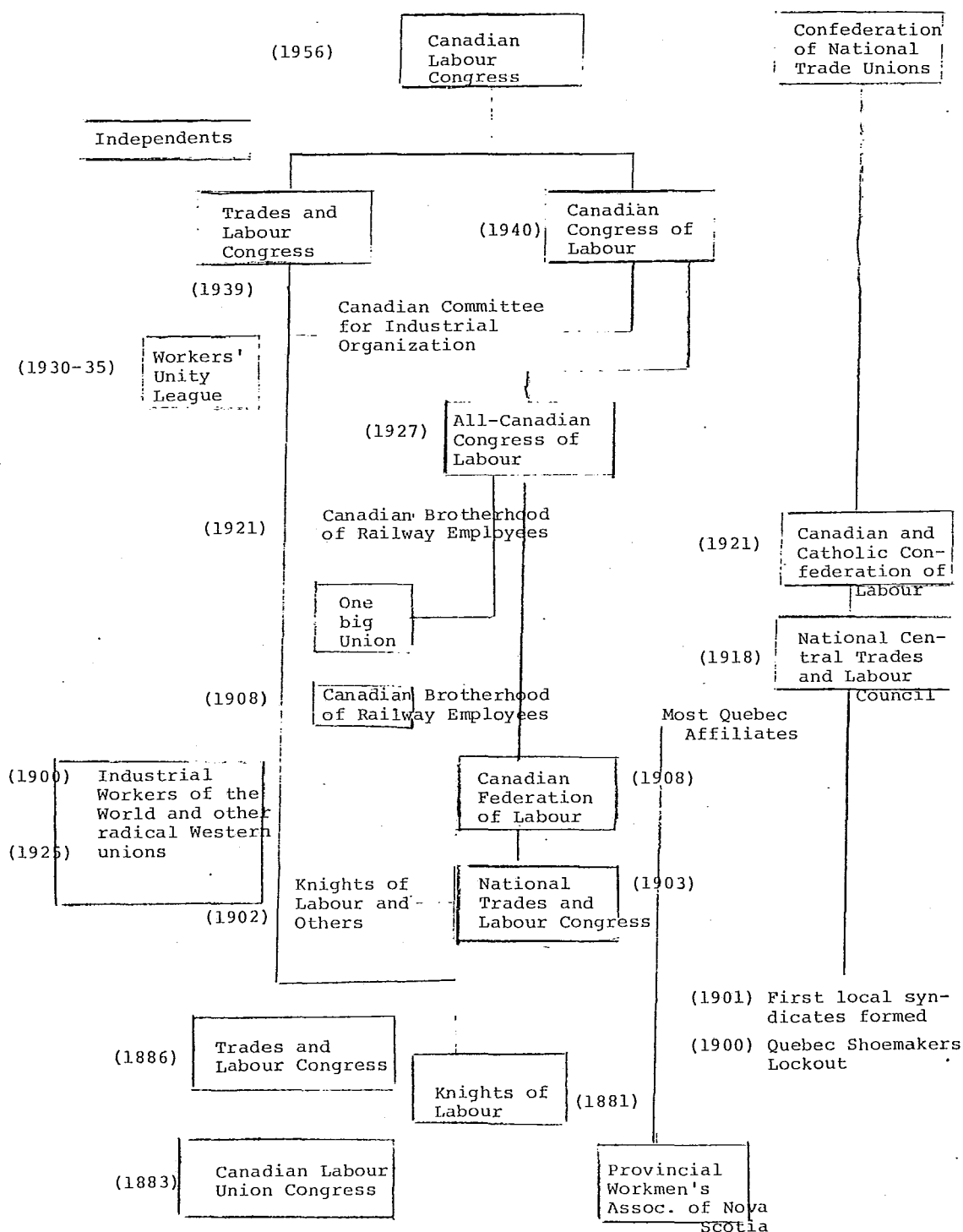
The purpose of this chapter will be to explore the character and the extent of the relationship between the trade union movement and the C.C.F.-N.D.P. in Brantford. It is important to impress upon the reader that due to the unavailability of most union minutes, attention will be focused chiefly upon the N.D.P. and its relationship with the local trade unions. However, it is advantageous to provide at least a peripheral analysis of Canadian trade unionism.

Chart 4.2 (page 154) provides a description of the history and development of the Canadian Labour Movement. Chart 4.1 (page 155) provides an outline of the structure of the Canadian Labour Congress.

Just as the C.L.C. relates to the federal level of government and the Ontario Federation of Labour to the provincial level, so Labour Councils deal with matters of local government. But their responsibilities go beyond that. They are usually the effective agencies at the local level for implementing the policies of the trade union movement initiated at the two upper echelons. The Labour Councils provide a means of bringing together local unions and enabling them to play a role in community affairs. Most Labour Councils in Ontario

CHART 4.2 An Outline of the History and Development of the Canadian Labour Movement^a

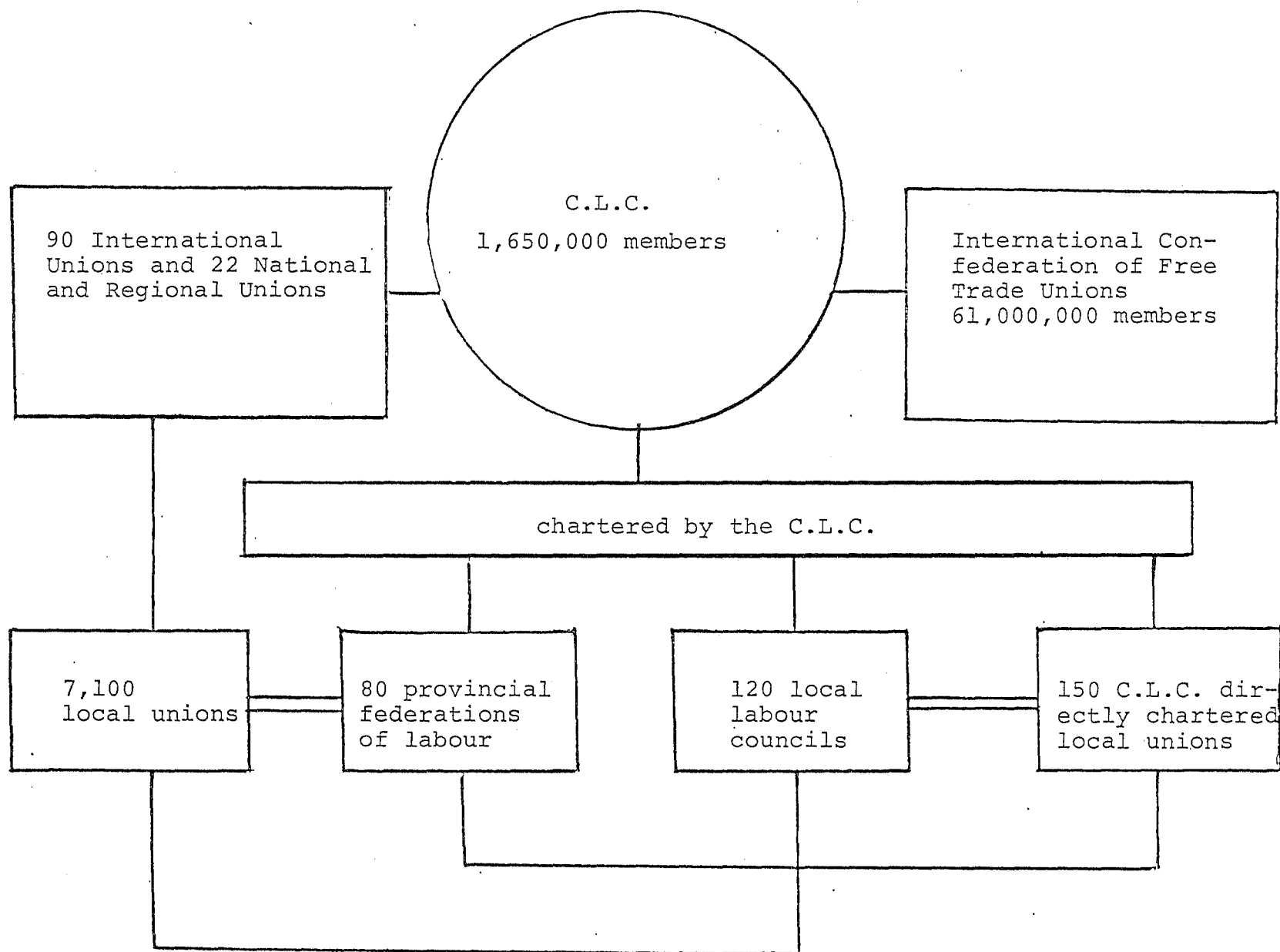
154



(1873-1877) Canadian Labour Union
 (1871) Local Trade Assemblies begin to emerge
 (1867) Knights of St. Crispin
 (1825-1860) Numerous Weak and Isolated Locals
 (1800-1825) Scattered friendly Societies and Labour Circles

^a Morden Lazarus, Years of Hard Labour (An O.F.L. Publication, 1974), p. 70.

CHART 4.1 The Structure of the Canadian Labour Congress, 1975^a



^aBrantford And District Labour Council, Labour Review, 1975, p. 27.

have limited funds and no permanent staff. Their work is carried out by unpaid elected officers and committee chairmen together with volunteers from among their delegates and other union members.

The effectiveness of Labour Councils varies from area to area. The Brantford and District Labour Council sponsors numerous festivities each Labour Day which include a parade, a soap box derby, a carnival, as well as the publication of an annual Year Book.

The leverage for action by the central bodies comes from the affiliated unions. They provide the membership, the funds, and the sinews which give the labour movement its vigour.

The Brantford And District Labour Council and its trade union affiliates share a mutual relationship. Among the priorities of the Labour Council are: (1) the promotion of the interests of its affiliates and generally the encouragement of the economic and social welfare of the workers; (2) the assisting of affiliated organizations in extending the Council's benefits of mutual cooperation and collective bargaining; (3) the encouragement of the organization of the unorganized workers into unions for their mutual aid, protection and advancement, giving acknowledgement to the principle that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of union organization; and (4) the encouragement of the workers to vote, to exercise their full rights

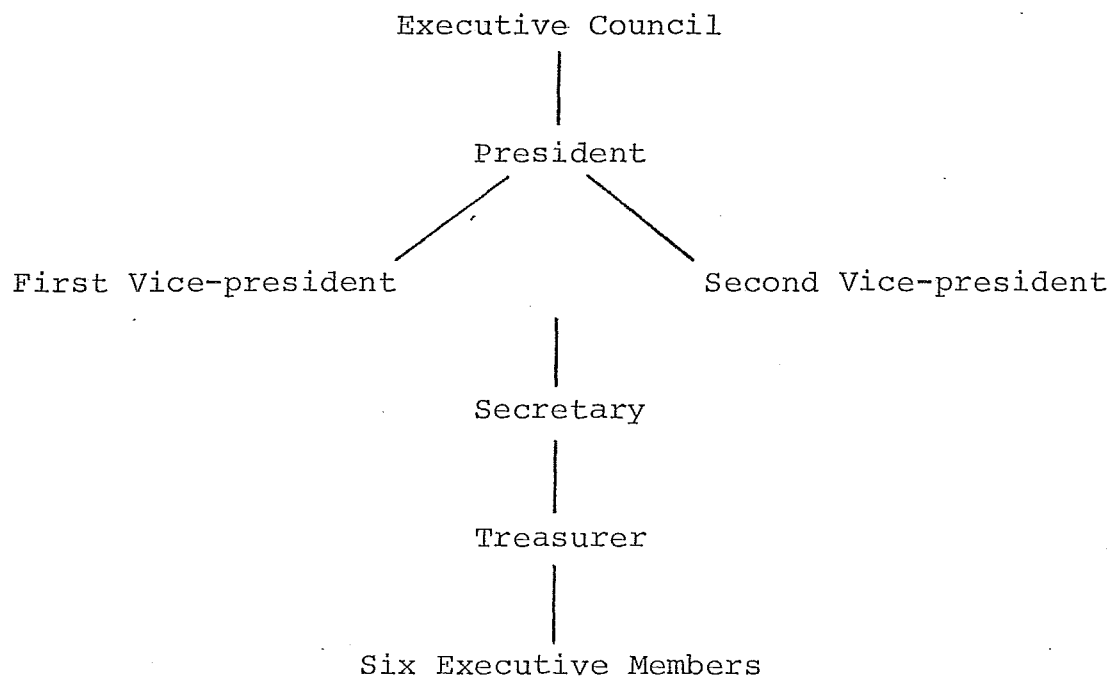
and responsibilities of citizenship, and to partake in the political life of the municipal, provincial, and federal governments.¹

It is the responsibility of the trade union affiliates to furnish the Secretary of the Labour Council with statements of their membership in good standing. Affiliates are encouraged to file with the Secretary copies of their collective bargaining agreements. Representation on the Labour Council may be summarized in the following manner: "From affiliated local unions . . . three delegates for the first one hundred or less dues paying members and one additional delegate for each additional one hundred dues paying members . . . but not more than fifteen delegates from any Union, . . . excepting amalgamated, which may seat one delegate from each of its units but not more than fifteen."² A per capita tax is paid upon the full paid-up membership of each affiliate. Each local pays each month for the proceeding month, a per capita tax of six cents per member per month. However, any affiliate involved in a prolonged strike, after consideration by the Executive Council, may be exempt of the per capita tax during the period of the strike. (See Chart 4.3, page 158 for an outline of the structure of The Brantford And District Labour Council.)

History of the Party/Labour Relationship in Brantford

An examination of Brantford U.A.W. Locals 458 and 397 and the Brantford and District Labour Council and their rela-

CHART 4.3 The Structure of the Brantford And District Labour Council, C.L.C.^a



^aBrantford And District Labour Council, Constitution of the Brantford And District Labour Council, 1972, p. 18.

tionship with the local C.C.F.-N.D.P. is given below. Both U.A.W. Locals formally affiliated with the N.D.P. in 1945. Local 458 boasts a current membership of 3,500 and represents the employees of both Massey Ferguson Limited and White Farm Equipment Limited of Brantford.³ Its counterpart, Local 397, represents a conglomerate of smaller local factories (Canadian Trailmobile Limited, Canada Glue Limited, Norton Company Limited, Robbins And Myers, Crown Electric Limited, Barber Ellis Limited, Bay State Abrasives, Magnetic Metals Limited, Kester Solder, Hussmann's Refrigeration Limited, Mclean Foundry, Lockwood Manufacturing Limited, Chicago Rawhide, Hyde Spring and Wire Limited, Praesto Aluminum, Ladish Office, and Micro-matic Hone Limited) and has a current membership of 1,800.⁴ Both U.A.W. Locals have the largest standing membership of any of the forty-eight Locals affiliated to the Brantford And District Labour Council.⁵

To facilitate explanation of the party/labour relationship, various periods of development are analyzed.⁶ The period beginning with the year 1937 when U.A.W. Local 397 was established, to the end of the Second World War, was a period in which the C.C.F. experienced a period of ascendancy but received relatively little support from the young and struggling U.A.W. While the period from 1945-1949 was fundamentally one of decline for the C.C.F., the rudiments of Brantford U.A.W. involvement in party affairs became discernible. The years 1950-1961 simultaneously witnessed the C.C.F. slipping into

the doldrums of minor party status, but it also saw the growth of U.A.W. support of the party in Brantford. Finally, and quite probably the most dynamic and productive period of the party/labour relationship, was the N.D.P. era from 1951-1975. Both U.A.W. Locals 397 and 458 together with the Brantford And District Labour Council, have been instrumental in helping to achieve the measure of success which the N.D.P. currently enjoys in Brantford.

On May 4, 1937, Charles H. Millard presented U.A.W. Local 397 with a charter. The new Local had a total membership of fifty-three persons, all employed by the Brantford Adams Plant.⁷ This minute group of employees managed to struggle along until due to a lack of funds and enthusiasm, President Cameron Jacques surrendered the charter to the U.A.W. in November 1938.⁸ But in 1942 the charter was returned upon the request of the Local.⁹ Hence by the time that the U.A.W. was firmly established in Brantford, the C.C.F. had been in existence for almost a decade. But its relative success throughout the 1930's in Brantford was negligible.

Throughout the pre-1945 period the U.A.W. Locals were constantly engaged in attempting to secure acknowledgement from Brantford industry and had neither the time, the financial resources, nor the potential to actively endorse the C.C.F. In 1943 the Brantford U.A.W.-C.I.O. conducted a vigorous campaign to eradicate the city's "nest of Company Unions".¹⁰ The chief ones were the Industrial Councils at the Brantford

Cockshutt and Massey-Harris Plants. (See Appendix N, pages 303-306 for a specimen copy of The War Worker, in relation to these events.)

At the time, Brantford was essentially a war production centre that was plagued by an alarming degree of industrial absenteeism. Robert Stacey, then the U.A.W. International Representative for Brantford, argued that the main cause of industrial absenteeism in the city was attributable to a lack of union organization and the general attitude of the employers toward trade unions. Stacey was convinced that the solution to the absentee problem lay in the recognition of the right of the workers to choose their own free unions and to participate in the war effort as an equal partner with industry. Alex Hutcheon, President of Cockshutt's Company Union, admitted that his "Industrial Council operated by special dispensation of the Cockshutt management and violated the provisions of the Ontario Collective Bargaining Act."¹¹

Although Brantford had solidly entrenched unions among the firefighters, printing pressmen, typesetters, garment workers, and others, the organization of the war industries was undertaken largely under the auspices of the U.A.W. It was successful in signing contracts with such local factories as Canadian Durex Abrasives, both branches of Brantford Coach and Body, Brantford Oven And Rack Limited, and Canada Car And Foundry. For example, among the provisions of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. contract signed with the Canada Car And Foundry Plant were:

(A) seniority to be established after three months' employment; (B) a bonus of five cents per hour to all hourly-rated employees working night shifts; (C) double time for overtime worked on Sundays or holidays; and (D) reinstatement and reimbursement for employees wrongfully discharged.¹²

The U.A.W. Locals were also imbued with the American philosophy of non-partisanship. But during the pre-1945 period it was apparent that the C.C.F. and the U.A.W. Locals did have ground for cooperation, namely, the antagonism of the 'so-called establishment' to both. The traditional parties opposed the C.C.F. and the skilled trades opposed the industrial unionism of the U.A.W.

Both organizations appeared to present a threat to free enterprise, individual initiative, and the right to make a profit. The following extracts from the Brantford Expositor conveyed such an attitude of some influential citizens of the Brantford community. In relation to the Federal Election of October 14, 1935 an editorial commentary maintained that "As for C.C.F. members the letters now stand for 'Can Count Few'".¹³ Another editorial which appeared only twenty-three days prior to the Federal Election of June 11, 1945 avowed that "In other words the Socialists can take over any business, anybody's business, at any time on the pretext that it is advisable for the public good. Every dictator in history has claimed to be acting 'for the public good'".¹⁴ In summarizing the results of the Ontario Provincial Election of June 4, 1945 another

editorial asserted that "There was, of course, one distinct point of similarity here [in Brantford] as in all Ontario seats, namely the evident disposition of the electorate to eliminate the C.C.F.". ¹⁵

Despite these opinions, the C.C.F. during the pre-1945 period strongly sought labour support. Its programmes, such as those outlined in the C.C.F. pamphlet, Towards The Dawn (1938), ¹⁶ was intended to appeal to a large core of the Brantford labour community. The major provisions of the pamphlet represented a deliberate attempt to court labour by regulating the work week so as to distribute employment and leisure equitably among the citizens, the establishment of a national unemployment scheme, and an attempt to guarantee labour its legal right to organize and to bargain collectively. In 1943 the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.) responded by affirming its support of the C.C.F. as "the political arm of labour". ¹⁷

On October 12, 1943 the Executive Board of U.A.W. Local 397 discussed the resolution proposed by the C.C.L. and the prospect of affiliation. ¹⁸ But by December 1, 1943 the possibility of affiliation was postponed for an indefinite period as indicated by the following entry: "The committee gave their report and as it stands at the present time it wouldn't be possible to affiliate with any political party until a later date." ¹⁹ Although tacitly supporting the C.C.F., the majority of the Executive Board was not in a position to commit its Local to formal affiliation. Rather, they endorsed

the position advocated by U.A.W. Regional Director George Burt when he instructed the Brantford members that "they should not line up with any particular political party, but should use their immense influence to effect legislation, regardless of what party was in power" on May 11, 1943.²⁰

A dramatic breakthrough for the Brantford C.C.F. occurred during the pre-1945 era when Charles Strange was elected as M.P.P. in the Ontario Provincial Election of August 4, 1943. But the local party failed to secure little more than votes and moral support from the U.A.W. The extent of U.A.W. financial support seems to have been a meagre \$22.00 collected at a general membership meeting.²¹ The reason for the lack of financial assistance was apparently due to the fiscal status of the U.A.W. Locals. A financial report tabled for August 30, 1943 indicated that Local 397 had a deficit of \$535.00.²² Since C.C.F. election campaigns were financed primarily at the constituency level and by 'organized labour', it would stand to reason that the Brantford organization must have won the provincial seat on a very small budget.

During the years 1942-1945, the C.C.F. ceased to be a purely protest movement and began a concerted effort to court the trade union movement. C.C.F.'ers came to the realization that if the party was going to become an effective social democratic party it was going to require moral and financial assistance from organized labour. According to a Brantford C.C.F. Financial Committee Report of 1943, "Trade Unions were

to be their right fist aimed at the heart of government."²³

Beginning in September, 1943 the Brantford C.C.F. Constituency Association urged all U.A.W. members to attend its bi-monthly meetings.²⁴ On January 11, 1944 a resolution was presented before the Local 397 membership in which the C.C.F. requested their support. It was subsequently ratified by the membership.²⁵ But U.A.W. political involvement was superficial at best. Even a proposal to establish a Political Action Committee (P.A.C.) met with opposition and had to be "deferred until later".²⁶

The period from 1945-1949 witnessed intermittent U.A.W. participation on behalf of the C.C.F. It was also a period of unparalleled ascendancy for Locals 397 and 458 in terms of collective bargaining. This was an era of great expectations and disillusionment for the Brantford C.C.F.

Nationally, the C.C.F. retained the support of the C.C.L. as noted by the following statement: "The C.C.L., which also claims a membership of 250,000 already has endorsed the C.C.F. as the 'political arm of labour', and last night its affiliate, the Ontario Federation of Labour, issued a statement calling upon its 150,000 members to support the C.C.F.".²⁷ But the election results seemed to indicate the union leaders would not convince many rank and file unionists. As well locally, little evidence existed of any concerted U.A.W. support for the party.

U.A.W. Local 458 went as far as placing an advertisement in the Brantford Expositor renouncing support of any

political party: "Take notice that this Local is taking a non-partisan stand in the coming election campaigns in this city".²⁸ This was indicative of the extent to which the process of equating the U.A.W. and the C.C.F. in the public eye had progressed in Brantford. Subsequently, in order to dispel popular suspicions of a U.A.W.-C.C.F. coalition, Local 458 deemed it necessary to publicly profess its non-partisanship. Evidently the Brantford Locals were still oscillating between the British and the American schools of thought concerning the role of trade unions in politics.

According to Leo Zakuta,²⁹ the period from 1945-1949 was one of decline for the C.C.F. In spite of this the party managed to retain twenty-one seats in the Ontario Provincial Election of June 7, 1948 to form the Official Opposition. But party membership had fallen considerably and the C.C.F. was in financial straits throughout this period. Trade union support accounted for 14 percent of the party's total revenue by 1947,³⁰ thereby suggesting a growing awareness and concern on the part of organized labour. Significantly, as the attitude of the trade unions became more favorable toward political involvement the C.C.F. gradually modified its ideological position of "virtual prohibition of capitalism" as outlined in the Regina Manifesto, to a "positive readiness to help and encourage private business to fulfill its legitimate functions", by 1948.³¹ But despite a more moderate programme the C.C.F. managed to win only thirteen seats in the Federal

Election of June 27, 1949.

During the years immediately following the Second World War the Brantford U.A.W. made important strides in the field of collective bargaining. In numerous local factories the U.A.W. managed to secure agreements, including forty-hour weeks, time-and-a-half for overtime, and paid statutory holidays. These plants included Brantford Coach And Body (1948) and Universal Cooler (1949). The total effect was an average wage increase of eighteen cents per hour for U.A.W. members from 1942 to 1948.³²

Unemployment was not all that pressing a problem but exorbitant prices and a high cost of living were grave enough to cause Local 397 to express its discontent to Brantford City Council and Liberal M.P. Ross W. Macdonald.³³

Although expanding at a rapid pace, both U.A.W. Locals 458 and 397 remained relatively poor financially. By 1949 the C.C.L. requested that Local 397 establish a P.A.C. in order to obtain funds for the C.C.F. candidate's election expenses in the forthcoming federal contest of June 27, 1949.³⁴ But the request was not met due to the uncomfortable financial position of the Local. Local 397's poor financial status was conveyed by a request it made to Walter Reuther to be allowed to dispatch only two delegates instead of the allotted five to the International U.A.W. Conference because of the expenses involved.³⁵

Reginald Cooper, then an active member of the U.A.W.,

was chosen to carry the C.C.F. banner in the 1949 federal contest. In keeping with past tradition, the local press continued its animosity toward the party. Just five days before the election the Brantford Expositor advised that the "Canadian electors seeing through this state of affairs will do well to go to the polls next Monday and restore the major parties, leaving the nuisance groups at the tag end of the list, or preferably dropped from the list entirely."³⁶ An editorial in the local press on June 25, 1949 maintained that "in any case this was no time for futile experiments in class government".³⁷ In its analysis of the election results the Brantford Expositor proposed that ". . . as in most constituencies throughout the country, the riding of Brantford . . . decisively rejected the bid of the C.C.F. for governmental power. The great majority of the electors here evidently agreed with the submission of this newspaper, offered repeatedly throughout the campaign, that the sensible course was to vote not for the minor groups but for the two historic parties. Without any reflection whatsoever upon the good intentions of the C.C.F. candidate, or, for that matter, with the sincerity of that party's aspirations, the overwhelming rejection of the Socialist doctrine was a wise thing".³⁸

The Federal Election of June 27, 1949 was essentially a confirmation of the results of 1945 as far as the C.C.F. was concerned. It dashed the aspirations of an early success that had seemingly characterized the 1945-1949 period and which had

attracted a large influx of new party members. As well, this period was marked by an ambivalent relationship between the U.A.W. and the C.C.F. in Brantford. Small numbers of individuals from both groups took the initiative toward mutual support, but the majority of union local members abstained.

Under these circumstances the doldrum phase of the 1950's unfolded for the C.C.F. In the Brantford situation, the party entered this phase because of its lack of motivation due to failure at the polls. Still, in spite of consistent electoral failure, much of the character of the contemporary relationship between the Brantford C.C.F. and the U.A.W. was developed. During this period (1950-1961) the C.C.F. was relegated to the status of a minor party and its prospects for victory had to be projected into the future. Even M.J. Coldwell admitted that "immediate victory was unlikely".³⁹

A devastating blow was dealt the C.C.F. when it failed to win more than two seats in the Ontario Provincial Election of November 22, 1951. Locally, the bandwagon atmosphere had dissipated as those C.C.F.'ers who counted on immediate success began to drift away from the party. Paradoxically, this dismal chapter in C.C.F. history was also characterized by "the growing role of the trade unions in party affairs and the steady meeting of the two organizations in conducting the operations of the C.C.F."⁴⁰

The Brantford C.C.F. began to receive support from the U.A.W. on a scale that it had never before enjoyed. The P.A.C.

which had been "deferred until later" by the membership of Local 397 in 1944, and then again in 1949, finally came into existence in 1951 under the tutelage of President Ralph MacBride.⁴¹ The P.A.C. was also endowed with \$2,000.00 to carry out its duties⁴² and was subsequently voted an additional \$600.00 on December 17, 1951 to pay outstanding debts.⁴³ Evidently the U.A.W. began to realize the need for what the C.C.L. termed a 'political arm' and decided to fortify that arm with a little financial muscle.

During this period a new spirit of mutual cooperation between the Brantford C.C.F. and U.A.W. Locals 397 and 458 seemed to form. In January 1952 both U.A.W. Locals were invited to send delegates to the C.C.F. Conference in St. Catharines, Ontario from January 26-27.⁴⁴ When one considers that neither of the U.A.W. Locals were formally affiliated to the C.C.F., their presence at the St. Catharines Conference was significant. In 1953, U.A.W. Locals 397 and 458 resolved that they would pay for C.C.F. memberships taken out by members of the Executive Board or P.A.C.⁴⁵ Table 4.1 indicates the percentage of those members of the Executive Board of each of U.A.W. Locals 397 and 458 who were reputed to be card-carrying C.C.F. members, from 1951-1959.

Jack Gillies, the Financial Secretary of U.A.W. Local 458, was chosen to contest the Federal Election of August 10, 1953 as the C.C.F. candidate. He received considerable financial assistance from his Local as noted by the following entry:

TABLE 4.1 Percentage of C.C.F. Members^a Among the Members of the Executive Boards of U.A.W. Locals 397 and 458, 1951 - 1959^b

YEAR	LOCAL 397	LOCAL 458
1951	not available	80 N = 25
1952	not available	61 N = 31
1953	not available	42 N = 12
1954	60 N = 9	60 N = 18
1955	75 N = 9	64 N = 15
1956	86 N = 9	73 N = 15
1957	67 N = 9	77 N = 13
1958	67 N = 9	83 N = 12
1959	not available	71 N = 14
AVERAGE:	71 N = 45	68 N = 155

^aObtained through the cooperation of Charles Mackay, August 12, 1976.

^bProcured from U.A.W. Local 397 and Local 458, Executive Board Member Lists for respective years.

"Moved by Brother T. Walsh, seconded by Brother G. Williams, that we spend up to \$2,000.00 to elect Brother Jack Gillies."⁴⁶

The local press adopted a less hostile attitude in its criticism of the C.C.F. by pleading with the voters to "retain the two party in preference to the multi-party system".⁴⁷ One day after the election, the Brantford Expositor commented that "the general expectation was that the contest would be a close one for the three major candidates, and when it was all over, the main surprise was that the C.C.F. candidate had not polled a heavier vote".⁴⁸ On August 12, 1953 the press further commented that, "There can scarcely be any question of a 'swing to the left' in Canada, even if the strength of the Socialist Party has been upped a bit".⁴⁹

The C.C.F. still failed to get the unanimous support of the rank-and-file of both U.A.W. Locals, let alone the city's unionized workers at large. There was a popular tendency to use organized labour as a scapegoat for the rising cost of living and unemployment. Labour reacted to such accusations by defending itself on the grounds that "labour was being blamed for the Depression, which was being brought about by the avarice of big business."⁵⁰ Brantford labour was also preoccupied with legislation aimed at compelling compulsory check-off of union dues upon management.

Labour began to come to the realization that collective bargaining was almost powerless when it came to obtaining major economic reforms. Only forceful political action could

provide the necessary solution. In March, 1954 Local 397 dispatched Wray Johnson to Queen's Park with the express purpose of lobbying for compulsory check-off.⁵¹ Now not even the C.C.L. was sufficiently active in its support of the party to satisfy the U.A.W. Locals: "Moved by Brother Mackay, seconded by Brother Smale, that the P.A.C. draw up a suitable resolution requesting the C.C.L. Convention give support in a more active way to the C.C.F."⁵² In the Ontario Provincial Election of June 9, 1955 full-time election workers were supplied by both U.A.W. Locals 397 and 458 and paid by the International to assist the C.C.F.

In spite of U.A.W. support, the C.C.F. candidate John Maycock was soundly beaten in the provincial contest of 1955. The retiring President of Local 458, Jack Davies, expressed a deep concern that "a man who agrees with the aims of labour, who understands the problems of the unemployed, and whose party is the one chosen by labour as their political arm is elected on June 9"⁵³ Lorne Charlick, President of Local 397, implored the union membership to cast their vote for the C.C.F. candidate: "The only way we will have decent laws and a better living will be to vote for a party who has proven to the people of Saskatchewan that it can be done. The time is right to get rid of the Frost government and replace it with a C.C.F. government".⁵⁴ Finally, Charles Mackay, Chairman of P.A.C. Local 397, commented that "This election time, as at all election times, the old-time parties promise us legislation . . .

should they be elected. When one of the old-line parties are in the opposition, they promise us this type of legislation. When they are in power they tell us they are not ready. As an example, what a Liberal voted for in Ontario, Mr. Brown in the federal government voted against. I am voting and working for John Maycock, our C.C.F. candidate. Are you?"⁵⁵

On November 16, 1956 the official merger of the Brantford And Paris Labour Council with the Trades and Labour Council occurred to form the Brantford Labour Council. Of the nine newly installed officers 56 percent were reputedly C.C.F. members.⁵⁶ But as early as 1954, Harold File, President of Local 397, suggested that the time was right for Brantford trade unions to establish a Labour Council: "Now that we have the U.A.W., Steel, Textile, Garment Workers and Packinghouse Workers already here in the Brantford area . . . it might be a good idea to try and form a C.I.O.-C.C.L. Labour Council and then maybe we could do some of the things which we would like to do with our P.A.C. Program. With the Dominion and Provincial Governments swamped with the two old-line party politicians we are only bumping our heads up against a stone wall when we send our delegations to them to fight for decent labour legislation Whether we like it or not our only way to solve our problem is through the ballot box."⁵⁷ Unfortunately, Mr. File's train of thought was ahead of its time in the Brantford context.

As the 1957 federal contest approached, unemployment

became a pressing issue in Brantford. Approximately 150 delegates to the annual conference arranged by the Ontario C.C.F. Trade Union Committee in February 1957 criticized the Ontario Government's new budget for discriminating against low-income groups. The conference condemned the two percent increase in corporation taxes as "picayune"⁵⁸ when compared with the rampant unemployment raging throughout many of Ontario's industrial centres. Among the officers elected to the conference was Charles Mackay. He pointed out that "History has proven the Liberals and Conservatives are trying to serve two masters. They have to serve the workers to whom they make promises in seeking votes, but even more important, they have to serve the powerful private interests who finance their political machine with the knowledge that this sort of thing goes on and does happen. It is logical that our union should now more than ever make politics its business, day in and day out, and not just for short periods on the eve of election campaigns."⁵⁹

Prior to the 1957 Federal Election, U.A.W. members were "urged by their elected representatives to support C.C.F. Candidates . . .".⁶⁰ George Burt, U.A.W. Canadian Director, declared that "the C.C.F. has a program and a set of principles which will rally organized labour, farmers and liberals as never before".⁶¹ Charles Mackay carried the C.C.F. banner in Brant-Haldimand Riding while simultaneously working in the capacity of campaign coordinator for Margaret Mclellan in

Brantford. To this degree Mackay considered his candidature to be "highly tokenistic"⁶² at best.

However, in both Federal Elections of June 10, 1957 and March 1, 1958 it was not simply John Diefenbaker who defeated the C.C.F. in Brantford. Generally, throughout the latter 1950's, the Brantford C.C.F. was a very loosely-knit organization which came to life only in the weeks prior to an election. It was poorly financed and spent approximately \$3,000.00 on the 1957 federal campaign⁶³ and slightly more than \$1,500.00 in 1958.⁶⁴ One must bear in mind that adequate financial support was a problem that the C.C.F. had to cope with throughout its entire existence and, therefore, cannot be regarded as unique to this period.

The C.L.C. Convention of April 21-26, 1958 called for a realignment of the C.C.F. and in fact took the initial steps toward the formation of the New Party.⁶⁵ Over 1,500 delegates "voted in favour of exploring ways and means of establishing a new political movement in Canada based on the principles and organization of the labour movement, the C.C.F., farm, professional and other interested groups".⁶⁶ In the words of Stanley Knowles, "both sides were looking for something better".⁶⁷ U.A.W. Locals 458 and 397 set up New Party Committees and there were approximately ten New Party Clubs established to debate and formulate policies to be presented at the Founding Convention in 1961.⁶⁸ Throughout the 1950-1961 period the U.A.W. was an important source of financial strength for the

Brantford C.C.F.

During the final phase of the party/labour relationship (1961-1975) a spirit of mutual cooperation for social reform pervaded as delegates from the C.C.F., the trade union movement, and study groups, converged to create the New Democratic Party at the Founding Convention in July and August of 1961. Three delegates from Local 397 attended as well as others from Local 458, the Brantford Constituency Association, and the Brant-Haldimand Constituency Association.⁶⁹

The Canadian Region of the U.A.W. had proclaimed its full support of the New Party in May, 1961 at the Canadian Economic Conference "as the only party that was likely to rectify the nation's social grievances".⁷⁰ Between 25 to 33 percent of the delegates in attendance at the Founding Convention were associated with the trade union movement.⁷¹

The Founding Convention of the N.D.P. was "a salutary example of democracy in action".⁷² There was no absence of debate and conflict. Even the very name of the new party was vigorously contested.⁷³ But unlike the Liberal or Progressive Conservative Parties, the Convention is the "supreme governing body of the New Democratic Party and has final authority in all matters of federal policy program and constitution".⁷⁴

But in spite of the fact that U.A.W. Locals 397 and 458 were formally affiliated to the party and increased their financial assistance, the Brantford N.D.P. remained as ineffectual in its early stages of development from an organiza-

tional point of view, as its C.C.F. predecessor had been. In the June 18, 1962 and April 8, 1963 Federal Elections and the September 25, 1963 Ontario Provincial Election, the Brantford N.D.P. candidates were soundly beaten. However, it should be noted that the C.L.C. did not formally affiliate with the N.D.P. but rather adopted the position of leaving the issue of affiliation to the discretion of the individual Locals, much the same as the C.C.L. had done after 1943. Table 4.2 (page 179) indicates the amount contributed by Local 458 to N.D.P. election campaigns (1962-1975). Table 4.3 (page 181) indicates the percentage of those members of the Executive Board of Local 458 who were reputed to be card-carrying members of the local party (1959-1975). In each case there is a noticeable trend toward greater labour involvement in the local N.D.P.

One aspect of the federal contest of 1963 was the re-emergence of the communist body. A quarter-page advertisement appeared in the Brantford Expositor, allegedly placed by the Ontario Campaign Committee of the Canadian Communist Party. It conveyed the message that "The labour movement in this area, where there is no Communist candidate, can best serve the interests of the working people of Ontario by rallying support for the Candidates of the New Democratic Party."⁷⁵ Whether the advertisement was in fact placed by the Communist Party or whether it was a deliberate attempt to alienate the labour rank-and-file from the N.D.P. is difficult to know.

TABLE 4.2 Financial Contributions to N.D.P. Election
Campaigns by U.A.W. Local 458, 1962-1975

ELECTION DATE		CONTRIBUTION (in dollars)
June 18, 1962	Federal	100.00 ^a
April 8, 1963	Federal	NIL ^b
September 25, 1963	Provincial	350.00 ^c
November 8, 1965	Federal	1,000.00 ^d
October 17, 1967	Provincial	1,000.00 ^e
June 25, 1968	Federal	1,000.00 ^f
June 1, 1971	Federal By-Election	1,000.00 ^g
October 21, 1971	Provincial	1,000.00 ^h
October 31, 1972	Federal	1,500.00 ⁱ
July 12, 1974	Federal	2,500.00 ^j
September 18, 1975	Provincial	2,500.00 ^k

^aU.A.W. Local 458, Minutes of Executive Meeting, December 7, 1961.

^bTelephone Interview with Harry Guest, 4:30 p.m., August 31, 1976. According to Harry Guest, U.A.W. Local 458 was unable to contribute toward the N.D.P. because of its 'austerity period'.

^cU.A.W. Local 458, Minutes of Executive Meeting, September 12, 1963.

^dIbid., October 14, 1965, and September 9, 1965.

^eU.A.W. Local 458, Minutes of General Membership Meeting, September 21, 1967.

^fIbid., June 20, 1968.

^gLetter addressed to the Brantford N.D.P. Riding Association and signed by U.A.W. Local 458 President R.C. Rayfield, May 26, 1971.

^hU.A.W. Local 458, Minutes of Executive Meeting, September 17, 1971.

ⁱIbid., October 17, 1972.

^jIbid., June 13, 1974.

^kIbid., August 10, 1975.

TABLE 4.3 Percentage of C.C.F.-N.D.P. Members^a on the
Executive Board of U.A.W. Local 458,
1959 - 1974^b

YEAR	PARTY MEMBERS	
1959-1960	14	N = 14
1961-1962	50	N = 14
1963-1964	71	N = 14
1965-1966	73	N = 15
1967-1968	81	N = 16
1969-1970	100	N = 14
1971-1972	92	N = 13
1973-1974	93	N = 14
AVERAGE:	72	N = 114

^aObtained through the cooperation of Harry Guest, telephone interview, 4:30 p.m., August 31, 1976.

^bU.A.W. Local 458, Executive Board Member Lists, 1961-1975.

William Humble, the N.D.P. candidate, claimed that, regardless of its intent the advertisement had a negative impact on his campaign and frightened away prospective N.D.P. supporters.⁷⁶

The affiliation of U.A.W. Locals 458 and 397 to the N.D.P. does not imply a biased relationship. The Constitution of the Brantford N.D.P. provides that "Two Vice-Presidents [are] to be trade union members and [are] to be responsible for working with the trade union movement."⁷⁷ As affiliates, the Locals are entitled to send voting delegates to all Federal and Provincial N.D.P. Conventions. These representatives are customarily elected from the P.A.C. of each Local. The U.A.W. organizes seminars and in this manner is "constantly campaigning for the N.D.P. among the rank-and-file".⁷⁸ Each Local has its own Political Education Committee or (P.E.C.). On January 10, 1970 a seminar was sponsored in Brantford by the P.E.C.'s of Locals 397 and 458. Among the topics of discussion were parliamentary procedure, organization of election campaigns, and political involvement among the labour community.⁷⁹

Sections Four and Five of the Constitution of the U.A.W. evoke appeals to political action. Among the objectives, philosophies, and policies of the U.A.W., a primary task is "to educate [the] membership in the history of the Labour Movement and to develop and maintain an intelligent and dignified membership; to vote and work for the election

of candidates and the passage of improved legislation in the interest of all labour"⁸⁰ as well as "to engage in legislative, political, educational, civic, welfare and other activities which further, directly, or indirectly, the joint interests of the membership of [the U.A.W.] in the improvement of general economic and social conditions" ⁸¹ But this educational function is somewhat handicapped in Brantford because of a "lack of respect"⁸² on the part of many people to whom the privileges of trade union membership have been made easy, through the efforts of workers in the 1920's, 1930's and early 1940's.

With the advent of the 1964 municipal election, the Brantford Labour Council urged "that candidates had to be union men as well as supporters of the N.D.P." ⁸³ in order to receive the Council's formal endorsement.

The political fortunes of the Brantford N.D.P. were heightened with the nomination of Mac Makarchuk as the party's standard-bearer in the Federal Election of November 8, 1965. As was customarily the case, the local party coffers were practically depleted. But U.A.W. Locals 397 and 458 came to the rescue with Local 397 alone authorizing a campaign contribution of \$1,500.00. ⁸⁴ Ralph MacBride, the Brantford area Regional Representative, announced that the U.A.W. International would install a paid, full-time campaign manager to assist the N.D.P. The appointment went to Christopher Enslev of Local 458 "as Local 397 . . . had the appointment in the

past two elections".⁸⁵ The N.D.P. was able to set a campaign budget of \$5,167.00.⁸⁶ As well, the Brantford Labour Council passed a motion formally endorsing Makarchuk: "M/S by Delegates MacKay and Krantz that the Brantford Labour Council go on record, of supporting our N.D.P. candidate Mac Makarchuk."⁸⁷ This support apparently paid off on election day. Although Makarchuk fared third, the N.D.P. actually increased its vote in every poll of the riding.

Prior to the Ontario Provincial Election of October 17, 1967 the Brantford Labour Council passed a resolution to "donate to the Brantford Riding of the N.D.P. Association, \$400.00 on the date the Provincial Election is called, another \$400.00 to be donated thirty days later, and another \$400.00 donation to be made sixty days after the election is announced".⁸⁸ Although Makarchuk was elected on the N.D.P. ticket, his victory was partially attributable to the size of the party's campaign fund. A total of \$6,783.92 was spent to finance the campaign,⁸⁹ of which \$2,000.00⁹⁰ was contributed by Local 397 and \$900.00⁹¹ by Local 458. The total union donation to the Brantford N.D.P. campaign was \$5,365.00.⁹² Eight trade union Locals in all accounted for labour's contribution with the greatest donation being \$2,000.00, the average \$670.62, and the lowest \$15.00.⁹³ Significantly, Makarchuk ascertained that in the long run, "[his] dismissal from the Brantford Expositor was of benefit since it helped Brantford's labour community to identify with [him] to a greater extent than would have otherwise been possible".⁹⁴

At the April 18, 1968 meeting of the Brantford N.D.P. Executive, the Liaison Committee was empowered to proceed with its proposal to invite those unions affiliated with the Brantford And District Labour Council to attend a meeting with the committee eleven days later at party headquarters. Notably, one of the topics on the agenda concerned ways and means of launching a concerted party/labour drive in the forthcoming Federal Election on June 25, 1968.⁹⁵ The Labour Council endorsed a resolution pledging \$1,000.00 to the N.D.P. campaign.⁹⁶

Derek Blackburn, the unsuccessful N.D.P. candidate, attributed his loss to the fact that "in this campaign, the union connection may have partially backfired at the Polls because at the time of the election, Massey Ferguson Employees, members of Local 458, were striking that plant. The company was threatening to move to the United States because of the strike. The U.A.W. and the N.D.P. are so closely identified that the workers' wives, who were unhappy about the possible repercussions of the strike, tended to blame the N.D.P. This factor was fairly evident at the Polls on June 25th".⁹⁷ Blackburn also intimated that less than half of the campaign workers were trade unionists. In contrast, the Brantford N.D.P. Riding Association issued a press release on March 18, 1969, supporting the Chicago Rawhide Strikers. See Appendix O, pages 307-308, for a copy of that release.

The President of Local 397, who was also the party campaign manager during the 1968 contest, commented that "a good proportion of the N.D.P. vote came from union people in the city, but a major problem was that union members were also a good proportion of those who did not vote".⁹⁸ Apparently labour's apathy is more a problem than is the alleged labour domination of the N.D.P. Stewart Jamieson, the authority on Canadian industrial relations, argues that "representative organizations such as trade unions must engage in a broader and more vigorous programme of political action if democratic government at all levels is not going to be subverted and undermined by the growing wealth and power of major business concerns on the one hand, and the growing apathy of bemused citizenry on the other".⁹⁹ The chief preoccupation of the Brantford labour movement is still collective bargaining, a function that absorbs them and will continue to do so until "election campaigns and parliamentary debates partially replace strikes, lockouts, and picket lines".¹⁰⁰

In an address to the Brantford And District Labour Council on January 4, 1970, Makarchuk stressed among other issues, the need for the Labour Council to assume a more commanding role in encouraging political involvement among the Brantford labour community.¹⁰¹ Coincidentally, the Labour Council proposed that its Locals send delegates to the Brantford N.D.P. Policy Conference on June 20-21, 1970 for the

express purpose of deliberating party/labour strategy in the forthcoming municipal elections in December.¹⁰² David Neumann and George Hess appealed to the Labour Council to offer its support in soliciting candidates for the elections.¹⁰³ The Labour Council ultimately authorized paying the expense of sending twenty delegates to the Brant New Democratic Party Association Policy Conference¹⁰⁴ and on October 28th it passed a resolution to "endorse and support the N.D.P. slate in the forthcoming municipal elections".¹⁰⁵

At the March 17, 1971 executive meeting of the Labour Council assent was given to a recommendation which provided that one delegate be sent to the N.D.P. Convention in Ottawa on April 21-24, with the Council providing maximum expenses of \$175.00.¹⁰⁶ William Jefferies who had announced his intention to seek the party candidacy in Brant Riding in the June 1st Federal By-Election, was chosen as the delegate.¹⁰⁷ The Brantford N.D.P. recorded a deficit of \$2,400.00 after the by-election.¹⁰⁸

On August 17, 1971 the N.D.P. Executive passed a resolution condemning the situation at the strike-bound Texpack Plant: ". . . the Brantford N.D.P. Riding Association strongly condemns the arrogant disregard of Canadian Laws shown by the Texpack Company of Canada and further condemns the tactics of intimidation, deliberate baiting, and strike breaking by a company which is allowed to do business in this country only at the invitation of the Canadian People" ¹⁰⁹

In contrast to this denunciation on behalf of local labour by the party, Derek Blackburn addressed the annual meeting of the Brantford And District Labour Council in a highly critical tone. The theme of his speech was "The Future Of Unionism, Is There One?"¹¹⁰ Blackburn lashed out at the labour movement for its lethargic attitude toward politics and community involvement and emphasized the need for an improved public image by adopting a positive and more aggressive role in politics, public relations, and educational endeavours.

The Waffle issue apparently had an impact on the local party/labour relationship as well. The Brantford And District Labour Council followed the party in condemning the Waffle: "The Brantford And District Labour Council deplores the actions of the Waffle group of the N.D.P. and concurs with the Executive Committee of the N.D.P.'s recommendations, that the group be dissolved."¹¹¹ Hard feelings were fostered by the decision because Vincent O'Neill, first Vice-President of the Labour Council, immediately tendered his resignation.¹¹²

Prior to the Federal Election of October 31, 1972 the Brantford And District Labour Council endorsed a resolution officially supporting Derek Blackburn as the N.D.P. candidate. The Labour Council further resolved to "urge all affiliates to give moral and financial support to the campaign" and subsequently pledged a token donation of \$50.00 toward the election.¹¹³

Apparently, Blackburn's harsh speech to the Brantford And District Labour Council in 1972 had an impact. A resolution was subsequently endorsed which indicated a greater willingness on the part of local labour to participate in community affairs and maintain open channels of communication with the public-at-large. The Labour Council resolved "that Derek Blackburn be called upon . . . to renew his vigour relative to the Kelly Plan for the celebration in Brantford, of the invention of the telephone . . . to discuss the plan and progress to date of the Citizens Committee, with David Lewis, relating to him the local interference of Officials of Bell Canada, a 'Corporate Welfare Bum', in the plans of the said committee . . . to ask Mr. Lewis to introduce facts in the House of Commons . . . to ask Mr. Lewis to serve notice on Bell Canada, since this celebration is of National importance . . . that the Citizens of Brantford are suggesting that Bell Canada revise its thinking and be community-minded, taking part in this great invention and the proposed plan of the Citizens Committee . . ."114

The Party Organization

A series of tables have been constructed showing the involvement of local labour in Brantford N.D.P. affairs.

Table 4.4 (page 190) indicates the labour composition (percentage) of the campaign committees of the Brantford N.D.P. (1965-1975).

TABLE 4.4 Percentage of Labour Composition^a on the
 Campaign Committees of the Brantford N.D.P.,
 1965 - 1975^b

ELECTION DATE	UNION COMPOSITION	
November 8, 1965	86	N = 7
October 17, 1967	71	N = 7
June 25, 1968	75	N = 12
December 7, 1970	77	N = 13
June 1, 1971	40	N = 15
October 21, 1971	56	N = 9
October 31, 1972	64	N = 11
July 12, 1974	60	N = 10
September 16, 1975	45	N = 11
AVERAGE:	64	N = 95

^aObtained through the the cooperation of Glenn Pattinson,
 September 10, 1976.

^bBrantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meetings, September
 26, 1965; March 6, 1967; March 4, 1968; April 1, 1970;
 April 14, 1971; June 16, 1971; April 11, 1974; August 12,
 1975.

As well, on the federal level during the C.C.F. era (1935-1958), 57 percent of the local candidates were labour candidates while on the provincial level (1934-1959), 78 percent of the local candidates were labour candidates. Similarly, on the federal level during the N.D.P. era (1962-1974), 29 percent of the local federal candidates were labour candidates while on the provincial level (1963-1975), 75 percent of the local candidates were labour candidates.¹¹⁵

Finally, local labour's share of the Brantford N.D.P. campaign budget was 79 percent for October 17, 1967; 68 percent for October 31, 1972; 69 percent for July 12, 1974; and 25 percent for September 16, 1975.¹¹⁶

The Labour Organization

A series of tables have been constructed showing the involvement of the Brantford N.D.P. in local union circles.

Table 4.7 (page 192) shows the composition (percentage) of the Executive Committee of the Brantford And District Labour Council (1961-1975) in terms of those members who were members of the N.D.P.

Table 4.8 (page 193) indicates the proportion (percentage) of Presidents and Secretaries of those Locals affiliated to the Brantford And District Labour Council who were members of the N.D.P. (1960-1975).

Table 4.9 (pages 194-198) notes those Locals currently affiliated (1975) to the Brantford And District Labour Council and the N.D.P. The Locals are arranged according

TABLE 4.7 Percentage of N.D.P. Members^a on the Executive Committee of the Brantford and District Labour Council, 1961 - 1975^b

YEAR	PARTY COMPOSITION	
1961	89	N = 9
1962	100	N = 9
1963	89	N = 9
1964	89	N = 9
1965	90	N = 10
1966	100	N = 10
1967	90	N = 10
1968	100	N = 11
1969	93	N = 11
1970	75	N = 12
1971	60	N = 11
1972	83	N = 12
1973	82	N = 11
1974	75	N = 12
1975	92	N = 12
AVERAGE:	87	N = 158

^aObtained through the cooperation of Charles Mackay, August 26, 1976.

^bThe Brantford And District Labour Council, Brantford Labour Day Souvenir Programme, 1961, p. 3; 1962, p. 14; 1963, p. 15; 1964, p. 14; 1965, p. 14; 1966, p. 14; 1967, p. 1 ; 1968, p. 1 ; 1969, p. 16; 1970, p. 15; 1971, p. 16; 1972, p. 25; 1973, p.3; 1974, p. 3; 1975, p.7.

TABLE 4.8 Percentage of N.D.P. Members^a who were Presidents and Secretaries of Locals Affiliated to the Brantford and District Labour Council, 1960 - 1975^b

YEAR	PRESIDENTS		SECRETARIES	
1960	33	N = 44	18	N = 41
1961	24	N = 49	19	N = 45
1962	33	N = 48	11	N = 44
1963	28	N = 49	9	N = 44
1964	29	N = 49	13	N = 44
1965	33	N = 45	1	N = 47
1966	31	N = 49	12	N = 50
1967	27	N = 49	12	N = 50
1968	24	N = 46	15	N = 47
1969	18	N = 44	17	N = 41
1970	24	N = 49	17	N = 46
1971	25	N = 49	8	N = 46
1972	24	N = 50	11	N = 47
1973	18	N = 52	8	N = 51
1974	17	N = 51	15	N = 50
1975	15	N = 48	11	N = 47
AVERAGE:	25	N = 771	13	N = 760

^aObtained through the cooperation of Charles Mackay, August 26, 1976.

^bThe Brantford And District Labour Council, Brantford Labour Day Souvenir Programme, 1960, p. 4; 1961, p. 20; 1962, p. 12; 1963, p. 13; 1964, p. 12; 1965, p. 12; 1966, p. 14; 1967, p. 12; 1968, p. 18; 1969, p. 18; 1970, p. 17; 1971, p. 20; 1972, p. 21; 1973, p. 21; 1974, pp. 12-13; 1975, pp. 48-51.

TABLE 4.9 Brantford Union Locals,^a Their Membership^b and Party^c Affiliation, 1975

UNION	LOCAL	MEMBERSHIP	PARTY AFFILIATION
U.A.W. (Massey Ferguson Limited, White Farm Equipment Limited)	458	3,500	N.D.P.
U.A.W. (Canadian Trailmobile Limited, Canada Glue Company Limited, Norton Company of Canada Limited, Crown electric Manufacturing Limited, Barber-Ellis of Canada Limited, Bay State Abrasives Limited, Magnetic Metals, Kester Solder of Canada Limited, Hussmann Store Equipment Limited, McLean Foundry Limited, Lockwood Manufacturing of Canada Limited, Chicago Rawhide Products of Canada Limited, Hyde Spring and Wire of Canada Limited, Praesto Aluminum Products Limited, Ladish Company of Canada, Micromatic Hone of Canada Limited)	397	1,800	N.D.P.
Building Service Employees' Union (Brantford General Hospital, St. Joseph's Hospital, John Noble Home)	204	593	Not affiliated
International Woodworkers of America (Gunther Mele Limited, A.G. Spalding Limited, Diamond National, Brodart Limited, Muttarts Lumber, Consolidated Bathurst Limited)	2-233	558	N.D.P.
United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers (Gates Rubber Company)	733	305	Not affiliated
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (G.W.G. Limited)	551	290	Not affiliated

TABLE 4.9 (cont.)

UNION	LOCAL	MEMBERSHIP	PARTY AFFILIATION
Canadian Food and Allied Workers Union (York Farms)	469	250	N.D.P.
United Steelworkers (Crane Canada Limited)	7480	224	N.D.P.
Canadian Union of Public Employees (City of Brantford)	181	216	Not affiliated
Textile Workers' Union of America (Watson Limited)	1967	207	N.D.P.
United Steelworkers (Stelco Steel Company)	3749	138	N.D.P.
U.A.W. (Wabco Limited, Paris)	1032	125	Not affiliated
International Association of Machinists and Automobile Workers (Koehring-Waterous Limited)	1105	125	Not affiliated
C.U.P.E. (Brantford Board of Education)	282	124	Not affiliated
United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of Plumbing and Pipefitting	67	110	Not affiliated
Brantford Professional Firefighters Association	460	101	Not affiliated
International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners	498	100	Not affiliated

TABLE 4.9 (cont.)

UNION	LOCAL	MEMBERSHIP	PARTY AFFILIATION
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	105	100	Not affiliated
Labourers International Union	1081	80	Not affiliated
International Chemical Workers Union (Domtar Construction Limited)	603	80	Not affiliated
United Glass and Ceramic Workers (Hamilton Porcelaine Limited)	202	76	Not affiliated
United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers Union (T.C.G. Materials, Charcon Limited, Canada Building Materials Limited)	394	75	Not affiliated
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (I.B.E.W.) (Brantford Public Utilities Commission)	579	73	Not affiliated
Textile Union Workers of America (Burford Textiles Limited)	1694	68	N.D.P.
I.A.M.A.W. (Ladish Company)	1936	60	Not affiliated
L.C.U.C. (Brantford Post Office)	13	60	Not affiliated
Brantford Typographical Union (<u>Brant-</u> <u>ford Expositor</u>)	378	55	Not affiliated
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers	9	53	Not affiliated
C.U.P.E. (H.E.P.C.)	2-22656	50	Not affiliated
International Association of Machin- ists (Worthington Canada Limited)	1673	50	Not affiliated

TABLE 4.9 (cont.)

UNION	LOCAL	MEMBERSHIP	PARTY AFFILIATION
Brantford Musicians Union	467	50	Not affiliated
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (C.N.R.)	108	50	Not affiliated
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (Canteen of Canada, Dominion Stores, National Grocers)	414	45	Not affiliated
Amalgamated Transit Union (Brantford P.U.C.)	685	44	Not affiliated
United Glass and Ceramic Workers (National Pressed Glass Limited)	259	42	Not affiliated
International Chemical Workers Union (Scarfe Paint Company, Inmont Canada Limited)	612	40	Not affiliated
Canadian Food and Allied Workers (Bell City Poultry)	P1105	38	N.D.P.
Sheet Metal Workers	537	35	Not affiliated
Toronto Newspaper Guild (<u>Brantford Expositor</u>)	87	35	Not affiliated
International Union of Electrical Workers (Copeland Refrigeration Limited)	554	34	N.D.P.
United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union (Consolidated Sand and Gravel, Paris)	364	34	Not affiliated
International Chemical Workers (Union Gas Company)	684	32	Not affiliated
International Printing and Graphic Communication Union (<u>Brantford Expositor</u>)	195	28	Not affiliated

TABLE 4.9 (cont.)

UNION	LOCAL	MEMBERSHIP	PARTY AFFILIATION
Graphic Arts International Union (Hurley Printing Company, Melrex Limited)	542	22	Not affiliated
International Iron Moulders Union (Galt Brantford Malleable Iron Company)	29	20	Not affiliated
Motion Picture Operators Union	582	13	Not affiliated
Brewery Workers (Brewers Retail Store)	334	13	Not affiliated
Office and Professional Employees International Union	343	7	Not affiliated
TOTAL:	48	9,228	10 (21%)

^aThe Brantford And District Labour Council, Brantford Labour Day Souvenir Programme, 1975, pp. 48-51.

^bIbid., 1975, pp. 48-51.

^cObtained through the cooperation of Charles Mackay, August 27, 1976.

to membership. Wherever possible, the specific factories represented by each Local are listed in parentheses.

Table 4.10 (page 202) notes the contributions (\$) made by various individual Locals during Brantford N.D.P. election campaigns.

Concluding Remarks

Generally speaking, it could be argued that the data contained in tables 4.2 through 4.10 suggest that the N.D.P. is the political arm of the Brantford labour movement. Tables 4.11 (page 204) and 4.12 (page 205) indicate averages (percentage) calculated for specific tables.

In its simplest analysis, a mutually influential relationship may be said to exist between the party and the labour movement in Brantford.

Significantly, Table 4.9 suggests that those Locals affiliated to the Brantford And District Labour Council with a larger membership, are more prone to be affiliated to the N.D.P. than those with a smaller membership. Proportionately, the former constitutes 74 percent of the total affiliated trade union membership. This finding lends credence to the hypothesis which says that of any new political organization coming into being that its initial supporters will constitute the most affluent of a social group giving support to the new organization. In layman's terms, it is the 'best-off of the worst-off'¹¹⁷ which supports the new political organization.

TABLE 4.5 Percentage of Labour Composition^a on the
Brantford N.D.P. Executive, 1961 - 1975^b

YEAR	UNION COMPOSITION	
1961-1962	75	N = 12
1963-1964	64	N = 12
1965	56	N = 9
1966	62	N = 13
1967	86	N = 7
1968	77	N = 13
1969	50	N = 14
1970	35	N = 12
1971	54	N = 13
1972	50	N = 12
1973	53	N = 15
1974	48	N = 21
1975	41	N = 17
AVERAGE:	58	N = 184

^aObtained through the cooperation of Doris Dewar (1961-1964 N.D.P. Executive), August 29, 1976 and Charles Mackay (1965-1975 N.D.P. Executive), August 31, 1976.

^bInterview with Doris Dewar, 3:30 p.m., June 2, 1976 (1961-1964 N.D.P. Executive). Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meetings, March 9, 1965; April 18, 1966; June 20, 1967; February 25, 1968; February 2, 1969; March 10, 1970; April 14, 1971; March 9, 1972; February 18, 1973; January 27, 1974; January 21, 1975 (1965-1975 N.D.P. Executive).

TABLE 4.6 Percentage of Labour Composition^a of Brantford
N.D.P. Delegates to Federal and Provincial
N.D.P. Conventions, 1965 - 1975^b

CONVENTION DATE	UNION COMPOSITION	
July 12-15, 1965 (Federal)	33	N = 3
October 7-10, 1966 (Provincial)	50	N = 4
July 3-5, 1967 (Federal)	100	N = 5
November 15-17, 1968 (Provincial)	36	N = 11
October 28-31, 1969 (Federal)	75	N = 4
October 2-4, 1970 (Provincial)	27	N = 11
April 21-24, 1971 (Federal)	20	N = 5
December 8-10, 1972 (Provincial)	38	N = 8
July 20-23, 1973 (Federal)	40	N = 5
September 6-8, 1974 (Provincial)	25	N = 12
July 4-7, 1975 (Federal)	33	N = 6
AVERAGE:	43	N = 74

^aObtained through the cooperation of Glenn Pattinson, September 10, 1976.

^bBrantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meetings, May 25, 1965; September 10, 1966; June 20, 1967; September 23, 1968; September 23, 1969; September 8, 1970; March 10, 1971; November 9, 1972; March 13, 1973; March 12, 1974; May 15, 1975.

TABLE 4.10 Contributions^a Made by Various Union Locals^b
to Recent Brantford N.D.P. Election Campaigns,
1972, 1974, 1975

ELECTION DATE	CONTRIBUTION (\$)	SOURCE
October 31, 1972	1,500.00	U.A.W. Local 397
	1,000.00	I.U.E. Canadian District
	500.00	U.A.W. Local 458
	250.00	Grainmillers Local 313
	250.00	U.A.W. Local 707
	200.00	I.A.M. Local 1105
	100.00	I.W.A. Local 2-223
	100.00	International Moulders Local 129
	50.00	Brantford Labour Council
	40.00	B.S.E.U. Local 204
	25.00	Labourers Local 1081
	25.00	I.T.U. Local 378
	20.00	C.B.R.T. Local 108
TOTAL:	4,060.00	13
July 12, 1974	2,500.00	U.A.W. Local 458
	2,000.00	U.A.W. Local 397
	1,300.00	I.U.E. Canadian District
	1,000.00	Brantford Labour Council
	500.00	Grainmillers Local 313
	300.00	U.A.W. Local 707
	271.26	B.S.E.U. Local 204
	250.00	District No. 6 Steelworkers
	200.00	International Moulders Local 129
	100.00	C.E.A.W. Local 469
	100.00	I.A.M. Local 1105
	100.00	I.W.A. Local 2-223
	50.00	A.C.W.A. Local 551
	50.00	Labourers Local 1081
	25.00	I.T.U. Local 378
	25.00	U.A.W. Local 458 Women's Auxiliary
	25.00	C.U.P.E. Local 181
TOTAL:	8,596.26	17

TABLE 4.10 (cont.)

ELECTION DATE	CONTRIBUTION (\$)	SOURCE
September 16, 1975	1,000.00	U.A.W. Local 397
	500.00	U.A.W. Local 458
	500.00	I.U.E. Canadian District
	279.40	B.S.E.U. Local 204
	250.00	A.C.W.A. Local 551
	200.00	I.A.M. Local 1105
	100.00	C.B.R.T. & G.W. Local 108
	100.00	I.U.E. Local 554
	100.00	U.A.W. Local 458 Women's Auxiliary
	100.00	United Rubber Workers Local 733
	100.00	I.W.U.A. Local 1967
	100.00	I.W.A. Local 2-223
	100.00	U.S.W.A. Local 7135
	100.00	United Glass and Ceramic Workers Local 259
	100.00	C.U.P.E. Local 181
	100.00	Brewery Workers Local 334
	100.00	United Glass and Ceramic Workers Local 202
	100.00	Canadian Food and Allied Workers Local 1105
	50.00	C.U.P.E. Local 282
	50.00	Labourers Local 1081
	50.00	U.S.W.A. Local 4166
	50.00	U.S.W.A. Local 4752
	50.00	U.S.W.A. Local 5328
	50.00	U.S.W.A. Local 7062
	10.00	I.A.M. Local 1936
	10.00	U.S.W.A. Local 7480
TOTAL:	4,349.00	27

^aBrantford N.D.P., Final Election Statements of The Brantford Riding N.D.P. Party, for October 31, 1972; July 12, 1974; September 16, 1975.

^bIbid., October 31, 1972; July 12, 1974; September 16, 1975.

TABLE 4.11 Summary Table of N.D.P.'s Role in Brantford
Labour (Averages from Tables 4.3 and 4.7
through 4.8)

4.7	Percentage of N.D.P. members on the Executive Committee of the Brantford and District Labour Council, 1961-1975	87
4.3	Percentage of C.C.F.-N.D.P. members on the Executive Board of U.A.W. Local 458, 1959-1975	72
4.8	Percentage of N.D.P. members who were Presidents and Secretaries of Locals affil- iated to the Brantford and District Labour Council, 1960-1975	25 (Presidents) 13 (Secretaries)

TABLE 4.12 Summary Table of Brantford Labour's Role in
the N.D.P. (Averages from Tables 4.4 through
4.6)

4.4	Percentage of Labour Com- position in the Campaign Committees of the Brantford N.D.P., 1965-1975	64
4.5	Percentage of Labour Com- position on the Brantford N.D.P. Executive, 1961- 1975	58
4.6	Percentage of Labour Com- position of Brantford N.D.P. Delegates to Federal and Provincial N.D.P. Con- ventions, 1965-1975	43

Table 4.10 does not necessarily reflect greater contributions on the part of the Locals. Rather it indicates that more Locals, particularly smaller ones, are donating toward the party cause. It could be argued that this point substantiates the balance of the foregoing hypothesis that as the new political organization gains respectability and potency, then the 'worst-off' of the oppressed group jumps on the bandwagon and supports the organization as well.¹¹⁸

The Brantford and District Labour Council is the most politically active labour body within the community. Tables 4.7 (Percentage of N.D.P. Members on the Executive Committee of the Brantford And District Labour Council, 1961-1975) and 4.9 (Brantford Union Locals, their Membership and Party Affiliation, 1975) suggest that in terms of party affiliation, the Brantford And District Labour Council is more important to the N.D.P. in Brantford than the individual Locals. Tables 4.3 (Percentage of C.C.F.-N.D.P. Members on the Executive Board of U.A.W. Local 458, 1959-1975), 4.7, and 4.8 (Percentage of N.D.P. Members who were Presidents and Secretaries of Locals affiliated to the Brantford And District Labour Council, 1960-1975), suggest that as individuals rise to the upper echelons of the Brantford Labour Movement, there is a tendency to take out a party membership.

In addition to a significant trend toward party affiliation among the Executive Board of U.A.W. Local 458, the second largest individual local affiliated to the Brantford N.D.P.,

Table 4.2 (Financial Contributions to N.D.P. Election Campaigns by U.A.W. Local 458, 1962-1975) suggests a definite trend toward greater financial assistance on behalf of Local 458 toward the party. In the early sixties, Local 458 averaged only \$150.00 an election in contributions, but from 1965 on its average contributions increased more than sixfold. Interestingly, if a comparison is drawn between the average number of C.C.F. members (Table 4.1, 68 percent) and N.D.P. members during the Makarchuk-Blackburn era (1965-present, 88 percent) among the Executive Board of U.A.W. Local 458, a trend toward stronger party affiliation is suggested.

A comparison between Tables 4.11 and 4.12 suggests that the Brantford N.D.P. is more influential in the local labour movement, particularly in the Labour Council and in Local 458, than labour is in the affairs of the Brantford N.D.P. In particular, upon examination of the party/labour composition of the governing bodies of the Brantford N.D.P. (Table 4.5) and the Brantford And District Labour Council (Table 4.7), the trend toward stronger party influence in labour affairs becomes more evident. This lends credence to the initial argument that in Brantford, the N.D.P. is the partisan voice of the labour movement.

Investigation of the party/labour relationship also suggests that only the highest union level bureaucrats are involved in the ruling circles of the Brantford N.D.P. Labour

participation in party affairs tends to drop off at the rank-and-file level. Suggestive of this trend is a comparison between the calculated average for Table 4.7 (87 per cent) and the calculated averages for Table 4.1 (71 per cent for Local 397 and 68 per cent for Local 458), Table 4.3 (72 per cent), and Table 4.8 (25 per cent for the number of Presidents and 13 per cent for the number of Secretaries). Simply because trade union leaders publicize the N.D.P. internally and encourage their rank-and-file members to vote for the party, their degree of success is debatable. Working-class solidarity does not exist. Even though the managerial strategy of the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P., stressing electoral organization over the development of socialist policy options, was paralleled by a pragmatic attitude on the part of local trade unionists, rank-and-file workers are no more inclined to commit themselves to one party because of confidence in the strength and permanence of their unions. Rank-and-file unionists have traditionally preferred a secular bargaining approach to party politics instead of a religious devotion to socialism. ✓

Many blue-collar voters appear to regard the traditional parties as representative of all classes. Instead of using their ballots to defeat the major parties at the polls, many working-class voters express their political discontent in the form of labour unrest. The confusion caused by the joint effect of the incompatible American and British political cultures may be one reason for the relatively weak impact of class consciousness in Canada. The American influence is

expressed as business unionism in the organizational form of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Dominated by the conservative craft unions, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. is stridently anti-communist and anti-socialist. It sees its overriding concern to be the winning of higher wages for its members rather than the improvement of the political system. In principle, the American trade union movement opposes any formal ties with a political party. In practice, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has strong informal connections with the U.S. Democratic party. By contrast, the British Trades Union Congress (B.T.U.C.) is overtly political, openly social democratic in belief, and formally linked to the British Labour Party. In comparison to the B.T.U.C. or the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the Canadian Labour Congress (C.L.C.) is a relatively weak umbrella organization with power residing with the member unions. The American and British traditions are at odds with each other, helping to diminish the intensity of class politics. Even though many Canadian union leaders are British-born or trained in the British tradition, they must cope with strong counter-pressures from the U.S. headquarters of the international unions.

International unionism has frustrated the development of a system of Canada-wide industrial unions. General unions such as those in existence in such European nations as Britain, Australia, and France. International unionism has meant strengthening the tendency to local isolation in Canada. The creation of central bodies such as trade union centres, prov-

incial federations, and labour councils, or even the creation of a central political party such as the N.D.P., cannot compensate for this lack of structural identity at the base. One result has been to retard the effective unification of Canadian blue-collar workers for economic, legislative, and political action. Another result has been the obstruction of the development of a Canadian labour movement from functioning on the basis of class objectives such as the total organization of the unorganized or Canadian independence.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹Brantford And District Labour Council, Constitution of the Brantford And District Labour Council, 1972, pp. 6-10.

²Ibid., pp. 12-15.

³Brantford And District Labour Council, Labour Review, 1975, p. 49.

⁴Brantford And District Labour Council, Brantford Labour Day Souvenir Programme, 1974, p. 5.

⁵Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

⁶This discussion is patterned after Leo Zakuta's analysis of the C.C.F. Refer to Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 140-142.

⁷U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meeting, May 10, 1937.

⁸Ibid., November 15, 1938.

⁹Ibid., June 15, 1942.

¹⁰U.A.W.-C.I.O. War Worker, Brantford-Simcoe Edition, Volume 1, No. XVI, August 2, 1943, p. 1.

¹¹Ibid., p. 2.

¹²Ibid., p. 4.

¹³Brantford Expositor, October 16, 1935.

¹⁴Ibid., May 15, 1945.

¹⁵Ibid., June 12, 1945.

¹⁶Towards the Dawn (A C.C.F. Publication, 1938), p. 2.

¹⁷Stanley Knowles, The New Party (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961), p. 13.

¹⁸U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meeting, October 12, 1943.

¹⁹Ibid., December 1, 1943.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (cont'd)

²⁰Ibid., May 11, 1943.

²¹Ibid., July 13, 1943.

²²Ibid., August 30, 1943.

²³Brantford C.C.F., Financial Committee Report, July 14, 1943.

²⁴U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meeting, September 27, 1943.

²⁵Ibid., January 11, 1944.

²⁶Ibid., December 4, 1944.

²⁷Brantford Expositor, May 22, 1945.

²⁸Ibid., May 17, 1945.

²⁹Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 140-142.

³⁰Ibid., p. 77.

³¹Ibid., p. 74.

³²U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meeting, February 10, 1948.

³³Ibid., January 8, 1948.

³⁴Ibid., April 4, 1949.

³⁵Ibid., May 18, 1949.

³⁶Brantford Expositor, June 22, 1949.

³⁷Ibid., June 25, 1949.

³⁸Ibid., June 28, 1949.

³⁹U.A.W. News Bulletin, The Canadian Labourer, October 11, 1950, p. 8.

⁴⁰Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), p. 109.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (cont'd)

⁴¹U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meeting, June 16-17, 1951.

⁴²Ibid., October 19, 1951.

⁴³Ibid., December 17, 1951.

⁴⁴Ibid., January 16, 1952.

⁴⁵Ibid., July 8, 1953.

⁴⁶U.A.W. Local 458, Minutes of Special Executive Board Meeting, June 25, 1953.

⁴⁷Brantford Expositor, August 10, 1953.

⁴⁸Ibid., August 11, 1953.

⁴⁹Ibid., August 12, 1953.

⁵⁰U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meeting, March 10, 1954.

⁵¹Ibid., March 6, 1954.

⁵²Ibid., July 14, 1954.

⁵³U.A.W. Local 458, Local Union News, Volume 1, No. 1, 1955, p. 3.

⁵⁴U.A.W. Local 397, Local Union News, Volume 2, No. 1, 1955, p. 10.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 5.

⁵⁶Obtained through the cooperation of Charles Mackay, August 12, 1976.

⁵⁷U.A.W. Local 397/Local 458, Local Union News, March, 1954, Volume 1.

⁵⁸U.A.W. Local 397, Local Union News, Volume 3, No. 6, March, 1957, p. 4.

⁵⁹Ibid., Volume 3, No. 4, January 1957, p. 10.

⁶⁰Ibid., Volume 3, No. 2, October 1956, p. 12.

⁶¹Ibid., Volume 3, No. 2, October 1945, p. 12.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV, (cont'd)

⁶²Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

⁶³Brantford C.C.F., Minutes of Executive Meeting, September 18, 1959.

⁶⁴Ibid., September 18, 1959.

⁶⁵Stanley Knowles, The New Party (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961), p. 9; Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour In Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), Chapter 6.

⁶⁶Federal N.D.P., New Democratic Party: The Story of Its Foundation (The New Democratic Party of Canada, 301 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa), p. 2.

⁶⁷Stanley Knowles, The New Party (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961), p. 19.

⁶⁸Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

⁶⁹Ibid., 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

⁷⁰U.A.W. Worker's Problems Are Democracy's Problems (A pamphlet prepared on the Canadian Economic Conference, Windsor, 1961), p. IV.

⁷¹Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976; Brantford Expositor, August 18, 1961.

⁷²Federal N.D.P., New Democratic Party: The Story of Its Foundation (The New Democratic Party of Canada, 301 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa), p. 3.

⁷³Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁴The New Democratic Party of Canada, Constitution of the N.D.P. (Ottawa, 1971), Article V, p. 4.

⁷⁵Brantford Expositor, September 20, 1963.

⁷⁶Interview with William Humble, 7:00 p.m., May 31, 1976.

⁷⁷Brantford N.D.P., Constitution of the Brantford N.D.P. Party Association, Article V, Section 5:01 (b).

⁷⁸U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meeting, April 11, 1966.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV, (cont'd)

⁷⁹Ibid., January 15, 1970.

⁸⁰U.A.W., Constitution of the U.A.W., Section IV.

⁸¹Ibid., Section V.

⁸²Brantford And District Labour Council, Labour Review, 1975, p. 6.

⁸³The Brantford Labour Council, Minutes of Executive Meeting, November 25, 1964.

⁸⁴U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meeting, September 15, 1965.

⁸⁵Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, September 24, 1965.

⁸⁶Ibid., September 24, 1965.

⁸⁷The Brantford Labour Council, Minutes of Executive Meeting, September 22, 1965.

⁸⁸Ibid., April 26, 1967.

⁸⁹Brantford N.D.P., Final Election Statement of the Brantford Riding N.D.P. Party, October 17, 1967.

⁹⁰Ibid., October 17, 1967.

⁹¹Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, October 22, 1967.

⁹²Brantford N.D.P., Final Election Statement of the Brantford Riding N.D.P. Party, October 17, 1967.

⁹³Ibid., October 17, 1967.

⁹⁴Interview with Mac Makarchuk, 8:00 p.m., June 6, 1976.

⁹⁵Brantford N.D.P., Minutes of Executive Meeting, April 18, 1968.

⁹⁶The Brantford Labour Council, Minutes of Executive Meeting, May 22, 1968.

⁹⁷Interview with Derek Blackburn, 12:30 p.m., June 5, 1976.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV, (cont'd)

⁹⁸Interview with Charles Mackay, 7:30 p.m., June 2, 1976.

⁹⁹Stuart Jamieson, Labour Unionism And Collective Bargaining (In 'Social Purpose For Canada', M.K. Oliver (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 342.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 348.

¹⁰¹The Brantford And District Labour Council, Minutes of Annual Meeting, January 4, 1970.

¹⁰²The Brantford And District Labour Council, Minutes of Executive Meeting, April 22, 1970.

¹⁰³Ibid., May 20, 1970.

¹⁰⁴Brantford Expositor, May 28, 1970, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵The Brantford And District Labour Council, Minutes of General Meeting, October 28, 1970.

¹⁰⁶The Brantford And District Labour Council, Minutes of Executive Meeting, March 17, 1971.

¹⁰⁷The Brantford And District Labour Council, Minutes of General Meeting, March 26, 1971.

¹⁰⁸Brantford-Brant N.D.P., Minutes of General Meeting, August 17, 1971.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., August 17, 1971

¹¹⁰The Brantford And District Labour Council, Minutes of Annual Meeting, January 9, 1972.

¹¹¹The Brantford And District Labour Council, Minutes of General Meeting, May 24, 1972.

¹¹²Ibid., May 24, 1972.

¹¹³Ibid., September 27, 1972.

¹¹⁴The Brantford And District Labour Council, Minutes of Annual Meeting, January 4, 1973.

¹¹⁵Calculated on the basis of Table 3.2 and Table 2.2.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (cont'd)

¹¹⁶Determined on the basis of Finaal Election Statements of The Brantford Riding N.D.P. Party, for October 17, 1967; October 31, 1972; July 12, 1974; September 16, 1975.

It is useful to note that the Election Finance Reform Act, 1975, reduced local campaign contributions to the N.D.P. in the September 16, 1975 Ontario Provincial Election. The maximum subsidy payable to the N.D.P. candidate Mac Makarchuk, was \$6,450.56. Refer to The First Report of the Commission on Election Contributions And Expenses, May 7th to December 31st 1975 (51 Bloor Street West, Toronto, M7A 1A2), p. 8.

¹¹⁷Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), pp. 215-219.

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 215-219.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter will be to provide a summary of the study's findings and their relationship with the initial problem. Though no two constituencies are exactly alike, the study of the Brantford Riding C.C.F.-N.D.P. helps us to understand the causes and the problems of the growth of this third party.¹

The Party/Movement Theme in Perspective

In relation to the party/movement concept, the Brantford C.C.F. represented a moral revolt against capitalist society. Unfortunately, the party displayed little understanding of the nature of that society which fostered the capitalist system. To this extent, the local party illustrated Walter Young's assertion that the C.C.F. lacked a flexible and pragmatic approach in grappling with the multiple attitudes of Canadian Politics.²

C.C.F.'ers spoke of the domination of one class by another, but in actuality rejected any notion of a class struggle. In the final analysis, the rejection of a class struggle was a sign of the party's fundamentally pragmatic temper. C.C.F.'ers proposed revolutionary change, but without conflict.

They sought to create a society dedicated to the principles of Christianity and socialist equality attained through co-operation.

The Brantford C.C.F. never strayed from its commitment to the parliamentary system. It had a profound belief in the wonders that could be performed if only the electorate could be educated to elect it into office. In this regard, the local party coincided with Walter Young's analysis that the C.C.F.'s outlook reflected that of a movement, based on the premise that social and economic disparity could be alleviated through a programme of continual education.³

Significantly, the Brantford C.C.F. never promoted the manipulation of organized labour for political ends. In contrast to class conflict it advocated the so-called three P's (Peace, Persuasion, and Parliament). C.C.F.'ers ardently believed in the notion that economic growth was equated with progress and that happiness could be found in material abundance.

In this respect, the Brantford C.C.F. was both a movement and a party. But contrary to Walter Young's critique,⁴ it succeeded in maintaining the delicate balance between the party-oriented right-wing and the movement-oriented left-wing. Both tended to complement the other and work in harmony.

In contrast to Gerald Caplan's analysis,⁵ the revolutionary socialists (the marginal members of society, the estranged outcasts, malcontents, anarchists, and generally those who

despised authority of any form) were pariahs in the Brantford C.C.F. Instead of providing a medium for discontent and disruption of the party organization, the movement strengthened the party by functioning as a psychological refuge from the failures in the political arena.

In the context of the Brantford C.C.F., socialism seems to correspond with Leo Zakuta's description of C.C.F. ideological development.⁶ Generally, as the party became involved in the competitive struggle for political power, a noticeable shift to the right occurred in its ideological outlook.

Whereas the C.C.F. of the 1930's debated the eradication of capitalism, the C.C.F. of the 1950's spoke of ameliorating the capitalist system. As early as 1942, the party had relinquished its objective of eliminating capitalism through the nationalization of the principal means of production. The new objective became the establishment of the welfare state in Canada.

Whereas the C.C.F. of the 1930's spoke of a socialist economy, the C.C.F. of the 1950's talked of a mixed economy. Whereas the C.C.F. of the 1930's advocated the abolition of the profit incentive and competition and its replacement with social incentives and cooperation, the C.C.F. of the 1950's spoke of regulating profits and eliminating profiteers. Fundamentally, a drift toward liberal reformism occurred, coupled with the process of institutionalization. But one must bear in mind that while the C.C.F. underwent ideological transforma-

tion, the Liberal and Progressive Conservative Parties met the same fate. The Second World War taught everyone the benefits of government intervention. Both Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments implicitly accepted the responsibility of maintaining full employment and generally accepted the principles of the welfare state. When the old-line parties made concessions, they were made in the interests of political expediency. They were only made to stifle the threat of socialism, which the C.C.F. represented.

Throughout the 1950's, there was in fact little to distinguish the three parties from each other. The local C.C.F. became popularly identified as the party that clamoured the loudest whenever pensions, hospitalization, unemployment insurance, and other such progressive social legislation was announced. While old-line parties accepted the idea of a mixed economy, the C.C.F. wanted a more complex economic system.

In relation to the party/movement theme, the Brantford N.D.P. was a product of the C.C.F. era, the Cold War, and the 'end of ideology' syndrome. The Brantford N.D.P. is fundamentally an organization in which the party-oriented right-wing element became dominant over the weak, movement-oriented left-wing element. The evangelical fervor and the burning ideological anger of the C.C.F. era has been replaced by an overriding concern for electoral victory and N.D.P. aspirations to become a mass party.

The interlude of the Brantford Waffle represented a source of temporary conflict over the purposes of the local

party. The Waffle element typified the movement-oriented left-wing segment of the N.D.P. and sought to restore the balance between ideology and electoral victory in favour of ideological purity. However, the local N.D.P. was now the major electoral force in Brantford and was preoccupied with electoral concerns. This electoral focus annoyed the ideological members of the party, but it was too late to return to the movement orientation of the C.C.F.

In addition to facing entrenched organizational opposition, the Waffle element's very presence upset ordinary working-class people who were mainly concerned with everyday practical affairs such as meeting mortgage payments, higher prices, and the fear of unemployment. These people did not want an N.D.P. which was an impotent socialist sect. Additionally, the local Waffle element was divorced from the party mainstream in that it was composed essentially of middle-class academics. The Waffle regarded the influx of trade unionists into the Brantford N.D.P. as injurious to the party's true philosophy and programme. The leadership of the local N.D.P. has become increasingly reformist while its relationship with the trade union movement has become more intimate. According to Gad Horowitz, this has had the effect of providing ammunition for left-wing dissidents' apprehensions.⁷

The Waffle element was caught up in an era in which most of those who joined the N.D.P. did so not because they wanted to feel righteous or because they wanted a debating

forum. Rather, they wanted to proceed with the task set down by the Founding Convention in 1961, namely to build a mass party of the democratic left in Canada.

In the process of aspiring to become a mass party, the N.D.P. has become increasingly classless. That is, it still professes to be the legitimate spokesman for the poor and the down-trodden but it also takes in affluent trade unionists, academics, and professionals: people incidentally, with few links to that segment of society which the party purports to champion.

The voice of the N.D.P. has been modified from a fire-in-the-belly clamour to a quest for political respectability. But some elements in the party want desperately to remain faithful to its principles of doctrinaire socialism as well. In attempting to fuse them with the dictates of political expediency, the N.D.P. remains suspended somewhere in between the party and the movement.

As for fresh ideas, the N.D.P. has seemingly depleted its resources. The old causes it championed, essentially a quest for basic social welfare programmes, are now outdated because many of them have since been implemented through a succession of old-party governments.

In sum, during the C.C.F. era, the movement-oriented left-wing segment of the party was integral to the very substance of the organization. During the N.D.P. era, however, the party-oriented right-wing segment dominated, with the ex-

ception of the brief Waffle interlude. The distinction to be made in the Brantford context between the C.C.F. and N.D.P. eras is that unlike the former, the latter lacks diversification.

The Party/Labour Relationship In Perspective

Generally, the party/labour relationship in Brantford has been one of a progression from relative isolation of both groups to mutual support for the common goal of social reform. The Gomperist Tradition, which seemingly applied to this relationship between 1937-1945 and to some extent as late as 1950-1961, has been rejected in the last analysis in favour of a greater degree of direct political action.

But local labour leaders must recognize the fact that rank-and-file labour support for the N.D.P. should not be taken for granted. The more conservative unions, notably in the construction trades, remain aloof from the party and faithful to the craft union tradition of non-partisanship. The cause of this reluctance among trade unions to support the N.D.P. may be attributed to a number of factors, but the most important is the continuing strength of non-partisanship.

Individuals in North America join unions to better their economic lot. They are not given a licence to change society. Trade unionists are pragmatists at heart. They comfort themselves with the rhetoric of brotherhood and cooperation, while grabbing the maximum available return from a capitalist economy.

The N.D.P.'s political effectiveness depends upon a continual rapport and organic relationship with organized workers. In this respect, a case could be made that, unlike the C.C.F., socialism is not the defining feature of the N.D.P. The defining feature of the Brantford N.D.P. is a pre-occupation with winning elections. According to Gad Horowitz,⁸ Canadian trade unionists want to support a winner. They refuse to place their destinies in the hands of rhetoricians. Labour support is contingent upon party victories. Party victories in turn depend upon labour support. Consequently, the Brantford N.D.P. has been compelled to modify its position to accommodate political reality in order to court local labour.

Socialists believe that their broad policies will benefit the workers' living conditions. The 1975 Ontario Provincial Election, and this is certainly true in Brantford, indicated that socialists must present their views in specific concrete issue terms if the N.D.P. is to win new seats.

The Brantford N.D.P. is not resting upon its laurels of two sitting N.D.P. members but planning a continuing campaign under the auspices of a paid full or part-time organizer in the interim between elections, with the organizer's salary to come from U.A.W. coffers. As far as local labour is concerned, the major area of possible expansion is in the sphere of political action since "collective bargaining under present legal circumstances has been unable to effectively secure a significant redistribution of wealth in North America".⁹

Concluding Remarks

The crisis situation created by the Second World War constituted a triggering event which attracted popular support for the C.C.F. As the costs of the war grew, people looked to new leaders who represented a sharp break with the dismal Depression past and the wearisome War present. Conversely, when the party was at its nadir, "a sense of paralyzing weariness overcame the group".¹⁰ Correspondingly, the Brantford C.C.F. "lived from crisis to crisis". The party registered an increase in popular vote (federally) from eight percent in 1940 to 25 percent in 1957. Provincially, the party's popular vote was erratic in that it fluctuated from 40 percent in 1943 to 24 percent in 1945 to 32 percent in 1951. These results, in the Brantford context, tend to weaken Leo Zakuta's finding¹¹ that the C.C.F. experienced a period of major party decline from 1945-1949. Generally, the local C.C.F.-N.D.P. popular vote has exceeded the national and general provincial voting trends. However, when the Brantford C.C.F. was at its lowest ebb, the substance of constituency meetings was humdrum. Activity between elections was negligible. Demoralization was a constant affliction. But it should be noted that constituency meetings and activity between elections during the N.D.P. era has differed only marginally since the days of the C.C.F. This makes it difficult to understand the N.D.P.'s recent winning streak in Brantford. The only plausible explanation would be the quality of the

candidates, Derek Blackburn and Mac Makarchuk. Both are very credible and personable candidates with a capability of attracting votes.

Red-baiting, or the so-called communist bogey, was more prevalent and effective in Brantford during the C.C.F. era. It had the desired effect of instilling fear within the electorate toward the party. In particular, during the 1945 Ontario Provincial Election, a vicious propaganda campaign was launched against C.C.F. candidate Charles Strange.¹² Articles appeared on numerous occasions in the Brantford Expositor to this effect. During the early part of the N.D.P. era (1961-1967) the Red Scare gradually diminished. People began to see through the facade of propaganda and voted according to conscience. Since 1967, such tactics have been relatively ineffective in Brantford.

Seymour Martin Lipset¹³ has argued that the Saskatchewan C.C.F. was unique because it was not perceived as an anomaly within the context of Saskatchewan society. The Party was regarded as the legitimate spokesman for the majority of the province's citizens. Walter Young¹⁴ has argued that the national C.C.F. was unique because it was both a party and a movement that sought to operate through the legitimate channels of the Canadian political system.

This study concludes that the experience of the Brantford N.D.P. is rare among N.D.P. constituency organizations because of its dynamic elected members, Mac Makarchuk and Derek

Blackburn. In less than a decade, they brought the C.C.F.-N.D.P. from third party status to become a potent partisan force in Brantford. Evidence supporting the impact of the Makarchuk-Blackburn era (1965-1975) on Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P. electoral fortunes is indicated by graphs 3.1 (Percentage of Popular Vote for the C.C.F.-N.D.P. in Federal Elections) and 3.2 (Percentage of Popular Vote for the C.C.F.-N.D.P. in Provincial Elections). Both graphs strongly suggest that the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P. received its greatest percentage of popular vote during the Makarchuk-Blackburn era. If one compares the average popular vote of the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P. provincially from 1934-1963, including the 1938 provincial by-election (22 percent), and from 1967-1975 (36 percent), an increase of 14 percent is noted. Similarly, by drawing a comparison between the average popular vote of the Brantford C.C.F.-N.D.P. federally from 1935-1963 (15 percent), and from 1965-1974, including the 1971 federal by-election (37 percent) an increase of 22 percent is realized.

A comparison between tables 2.1 (Important Brantford C.C.F. Members) and 3.1 (Important Brantford N.D.P. Members) suggests a trend toward greater non-labour involvement in local party affairs. Table 2.1 shows that during the C.C.F. era, 69 percent of the important Brantford C.C.F. members isolated in this study were labour people, whereas Table 3.1 suggests that during the N.D.P. era, only 41 percent of the important Brantford N.D.P. members were labour people. This

represents a drop of 28 percent. This indicates that the N.D.P. is expanding its popular base of organizational support in Brantford, no doubt as a result of the middle-class appeal of both Mac Makarchuk and Derek Blackburn. At the same time, the success of N.D.P. candidates draws in greater commitment from the party's major support base, organized labour.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

¹Conrad Winn, John McMenemy, Political Parties in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1976), p. 29.

²Walter Young, The Anatomy of a Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 280-290.

³Ibid., p. 289.

⁴Ibid., pp. 55-57, 290-291.

⁵Gerald Caplan, The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 196.

⁶Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 140-142.

⁷Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour In Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 140-143.

⁸Ibid., pp. 142-146.

⁹U.A.W. Local 397, Minutes of Executive Meeting, August 12, 1970.

¹⁰Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), p. 126.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 140-142.

¹²Interview with Charles Strange, 2:30 p.m., May 31, 1976.

¹³Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950).

¹⁴Walter Young, The Anatomy of a Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 289-301.

APPENDICES

No. 54

Shares 5

Stafford Printers Limited

Incorporated under the Ontario Companies Act

AUTHORIZED CAPITAL

\$40,000 divided into 40,000 shares of the par value of \$1.00 each

This Certifies that William Hanson is the registered owner of five fully paid and non-assessable shares of the par value of \$1. each in the **Stafford Printers Limited** transferable only on the books of the Company by the holder hereof in person or by attorney upon surrender of this certificate properly endorsed. This certificate is transferable at the office of the Company in Toronto, Canada.

In Witness Whereof the Company has caused this certificate to be signed by its duly authorized officers and its corporate seal to be hereunto affixed this 16th day of December 193 5

Fredham Gray

President.

Mosden Hazen

Vice-President and Managing Director.

Margaret Sedgewick

Secretary-Treasurer.

APPENDIX B: Letter(s) From Joseph Noseworthy To The Brant-C.C.F., Requesting The Establishment of a Full-Time Area Party Organizer



CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION

ONTARIO SECTION

THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF ONTARIO

565 JARVIS STREET, TORONTO 5, RANDOLPH 5148

E. LEAVENS, M.P.P.
GENERAL SECRETARY



MORDEN LAZARUS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

July 23, 1945

Mr. William Hanson
R.R. #5
BRANTFORD, Ontario

Dear Mr. Hanson:

I have written to the following people in Brantford Riding, asking for contributions for the support of an Organizer for an initial three-month period, and have asked them to make their remittance to you as Treasurer of the Riding. Upon receipt of these remittances, we will appreciate your sending them without delay to this office, and indicate that the money has been sent in for the express purpose of taking care of the organizer's salary and expenses.

The members to whom I have written are as follows:

PARIS: Delton Schweitzer
Gordon Johnston
S. Kirby
Harold Stover

These will probably send their money to Schweitzer, either to you or direct to us. In the case of the latter, we shall report receipts to you.

BRANTFORD AREA: George Birkett, 20 Downing St., Brantford
~~E. Birkett, 10 Downing Street, "~~
~~John Birkett, 18 Downing Street, "~~
C. E. Birkett, R.R. 6, Brantford
A. Brock, McClure Avenue, Brantford
George Cox, R.R. 6, Brantford

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Noseworthy
J. W. NOSEWORTHY
Provincial Organizer
R.

JWN:R



CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION

ONTARIO SECTION

THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF ONTARIO

565 JARVIS STREET, TORONTO 5, RANDOLPH 5148

E. LEAVENS, M.P.P.
GENERAL SECRETARY



MORDEN LAZARUS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

July 23, 1945

Mr. William Hanson
R.R. 5
BRANTFORD, Ontario

Dear Mr. Hanson:

I regret very much that you were unable to attend our meeting at Nelson Cox's on Friday night. It was there agreed that you, as Riding Treasurer, along with George Cox, the Riding President, represent the Brant Riding Executive at a Zone Organizing Committee until such time as a full meeting of the Executive can be called. We are assured of enough finances in the four ridings to take care of an organizer for three months, and I trust that we can get an organizer started in the field early in August.

I am calling the first meeting of that Zone Committee to meet at Nelson Cox's, 218 St. Paul Avenue, Brantford, on Monday evening, March 30th, around 8:30 P.M.

I trust that you will be able to attend.

Yours very truly,

J. W. NOSEWORTHY
Provincial Organizer

JWN:R

1949

IT CAN BE DONE!

SASKATCHEWAN Under a C.C.F. Government



REG. COOPER

IN ONLY FOUR YEARS THEY HAVE:

- The Best Health Program
- The Best Labor Legislation
- The Best Farm Security
- The Best Auto Insurance Plan
- The Only Bill of Rights In Canada

ONTARIO With Far Greater Resources
The People Can Achieve As Much — And MORE.
Let's Start NOW!

People First! — VOTE C.C.F.
VOTE ALD. REG. COOPER

HEAR REG. COOPER

tonight on CKPC 9.30 to 9.40 P.M.

1951



REG. COOPER

7 GRAND STREET
BRANTFORD, ONTARIO

November 18th, 1951

TO THE FAMILIES OF BRANTFORD AND BRANT

As this message reaches your home may I say that I regret that time has not permitted me to visit each home during the past few weeks. I would have liked to talk to every elector about the needs of our time and generation.

For a number of years I have been actively engaged in Municipal work as a school trustee and alderman. I have met thousands of our people and been greatly encouraged by their moral support, by their constructive criticism and broad understanding of the conduct of public business and the effect it has on daily living.

I feel that this close contact together with the necessary experience in administration has fitted me to represent you in the Legislative assembly of this Province.

The Political Movement that I represent, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation has, I believe, the best program for our people. Our plan for a special ten percent subsidy on your real estate taxes for 1952, our housing program, our hospital insurance plan, low cost auto-insurance plan, amended labor laws, compensation statutes and amended Farm Marketing and Milk control Acts are designed for the needs of our people.

They are moderate, they are fair and will provide our expanding economy the legislation it needs for progress with social justice and security.

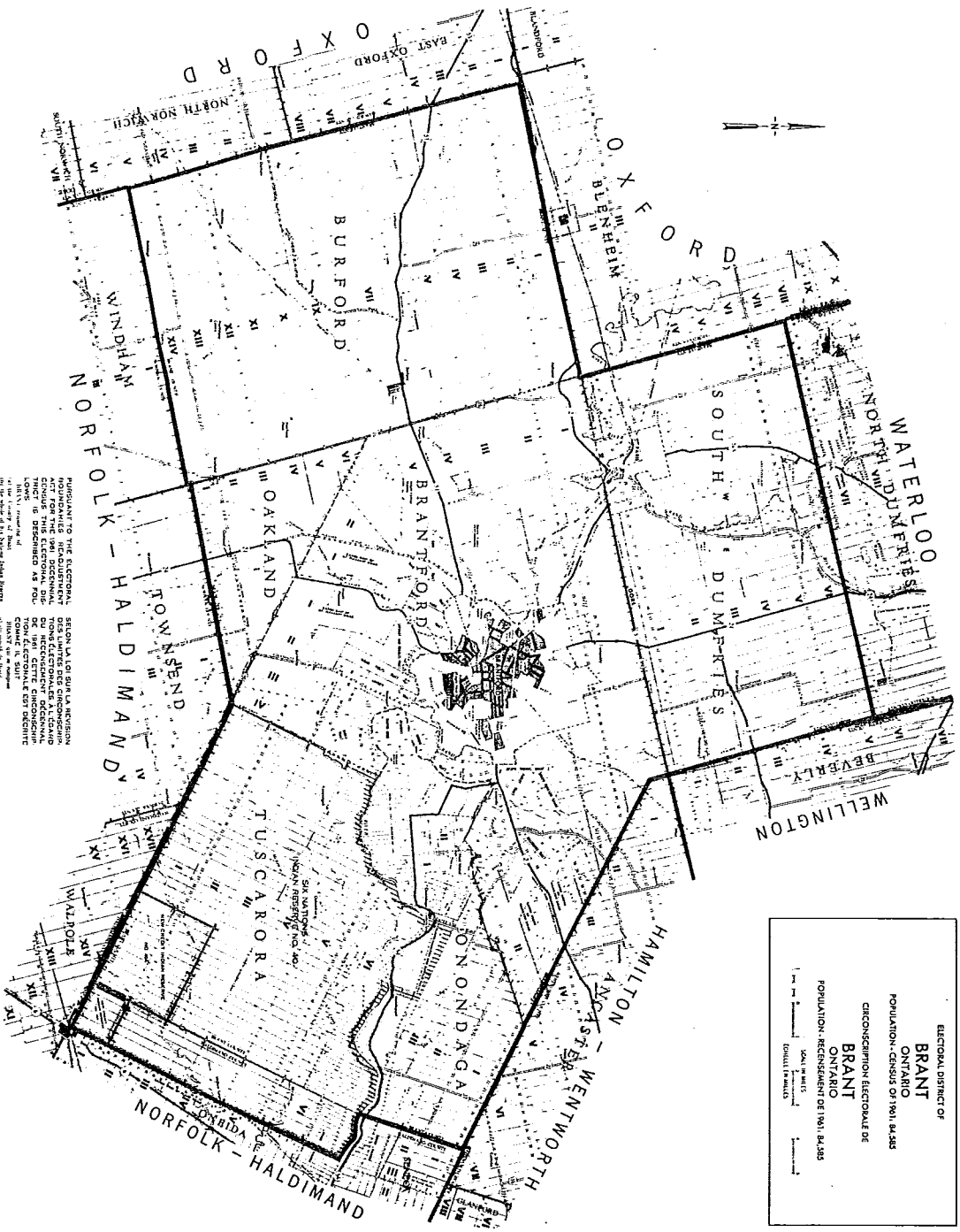
Our plan for the advancement of scholarships for university education to capable students provides equality of opportunity. On the other side of the picture a cost of living bonus for our pensioners will be only a just reward for services rendered.

I have said this program is moderate and practical. I have read in the daily paper where within three weeks after the British elections, during the reading of the Chancellor's report to parliament that "the Tory M.P.'s sat shocked and silent as their election promises failed."

In 1944 Saskatchewan elected a C.C.F. Government. Before returning for re-election every point in their program was implemented. Of course they were re-elected. Will you seriously consider our program and let us go forward together with the C.C.F. in Ontario.?

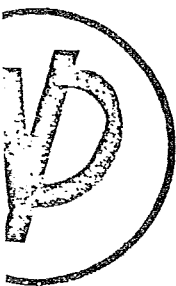
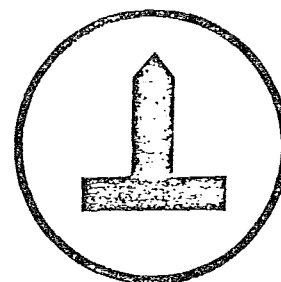
Very Sincerely

Reg. Cooper



ELECTORAL DISTRICT OF
BRANT
 ONTARIO
 POPULATION - CENSUS OF 1961: 84,385
 CIRCONSCRIPTION ÉLECTORALE DE
BRANT
 ONTARIO
 POPULATION - RECENSEMENT DE 1961: 84,385

PARAGRAPHE 10 DE LA LOI SUR LA RÉVISION
 DES LIMITES DES CIRCONSCRIPTIONS
 ÉLECTORALES, 1966
 LE DÉPARTEMENT DE LA GÉOMATIQUE
 A ÉLABORÉ CE SCHÉMA À PARTIR
 DES DONNÉES FOURNIES PAR LE
 BUREAU DE LA STATISTIQUE DU
 CANADA, 1966.

**NEWS****LETTER**

BRANTFORD BRANT NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY ASSOCIATION

"The Grassroots"

9

VOLUME 1

NO. 1

"The Grassroots"
10 Charing Cross St.
Brantford, Ontario

THE GRASS ROOTS

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS REPORT

by Len Davies

At the Annual general membership meeting, held at 397 in late January, your riding association took a major step; the election of a Municipal Affairs Committee marked the entry of the Brantford NDP into local politics. As Chairman of this Committee, I would like this opportunity to outline our plans to the membership.

When it was formulated, the Municipal Affairs Committee was assigned the long term goal of putting forward an attractive slate of candidates for the next municipal election. As many of our supporters, who have on their own, contested elections, can witness, being successful at the polls requires a great deal of pre-planning and organization. During the coming eighteen months this committee intends to build the organization which would aid members seeking municipal office in 1970.

Without a doubt the first step in this direction would be involvement of riding members in a programme of political evaluation. During the last two months, the committee has contacted the first of these members to ask them to attend at least one of the spring meetings of the City or Township Councils and the Board of Education. The response thus far has been encouraging; to the observer it is clear just what atmosphere the key decisions are made under and how the elected officials participate. Your committee hopes to assess the three elected bodies in a June meeting of the members who have attended these spring meetings.

Already the fabric of decision making in Brantford is becoming clear. The public parts of the meetings of the Brant County Board of Education appear to involve a combination of referral to committees and rubber stamping committee reports. The "gut" issues, which involve money, people and policies, are not aired for our observers; presumably the trustees deal with these in the "committee-of-the-whole" sessions from which the observers are excluded. Since these secret sessions can and are called without warning during the regular board meetings, the effect is to discourage the public from staying for the remainder of the meeting. Since it has become the butt of so much illiberal and reactionary editorializing by Mr. Cook's competition, it is no wonder that the board has become defensive. But screening the processes of decision-making from visiting members of the public surely is carrying things too far. Our membership involvement programme may be in jeopardy as a result of this process.

NOTE: Len Davies is Chairman of the Municipal Affairs Committee set up by the Brant-Brantford NDP Riding Association. He is also a Vice-President of the Riding Association.

Thanks to Alderman Kerlew, our members attending City Council bi-weekly meetings have received the minutes and agenda for each meeting. While it is easy to follow the business at hand, it becomes apparent that much of the actual decision making is again done behind closed doors, in the meetings of the Number 1 and 2 Committees. Moreover, matters relating to health, welfare, recreation and other services do not come before Council; these are dealt with by appointed, not elected committees, board agencies whose decisions are not discussed during council meetings. Consequently interested members of the public, such as our NDP observers, rarely see their aldermen making decisions of any significance.

(cont. on page 3)

EDITORIAL

A statement of policy on the conviction and imprisonment of Mrs. Jackie Eastman, Mr. Ronald Dingman, Mr. Cecil McPhee and Mr. Gary Armstrong, in Brantford on May 9, 1969.

We feel that the workers who were sentenced and imprisoned on May 9th last, were the victims of a gross miscarriage of justice. These citizens are being punished, not because they perpetrated a crime against society, but rather because the establishment is making them an example through which to pressure others who may have the courage to speak up for their rights. It is a well known ploy of many oppressive regimes, to use so-called trials to frighten and destroy dissent.

These people are citizens who were supporting their fellow workers - men with families and financial responsibilities who were confronted by an employer who refused to bargain in good faith, but rather resorted to economic pressure to achieve his goals.

These men like so many others before them are suffering the humiliations of imprisonment, and listening to lectures on the merits of preserving law and order. Martin Luther King was also imprisoned and similarly lectured, and yet this did not prevent him from winning a Nobel Prize.

Respect for law and order must be earned and not enforced. The laws we have were designed to serve the best interests of the majority, and not to facilitate corporate exploitation. The use of law courts for purposes of intimidation is characteristic of such dictatorial regimes as Hitler's Germany, France's Spain, and many others; however, we must be on guard lest we follow a similar trend in Canada.

We extend our sincere sympathy to the victims of this injustice and remind the citizens of Brantford, that, only through political action can we preserve our precious Democratic System.

The Grass Roots is a publication of the Brant-Brantford New Democratic Party Riding Association. Your contributions, criticisms, and letters are welcome and should be sent to the editor:

George Hess,
40 Byrne St.,
Brantford, Ont.

756-5007

DO WE NEED MONEY ?

We need money badly for our campaign in 1970. I would like to suggest a "Fifty-Fifty Draw" among our members.

This suggestion was defeated once by a small majority at our Executive meeting. How do you feel? We are open for your suggestions.

Please write to the Editor or to me, G. Luya, Scotland, Ont., or phone me at 446-2766.

NOTE: Gordon Luya is chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the Brant-Brantford N.D.P.

DANCE

Make a date for the gala costume dance sponsored by the Brantford New Democratic Party Association, Friday, June 6, at 8:30 p.m. local 458 UAW Hall, Erie Avenue. Prizes for briefest, most humorous, unusual, outlandish, original costume. Price \$2.50 per couple. Prizes - Door Prize and Costume Prize. Tickets call 753-7853.

(2)

THE GRASS ROOTS

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS REPORT, Con't.

Another facet of local politics which deters the democratic process is the presence and composition of the many appointed boards in the city. Since members depend only indirectly on public support, no meetings are open to the public. And, although each has its own "negro" - its Brantford and District Labour Council representative, these appointed boards are composed largely of "establishmentarians" who consider themselves "volunteers" rather than public officials. Under these circumstances, it is indeed possible that N.D.P. observers would be excluded and have no chance to protest this gross denial of democratic rights.

Surely the system of municipal politics corrupts the democratic process! When members of the public, and our N.D.P. Municipal Affairs Committee observers are prevented from witnessing their officials at significant work, then the time has come to question the whole system. Who is this system serving?

Your committee hopes that you will take up the challenge that local politics presents. When a committee member asks you to help, do your part to see the present system for what it is; and then do something about it in December, 1970.

If you could be free to attend any city or county council meetings and county Board of Education meetings as an N.D.P. observer during September and October, contact Len Davies (752-6163) or Dave Neumann (759-7885) now.

FOOD COSTS TOO HIGH?

CO-CPS SAVE YOU MONEY!

Are you interested?

Contact Harry Sanders at 752-5335

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY DRAW

WINNER

Mr. Albert Short,
R.R. # 3,
Brantford, Ont.

IN CAMERA MEETINGS

by Orville Kerlew

Over a number of years, the Brantford City Council has developed a most peculiar habit. The Mayor and Aldermen have cultivated with immeasurable frequency an undemocratic conceptual format, for the entertainment of dialogue. These frequent meetings with the exclusion of radio, press, and public, constitute a travesty of a system, principled on freedom and lack of secrecy. In an attempt to fathom the mysteries of such peculiar occurrences, I can only arrive at one rational conclusion. These clandestine gatherings are designed specifically for the purpose of the Mayor and a few chosen disciples to superimpose their will on the rest of the flock. With the employment of a - close the door and shut the people out - tactic, the chosen few, symbols of the Establishment, can virtually have their own way without endangering themselves publicly. Most of our present Aldermen are totally incapable of being individualistic during debate and these unfortunate souls rely on the chosen clique for guidance during hand raising rituals.

Being a member of this ridiculous outfit is not exactly an exhilarating experience. To witness the complete immersion of elected officials in a morass of guile and deception is definitely far from gratifying. And yet, these people continue to deceive the local taxpayers every two years, and as a result of this deception they are re-elected. Elected for what purpose? To go through the motions of responsible representation. These mis-guided elected officials can best serve the interests of the people of Brantford by doing one of two things; either resigning immediately or abandon all direct involvement in any future elections.

Confidential information is conspicuously absent at these confidential meetings. The taxpayers have a vested interest in this community. They pay the entire shot. By virtue of this, they are entitled to know about all matters pertaining to the running of this city. A tremendous lot of information is withheld from the public unnecessarily and without substantial justification.

NOTE: Orville Kerlew is a Vice-president of the Brant-Brantford NDP Riding Association. He was elected alderman in the last municipal election. He is a member of local 458 of the UAW - CLC and is an executive officer on the Brantford Labour Council

A very positive attempt has to be initiated to eliminate these peck-a-boo style communications. A majority of vote would be almost instrumental in bringing about an immediate end to in-camera meetings. I am seriously handicapped in this area as the cards are stacked against me. Perhaps some pressure from the public sector would assist in bringing an end to these inner-sanctuary debates.

I understand that all political debates in the Provincial Legislature are open to the public. Never at any time is the news media excluded from any session. This is a truly democratic practise.

There are, however, some matters that should be treated in an atmosphere of confidence. For example, an Industry locating in our city might request some degree of secrecy in the transactions, for obvious reasons. We have to treat with respect the requests of investors who will contribute to the development of our city. Excluding these matters only, the rest of municipal affairs should be handled in an open manner for the benefit of the taxpayers in our fair city.

THE PREDICTABLE CRISIS

by Mac Makarchuk, MPP

The recent increases in education taxes have shocked many a taxpayer. Even the most loyal Tory is starting to look with jaundiced eye on what his government has wrought.

The ironic thing about the increases is that, during the education discussion last year in the Legislature, repeated warnings were issued by members of the Opposition that an unbearable tax load will be put on the taxpayer because of the consolidation of the school boards into county units.

Walter Pitman, the NDP member for Peterborough and party education critic, presented actual figures of what consolidation would mean in terms of tax increase. He predicted that the Minister would be faced with a backlash from the taxpayer.

As is usual for a government that has been around for over 25 years, it arrogantly ignored the warnings and went ahead with the consolidation of the school boards.

The chickens came home to roost this spring when education tax levies were announced. In some areas, tax increases were a matter of five to ten per cent. However, other areas in the province experienced increases of up to 500 per cent.

NOTE: Mac Makarchuk is MPP for Brantford Riding in the Ontario legislature. He is an active and outspoken member.

Justifiably, a wave of protest and consternation swept the province. Even the Tory backbencher, whose outstanding characteristic is silence, was roused to life.

The government reacted by bringing in an interim grant designed to placate the rural areas. The cities were told that they must live with the increases.

Faced with the horrifying prospect of having to pay the high taxes, the rural taxpayer is happy to accept the bone thrown to him. The hard-pressed city taxpayer will naturally have to scrape up more money.

Is there a solution to rising educational and other taxes? There is. But first, we will have to change the existing tax structure. This means that corporations and certain individuals, who now do not pay taxes or pay proportionately very little, will have to start paying more. Not any more than the average taxpayer, but proportionately the same amount.

Education costs eat up a large proportion of the tax dollar.

To-day's annual operating costs per student in the province are \$482 for elementary schools and \$1027 for secondary schools. They are expected to rise during the next eight years to \$729 for elementary schools and \$1687 for secondary schools. These are increases of 51 and 64 per cent respectively.

Unless changes are made, the taxpayer will have to absorb the increased costs. The government has stated that they will start absorbing up to 60 per cent of education costs in 1971. They don't state why they are waiting for 1971, except that it is election year in Ontario.

To provide any kind of equitable solution to the education cost problem, the NDP advocates that the province should take over 80 per cent of the cost immediately.

THE GRASS ROOTSTHE PREDICTABLE CRISIS Con'td.

The province can raise this money by implementing some of the recommendations suggested in the Carter Report on taxation. The report states that in 1964, 2.1 billion dollars of income in Canada escaped taxation completely. Another 2.7 billion was lightly taxed.

Assuming that tax reforms were introduced by both the Federal and Provincial governments, about one billion dollars would be collected in taxes. As Ontario generates more than half the wealth in Canada, hopefully about 500 million could trickle down to the province. This would be more than adequate to provide the revenue needed to pay for 80 per cent of education costs. However, to bring about the tax reforms, the government will have to step on the toes of some very important and powerful friends in the corporate world. Of course, these are the same individuals who not only finance the Tory and Liberal parties, but also control them. So, chances for tax reform are very slim.

Unless you elect an NDP government, there is no hope for any meaningful tax reduction.

GRASS ROOTS INTERCHANGE

by Elfrieda Newmann

Communications is an important word to anyone who has serious plans about effecting any change in society. To present ideas, problems, solutions, policies, or candidates all requires communication. Lack of it causes ignorance of the vital issues in any community -local or world-wide- and apathy.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that we in the New Democratic Party learn to communicate with the average citizen -- the grass roots. May I extend my congratulations as editor of INTERCHANGE, the paper of the Brantford Young New Democrats, to the Senior Riding Association and especially their publicity committee for this excellent endeavour to correspond with the people of Brantford area.

NOTE: Elfrieda Newmann is Publicity Director of the Brantford YND and is editor of INTERCHANGE.

It will be the policy of INTERCHANGE to cooperate with the editors of The GRASS ROOTS in whatever way possible, in the form of articles or announcements of mutual interest.

A paper such as THE GRASS ROOTS can put before the riding members and others the facts and opinions about important public issues. And we in Brantford DO have many public issues, as the past few months have proved.

Another function of such a paper can be to inform us all of the efforts made on our behalf by our MPP, Mac Makarchuk, both in the legislature and in the community.

The items on the news broadcasts every day -- student unrest, Black Power, Red Power, the Middle East War, and so on ad nauseum -- all show what happens when there is lack of communications between people and between nations. Our problems may not be of such a vast nature but it is important that we know where our party stands on the issues that confront us -- housing, high cost of food, urban renewal, the Expressway, etc. And it is just for this reason that we must put our whole effort behind this new media of communication --- THE GRASS ROOTS!

THE GRASS ROOTSWHY UNION MEMBERS SHOULD BE POLITICALLY ACTIVE

by Glenn Pattinson

As a union member you should get more politically involved. How many times have you heard that statement? How many times have you heard the reply, "Why should I? What good will it do me - anyway they're all the same."

There is one paramount reason why a trade unionist should. What is being gained at the bargaining table is being lost by government action - at the municipal level, provincial level & the federal level.

The average trade unionist is looking for the highest standard of living possible within a land where there is social justice for all. For more than half a century, labour unions have been improving the lot of the worker, getting better wages, better working conditions better hours & better agreements. This has also had its effects on other sectors - raising the standard of living for everyone.

However, collective bargaining cannot achieve it all. To-day we see the wage increases gained last year wiped out by the increased cost of living. Preventing inflation - or at least containing it - cannot be negotiated at the bargaining

NOTE: Glenn Pattinson is President of the Brantford - Brant NDP riding Association. This article is reprinted by permission of INTERCHANGE

table. Only the federal government is doing little. Some unions have succeeded in negotiating C.O.L. benefits into their agreements, but this applies for only a small percentage of union members. Inflation as much as anything else is the major cause in reducing a worker's purchasing power. Trade unionists should be vitally interested in what their government is doing to combat inflation. Over the past 5 years, the wages of workers have increased by 40% while during the same period, the wages of executives have increased by 60%. While you shouldn't begrudge what somebody else gets, you should be able to expect that those same executives would pay their proportional share of taxes. Is Such the case? The Carter Commission Report shows that about \$5,000,000,000 of income in 1964 escaped taxation altogether, or was carrying too small a share of the burden, due to special tax concessions.

Our taxation system is unfair to the wage-earners & salary earners of Canada - yet, consistently the federal government puts the bulk of increased taxes in the low & middle income wage earners. Trade unionists need to find out how their money is spent, how the cost of government is shared amongst all tax-payers & then do something about it - elect a government that is prepared to introduce a fair tax system.

Most trade unionists are covered by health & welfare plans, which have been negotiated & improved on over the years. It appears soon medicare will

(Cont. on page 8)

WINNERS OF THE HUNDRED CLUB

- | | |
|--------------------|--------|
| 1. RON HEWITT | NO. 92 |
| 2. TOM EASTMAN | NO. 58 |
| 3. KEITH & SANDY | NO. 75 |
| 4. C. OSTERGAARD | NO. 55 |
| 5. JOE CLARK | NO. 41 |
| 6. MAC MAKARCHUK | NO. 96 |
| 7. GLENN PATTINSON | NO. 21 |
| 8. BADGE BROTHERS | NO. 13 |
- & SISTERS

Winners of the Hundred Club
Weekly Draw up to date as of
May 10, 1969.

THE GRASS ROOTSUNION POLITICAL ACTION Con'td.

be a fact of life. Trade unionists were in the forefront of the support for medicare - wanting to see adequate coverage for everyone. However, when medicare comes, it will take improvements in coverage out of the collective bargaining process & make it a legislature matter. It will mean we will have to petition the government in order to improve medical coverage. This is not an easy matter. Once again strong political action by trade unionists will be necessary.

To-day many trade unionists live in homes which are inadequate to their needs, or pay exorbitant rents for apartments because they cannot afford to buy a home. To-day the price of a home is out of reach of the average working man: yet, our government does little about it, except talk of the problem.

All these above points, which take money out of the pockets of all wage earners should be reason enough why trade unionists should become politically active & interested in government. However, there is one other point which should concern them.

To-day, the news media is making great noises about the delicate state of our economy & our law & order which, they assure us, could collapse in complete chaos any moment if one more strike takes place. Our little provinces, anxious to respond, are off & away on their periodic law passing competitions. They are passing or studying acts which would theoretically enable elected cabinets or appointed judges to jam bargaining settlements down the throats of both unions & management.

Such enactment of further restrictive labour legislation would seriously impair the collective bargaining process & further erode previous hard-won gains.

A look at the recent Chicago Rawhide strike is a classic example of the fact that present legislation is already tipped in favour of the employer. The strike started & the Company refused to bargain in good faith. They then proceeded to hire strike-breakers. When these tactics didn't cause the strikers to collapse but instead caused them to resist, they called in the police force to assist in strike-breaking. When this caused some incidents, the Company applied for an injunction to limit picketing based partly on an affidavit of the Police Chief.

It is bad enough that a company would seek an injunction, but to seek it on the basis of evidence of a public official makes a mockery of justice. It was always my impression that the police responsibility was for the public good & not the vested interest of a few. Justice is not served by the issuance of injunctions: it tips the scales in a strike situation strongly in favour of management. Injunctions should be outlawed. Trade unionists should fight like hell to see that injunctions are outlawed & other restrictive labour legislation is prevented.

One way to achieve this is to elect governments that are sympathetic to the working man - not governments that are tools of the economic elite.

These are just a few points why trade unionists should become politically active. If they do so & take a good look at the respective parties: there is no doubt in my mind which party they will elect, NDP the party of the people, for the people - all the people.

THE GRASS ROOTSCLARE SHELLINGTON

On April 26th of this year Brantford lost an outstanding citizen in the personage of Clare Shellington. Born at R.R.#1 Harley on October 31, 1926, Clare Shellington received his Machinists papers from the Waterous Engine Works Company in September 1945. Mr. Shellington remained in the employment of this Company until February of 1969 in his capacity as machinist and latterly Machine Shop Inspector.

Clare held several important positions in Lodge 1105 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. He served as Vice President, a member of the Apprenticeship Committee and the Negotiation Committee culminating his career as president for the past two years.

Being one of the original Directors of the Trades and Labour Club of Brantford, Clare served this organization as Vice President, President and finally Secretary.

A member of the NDP since it's founding convention in 1961, Mr. Shellington held the posts of Vice President and Finance Chairman in this organization during the 1965 federal election. Being an involved member, Mr. Shellington canvassed and actively participated in all elections since 1961.

In his capacity as Vice President of the Brantford Labour Council, Mr. Shellington represented labour on the Brantford Planning Board.

Mr. Shellington was a member of the Trades and Labour Clubs' contingent of workers who aided in conducting bingo games at the Civic Center and as a result of his diligent work rose to the position of Vice Chairman of the Bingo Committee.

It is the fervent hope of this paper that the outstanding career of this great citizen will touch not only the hearts of our readers but also the imagination and spurn them on to even greater heights of accomplishments so as to ensure that the efforts of this great man were not in vain.

MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF
BRANTFORD YOUNG NEW DEMOCRATS

Thursday May 29, 1969

7:30 P.M.

YMCA, Queen Street

*The positions of President and Treasurer are now vacant and elections for these two positions will be held.

*Delegates will be elected to attend the Federal NDY Convention June 29 - July 1 - Ottawa

*Resolutions for Convention will be debated

*Special Speaker and Refreshments

THE GRASS ROOTSYOUTH ACTIVITIES

by Gerry Hess

The Brantford Young New Democratic Club provides an opportunity for New Democrats between the ages of 14 and 30 to work together, exchange ideas and share common interests. In Brantford the YND were instrumental in the organizing of the Brantford Living and Learning Conference on Education. We are presently publishing a monthly newsletter called "Interchange", which so far has been immensely successful. Our plans for the future include the organizing and operating of a Social Action Centre (SAC). This would include a family service department, a complaint centre, to insure that the word of workers and students in Brantford is heard, a coffee house and entertainment centre, a book store, as well as providing Brantford's citizens with a place to organize and overcome our present Unjust Society. To organize SAC we are also anticipating support from the Senior NDP in Brantford along with support from local unions. We are also planning lectures on subjects of direct concern to students and workers such as Drugs, Industrial Democracy, and Student Power.

NOTE: Gerry Hess is Vice-President of the Brantford Young New Democrats and is one of their most active members.

To achieve our goals we need support. Students and Young Workers please hear the call to join the YND and organize to throw off the shackles of our Society! Help work towards the development of true Economic Democracy in Canada and a realistic and rational School system. Become active and involved; join the Brantford Young New Democrats! For further information on memberships or BYND activities, contact: Gerry Hess,
40 Byrne St.
Phone: 756-5007.

ON THE OTHER HAND

by Stanley Tose

A recent proposal on the part all major political parties in Canada is to enter the field of municipal politics. This has been a fact for some time in other countries such as England, and already has been tested to some extent in some cities in Canada. A much larger effort, and more general campaign is proposed in the future, with the mounting of partisan support for candidates at the next municipal election in Brantford, and perhaps also within other communities in the Riding area.

Undoubtedly there are several advantages to such a venture - - an illustration is the election of Orville Kerlew as Alderman on the current Brantford Council. It is also true that the interest and enthusiasm of Party members and workers would be maintained at a more constant level, rather than the loss of interest which is now a fact between the times of Provincial and Federal election campaigns. It may also prove valuable in securing a higher calibre of candidate for public office, and a better clarification of the issues which need to be aired at the municipal level.

ON THE OTHER HAND Con't.

On the other hand ... the entry of political parties on an active basis in local politics may not be an unmixed blessing. It might be that instead of unifying a community to face the problems within its hands that political rivalry would further divide its citizens. It could be that some qualified candidates for office would be defeated because they were running as Conservatives, or Liberals, or even NDP!! After the election the elected officials may find themselves dead-locked in finding solutions because they hold opposing "party" views.

I'm all for involvement of citizens in local politics and concern for the "issues" present in any community. I'm not convinced, however, that formal Party Sponsorship and support of candidates at election time is the real answer. It may work in England, or Toronto, but may not be appropriate in Brantford, or South Dumfries Township.

NOTE: Stanley Tose is a Field Secretary of Christian Education for the United Church of Canada. He is an Area Director on the Brantford - Brant Riding NDP executive.

There are other approaches. How about all Party Associations stimulating or sponsoring a workshop for all persons working in the field of welfare within the Riding. Such a workshop was held recently in Kitchener-Waterloo, and augers well for the future of those communities, as persons from social welfare agencies in the area came closer to an understanding of each other and a common approach to the problems facing them. What a contrast to the "sick" picture of co-operation and support within the welfare agencies in our area.

The fact of county-wide Boards of Education offers another opportunity. The "bad press" such Boards are receiving because of increased taxes at the local level jeopardizes the many beneficial things they were set up to achieve. Again might not Party Associations join in offering opportunities for members of The Board to make known their plans and hopes, and also explain the difficulties they face -- in short to help educate citizens and taxpayers to the opportunities and responsibilities we share.

There are several other examples that might be offered as alternatives to direct involvement at election time only. Perhaps in another issue of Grass Roots there will be opportunity to outline some others.

Something needs to be done at a local, municipal level to increase the competence of civic leadership, and to raise the level of citizen participation and involvement. The answer may be in direct Party action in proposing and supporting partisan slates of candidates for office --- but on the other hand, that may not be the answer. I think it requires a lot of careful study - - what do you think?

CONGRATULATIONS
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THE GRASS ROOTS
on behalf of
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to

THE GRASS ROOTS

on behalf of

LOCAL 397

UAW - CIO

10 King St.

FROM: THE GRASS ROOTS

40 Byrne St.,
BRANTFORD, Ont.

TO:

APPENDIX F: Copy of the Constitution of the Brantford
Riding New Democratic Party

C O N S T I T U T I O N

ARTICLE 1: N A M E:

- 1:01 The name of the Association shall be the "BRANTFORD-BRANT NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION" hereinafter referred to as the "Association".

ARTICLE 2: P U R P O S E:

- 2:02 The purpose of the Association shall be to organize its electoral district(s) for election and educational purposes and, generally, on a continuing basis, to undertake, on behalf of the Party, the furthering of Party work within its district(s). The Association shall select, (subject to Provincial approval under ARTICLE 10 of the Constitution of the Ontario New Democratic Party) and promote the candidacy of members for public office.

ARTICLE 3: M E M B E R S H I P:

- 3:01 Membership shall be open to all persons living in the proposed Federal and Provincial Ridings centred in Brantford and Brant Riding, who hold valid New Democratic Memberships.
- 3:02 The following shall be Members of this Association:-
- (a) All paid-up individual members of the New Democratic Party and of the Young New Democrats, who normally live within the boundaries of these electoral district(s).
 - (b) All members of affiliated organizations who live in the electoral district(s) and who have registered with the Riding Secretary, and who are acceptable under the Constitution of the Ontario New Democratic Party. Such members must have registered thirty (30) days in advance of a nominating convention to be allowed to vote for a candidate. Persons under this category shall not be entitled to vote on this election of delegates to Federal or Provincial Conventions.
 - (c) Any member of the New Democratic Party who normally lives outside the boundaries of the electoral district(s); but who has applied, in writing, to be considered a member of the Riding Association and who has been accepted under the terms of the

ARTICLE 3: MEMBERSHIP - cont'd:

Constitution of the Ontario New Democratic Party. Such persons shall not be allowed to vote for a candidate at a nominating convention.

ARTICLE 4: ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING:

4:01 - An Annual General Meeting of the members of the Association shall be held in January or February in each calendar year. At this meeting, the election of the Executive shall take place, an audited Financial Statement shall be presented and Reports of Officers and Committees shall be heard.

ARTICLE 5: E X E C U T I V E:

5:01 The Riding Association shall have an Executive made up of the following Officers:-

- (a) President - to be elected annually;
- (b) Four (4) Vice-Presidents - elected for 2 years (2 elected for 2 years & 2 elected for 1 year initially);

Two Vice-Presidents to be trade union members and to be responsible for working with the trade union movement.

Two Vice-Presidents to be responsible for developing the N.D.P. with all other groups;

- (c) Secretary - elected for 2 years;
- (d) Treasurer - elected for 2 years;

One of whom shall be elected the Association's delegate to the Provincial Council.

- (e) - Six(6) Area Directors - to be elected annually. The Area Directors shall be elected to represent:-

- (1) Town of Paris - one to be elected;
- (2) Town of Waterford - one to be elected;
- (3) Townships of Blenheim & Burford - one to be elected;
- (4) Townships of Tuscarora & Onondaga - one to be elected;
- (5) Township of South Dumfries - one to be elected;

ARTICLE 5: EXECUTIVE - cont'd:

(6) Township of Townsend, Windham and the Village of Oakland - one to be elected;

(f) Six (6) Directors - at - Large; elected for 2 years - (3 elected for 2 years and 3 elected for 1 year initially);

(g) Two Representatives of the local Young New Democrats - to be appointed/elected by the Y.N.D. Association;

In the event a vacancy for an Area Director cannot be filled at the annual general meeting; an additional Director-at-Large may be elected.

5:02 All Executive Members must be individual members of the Party;

5:03 A quorum for a meeting of the Executive shall be eight (8);

5:04 Any member of the Executive who misses any three (3) consecutive meetings can be removed from the Executive, at the discretion of the Executive;

5:05 The Executive can appoint new members to the Executive to fill vacancies caused by resignation, death or leaving the Riding(s). Such appointments to run only for the unexpired term of those who have left the Executive;

5:06 If a President is lost for any reason, the Executive shall elect a replacement from one of the four (4) Vice-Presidents and elect a new Vice-President from the Area Directors and Directors-at-Large. Then, a new Director will be appointed as per Clause 5:05;

5:07 Any member of the Executive may be elected the Association's alternate delegate to the Provincial Council;

5:08 The Executive shall meet monthly at a time and date established by the Executive &/or at the discretion of the President;

5:09 The Executive shall be empowered to act on behalf of the Association between general meetings;

ARTICLE 6: F I N A N C E:

- 6:01 The funds of the Association shall be deposited in a bank or credit union. The signing officers for the account shall be the Treasurer and either the President or the Secretary. The expenditure of funds shall be approved by the Executive of the Association.

ARTICLE 7: D I S C I P L I N E:

- 7:01 The Association has the right, acting through its Executive, or in a general meeting, to:-
- (a) Accept members subject to the Provincial and Federal Constitutions;
 - (b) Refuse membership applications according to the relevant sections of the Constitution of the Ontario New Democratic Party;
 - (c) Refuse the privilege of participation to members of affiliated organizations according to the provisions of the Constitution of the Ontario New Democratic Party;
 - (d) Expel or suspend members for conduct contrary to the Constitution of the Ontario New Democratic Party, subject to appeal to the Provincial Council.

ARTICLE 8: C O M M I T T E E S:

- 8:01 Standing Committees may be established by the Executive. Such Committees shall automatically cease to exist at the time of the annual general meeting. Such Committees must include an Audit Committee of two members, who shall annually audit the books of the Association.

- 8:02 The Chairman of any Committee must be a member of the Executive and elected by the Executive. However, Committee Members can be drawn from the general membership.

ARTICLE 9: S U B S I D I A R Y B O D I E S:

- 9:01 All groups in the Riding(s) using the name New Democratic Party, or any part or abbreviation, must be authorized by the Riding Executive before they can use the name. They must file with the Secretary of the Riding Executive, a

ARTICLE 9: SUBSIDIARY BODIES - cont'd:

list of their Executive and a copy of the Minutes of the Meetings. Also, they must present a Financial Statement to the Riding Executive annually, and, upon written request, at any time.

ARTICLE 10: - GENERAL MEETINGS:

- 10:01 General meetings may be called on the decision of the President and Secretary or, upon the petition by a majority of the Executive or, by 12 members in good standing. However, in no event, shall there be less than three (3) general meetings per year, including the annual meeting.
- 10:02 The President shall hold a general meeting within 21 days upon receipt of a duly constituted petition.
- 10:03 Notice of any general meeting shall be sent to all members, 7 days in advance of such meeting.

ARTICLE 11: P R O C E D U R E:

- 11:01 In order to expedite the conduct of business at meetings, members shall conduct themselves in an orderly fashion. They shall respect the authority of the Chair. In all matters of procedure, Robert's Rules of Order shall be deemed to apply.
- 11:02 Time at each meeting must be allotted for general discussion.

ARTICLE 12: A M E N D M E N T S:

- 12:01 This Constitution may be amended by a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the members present and voting at a properly notified general meeting, provided there has been at least four (4) weeks notice of motion in advance of the date of the meeting.

Press release - Robert G. Good - March 30th, 1963

"We are the only 'free enterprize' party and the only party that believes in the fundamental social freedom of equality of opportunity for everyone" said guest speaker Bob Good at a New Democratic meeting in Durville on Saturday night. Mr. Good is a well known Brantford farmer, a provincial Vice-President of the Ontario New Democratic party and Chairman of the Ontario Farm Committee of the New Democratic Party. Mr. Good quoted Ake Hall, a Swedish newspaper correspondent, who defined Sweden's economy as "free enterprize capitalism moderated by social aims & standards". He considered this definition of contemporary Sweden as his interpretation of the views and aims of the New Democratic Party.

Mr. Good continued "We now have a great deal of economic regimentation by the business world for their own profit. We have a large and ever growing degree of monopoly practice which has two ~~main~~ major anti-social features. These are: (1) Price levels that are much higher than those that would prevail in a free competitive market and (2) a restriction of goods and services below the level our economy is capable of producing.

The N.D.P. is pledged to a program of full employment. To reach this goal we will provide and enforce effective anti-trust legislation. The Conservatives and Liberals have no hope of overcoming monopolistic obstruction because they do not believe in planning that in any way interferes with the activities of private corporations. A New Democratic government will have to, and will prevent these monopolistic practices to guarantee the success of its full employment program. Those huge companies that have some degree of monopolistic power are the big contributors to the old parties campaign funds, and they make these contributions to guarantee the continuance of their preferred position. It is absurd to think that the old parties will ever bite the hand that feeds them".

Mr. Good also dealt briefly with "the growing conservatism of the Liberal party. that now talks of balanced budget after seven years with no increase in our per capita production. Every economist in western society since Keynes (1935) agree that you do not aim for a balanced budget to get the economy moving again. You should inject large doses of capital into the economy, along with effective anti-monopolistic action". Mr Good concluded by tracing the various ~~former~~ stands of the Liberals on National Marketing Boards for farmers. "In January of 1962 they published a pamphlet in which they promised to enact the necessary legislation if elected. On Feb. 20 1962 they voted unanimously against national marketing legislation in the House of Commons. In June 1962 and now they again promise the farmer the necessary legislation. I believe the record of their actions, not their promises."

do

They will/nothing to offend their friends, the food processors who are fleecing the farmers. The Liberals talk of action. The only action they believe in, and indeed are capable of, is laying down a bigger smokescreen than the conservatives have been doing. This will be a remarkable engineering feat but will not serve either the country or humanity generally".

* * * * *

Press release - Will Mowle - March 30th 1963

The New Democratic Party Candidate for Brant-Haldimand - Will Mowle reiterated his belief that of the three basic issues being debated in the current election campaign, namely, Nuclear Arms, Medicare and Social & Economic Planning - that the question of whether or not Canada should join the Nuclear Club was a major one.

The advent of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles capable of ranges up to 6000 miles had altered Canada's defense role. The use of manned bombers by an enemy armed with nuclear bombs was no longer a practical consideration, and the destruction of such manned bombers by Bomarc and Jet Interceptors had therefore become an obsolete form of defence. With no defence possible against I.C.B.M's what then should Canada do?

Mr. Mowle stressed the importance of Canada helping NATO with conventional forces in an effort to bring about a 'pause' before one side or the other might take the final and drastic action of setting off a nuclear attack. - thus precipitating a large scale and unthinkable nuclear war.

This does not make Canada an isolationist nation. Rather we would declaim to the world how deeply concerned we are with the explosive world situation that already exists among the great atomic powers. By bringing moral pressure to bear on our powerful neighbours to the north and to the south to end the arms race, no matter how small this pressure might be - is much better than acquiring atomic arms. which could well lead to the final destruction of mankind.

Mr. Mowle in conclusion stated "That Canada must muster all its power and strength to defeat the real enemy - poverty and unemployment through social and economic planning and ill health and disease through a universal medicare program"

Parliament is Canada's most important institution. It is the safeguard of our democracy. It is meant to speak for all the people of Canada.

But lately Parliament has become a circus.

Diefenbaker and Pearson and their parties have used Parliament for their own ends. They seem to have forgotten they are in Parliament to serve their country. They have turned Parliament into a forum for political stunts designed only for their own party advantage.

This is not what Parliament is for.

Parliament is to govern, not to play games.

Parliament is to build Canadian identity, not to fragment it.

Parliament is to give leadership, not run from responsibility.

That is what Parliament is for.

Had enough of the old parties and the old ways?

Vote New Democrats into Parliament.

Your Candidate **BILL HUMBLE** for Brantford

Born and educated in Brantford, William Humble has been active in community affairs for many years.

A veteran of the Second World War, he has been a fire-fighter with Brantford Fire Department since 1944.

Mr. Humble became active in the New Democratic Party, because as he puts it: "It is the only party with a program that assures the future well-being of my family and country. The N.D.P. is the Party where People REALLY are Important!"

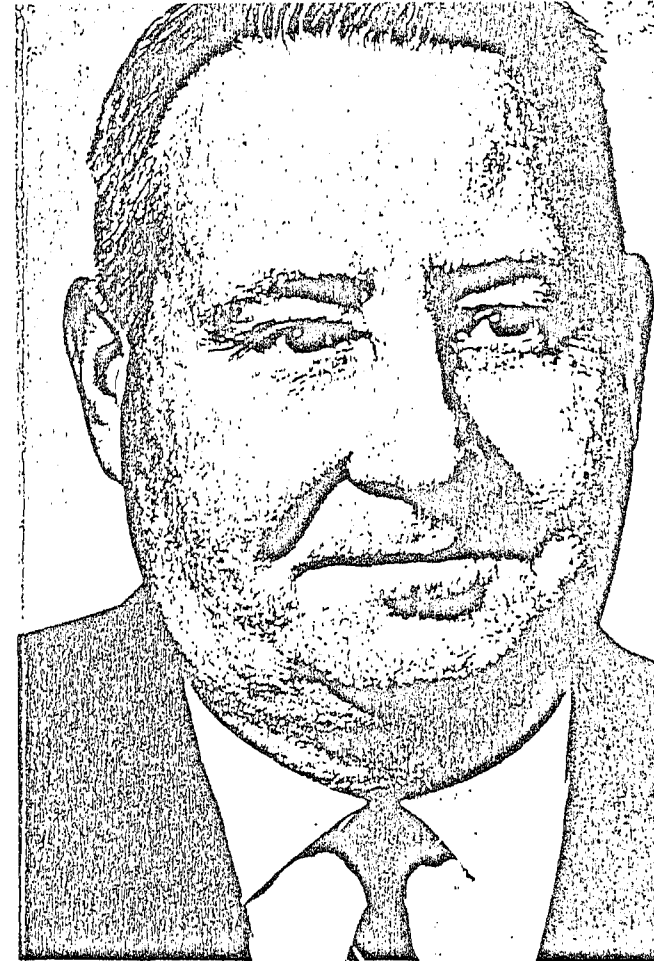
FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL 753-7467

ON APRIL 8

vote



Published by the
Brantford New Democratic Party
Printed by Moyer Printing Co. Ltd.



Vote ...

HUMBLE

**YOUR NEW DEMOCRATIC
CANDIDATE**

APPENDIX H: Copies of William Humble's Campaign Platform to the Brantford Electorate (1963 Federal Election and 1963 Provincial Election)

A FAIR DEAL FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

The Unemployment Insurance Commission to be administered as it was intended — to serve and assist the unemployed!

JOB'S FOR ALL

Every country that has adopted true economic planning has full employment. We in Canada need a Planning Board, a planned economy, and much more public investment.

MEDICARE

Saskatchewan has the only universal medicare plan in North America. A New Democratic government brought it in.

Let's have a plan for all of Canada.

PENSIONS

Portable contributory pension: if you change your job you keep your pension.

Old age pension: \$75 at 65, with no means test.

A CANADIAN ECONOMY

Liberal - Conservative governments have let foreign companies take control of oil and gas, mining and smelting, pulp and paper and manufacturing industries.

Let's have a Canadian Development Fund to build our resources with Canadian savings and capital, to create a really Canadian economy.

CONFEDERATION

Can we afford to go on disagreeing and divided?

Let's redefine confederation and achieve co-operative federalism.

DEFENCE

The best defence for Canada and her Western allies is to prevent nuclear war.

This means stopping the spread of the nuclear club and, therefore, no nuclear weapons for Canada.

It means supplying our forces at home and in NATO with the best conventional weapons.

It means making a mobile force available to the United Nations to help keep peace.

"Canada's most poised and eloquent Parliamentarians do not include the Prime Minister, any of his Cabinet, or the Leader of the Opposition," Senator Grattan O'Leary said Friday night.

"The first four or five — and only — places in Parliament's oratorical stakes go to the New Democratic party".

—Ottawa Journal

"The New Democrats could be confident that their MPs had the ablest individual performances in the Commons".

—Time Magazine

"When it comes to acknowledged stars, the New Democratic party has a bundle of them".

—Montreal Gazette

"The New Democratic party possess some of the finest debating talent in an unusually talented House".

—Ottawa Citizen

"The New Democrats have always respected the principles they stand for, and they certainly are the party in this country which holds most closely to its program . . . it is this quality which most deserves our sympathy".

—Le Soleil

DON'T WAIT TILL NEXT TIME — DO IT NOW!
VOTE NEW DEMOCRAT — VOTE HUMBLE

NEW DEMOCRATS **ACTION** will do it!

In Brantford Elect **BILL HUMBLE**

Born and educated in Brantford.
Fire fighter with the Brantford Fire Department.

Married with 4 children.

Veteran of the Second World War.

Active in Community affairs for many years.

He wishes to be a servant to the citizens of Brantford,
to carry the fight for lower municipal taxes
through increased Provincial grants to Education.

A right to higher education at no cost to the parent.

Sensible legislation that will benefit all the citizens of Brantford.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25th

VOTE



Headquarters — 171 NELSON STREET PHONE 6-6581

Published by Brantford New Democratic Party



Leading the New Democratic Party is Donald C. MacDonald,
M.P.P. for York South. His experience and leadership more than
qualify him to be the next Premier of Ontario.

Briefly, he is an honours graduate of Queen's University, one-time
Montreal Gazette journalist, and an outstanding Naval
Intelligence Officer during World War II.

He served with the CCF National Office following the War, and in
1953 was elected Leader of the Ontario CCF. He was first
elected MPP for York South in 1955, and re-elected
by over 5,000 votes in 1959.

He was confirmed Leader of the New Democratic Party in 1961.

Time and again he has proved his ability,
both in the Legislature, and on the hustings. Perhaps
the Peterborough Examiner summed it up best when it said:

"Mr. MacDonald is one of the most valuable
elected members in the House."



ACTION

The NEW DEMOCRATIC Program for Ontario

MEDICARE — NOT "SEMI-CARE"

Full medical care insurance — covering specialists and general practitioners — at a price you can afford. Basic weekly premium of 30¢ for a single person and 60¢ for families.

FULL VALUE FOR THE CONSUMER

Exploitation by mortgage and loan companies will be ended. The quality of consumer goods will be tested with results made public.

REAL ECONOMIC GROWTH

Ontario is rich in resources. Only by economic planning can we realize our province's full greatness.

BASIC PENSIONS — \$75 AT 65 NOW

The immediate needs of the pensioner must be met. A universal, contributory pension plan will provide 50% of income on retirement in the future.

PROGRESS FOR ONTARIO

JOBS FOR ALL

In this Age of Automation, planning is imperative, to create new job opportunities and provide job security.

AN OPEN DOOR TO EDUCATION

Major expansion of our universities and other advanced training facilities is an essential investment in our youth. All fees for higher education must be abolished.

LOWER AUTO INSURANCE RATES

A universal public automobile insurance plan will reduce rates by one-third and provide better coverage.

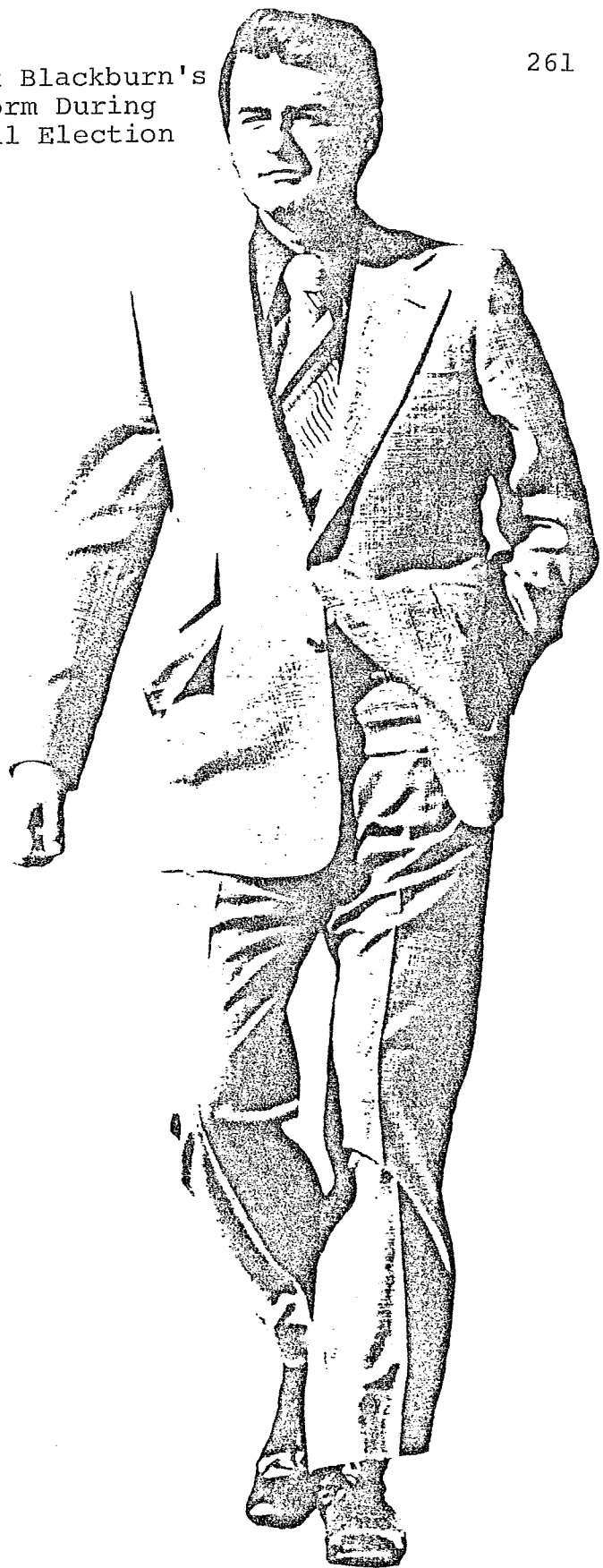
BETTER COMMUNITIES FOR BETTER LIVING

Community planning will provide greater enjoyment of life. More schools, hospitals, rapid transit and recreation facilities are a must.

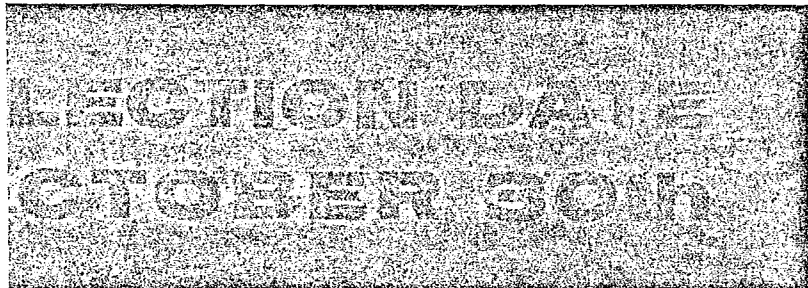
NEW DEMOCRATS will do it!

RE-ELECT

**DEREK
BLACKBURN**



**he member who
keeps in touch**



**REMEMBER
POLLS CLOSE
7 P.M.**

In This Election

THE ISSUES . . . ARE IMPORTANT! . . . ARE CLEAR CUT! . . . AFFECT YOU!

TAXATION RIPOFFS — Time and time again during this campaign, David Lewis, leader of the NDP, has given figures and names of companies that make millions in profits, but do not pay any or their fair share of taxes.

Because of corporate freeloading, the middle income earners and many businesses end up paying more than their share of taxes.

Twenty years ago, the government collected 26.7 per cent of its income from individuals and 28 per cent from corporations. Today, the government collects 49.9 per cent from individuals and only 12.2 per cent from corporations.

In 1969, mining companies paid 11.9 per cent of their book profits in taxes. At the same time, manufacturers, who provide most of the jobs in this country, paid an average of 40 per cent of their book profits in taxes. The results are that job producing industries are penalized by our tax system, while the tax load on the middle income earner is growing annually.

This trend can and must be stopped! Through tax reform, WE CAN DO IT.

More New Democrats in Ottawa will force an arrogant and indifferent government to listen

IN THREE PROVINCES — 263

The people have elected NDP governments. The latest is British Columbia.

In the two provinces that have had NDP governments for some time, unemployment has been the lowest in Canada.

Despite Trudeau, who intentionally created unemployment, supposedly to fight inflation, (and we got both,) Manitoba and Saskatchewan governments embarked on policies for maximum employment.

They did it by starting public works, housing developments, building airstrips and other socially useful projects.

These governments provide incentives to job-creating businesses, in the form of low interest loans, by purchasing an interest in a company, or just by supplying hard cash to new Canadian businesses that are poor on cash but rich on ideas.

This produces more jobs and greater Canadian control of our economy.

More New Democrats in Ottawa will ensure that our country starts moving toward full employment and greater control of our economy.



IVING COSTS — Must they continue to rise? The NDP favours a price review to make manufacturers justify price increases. After all, wage and salary increases must be justified.

Low cost mortgages, grants and loans to existing housing, and a stop to land speculation will appreciably lower the cost of owning or renting a home.

New Democrats in Ottawa have always fought for a better break for the consumer.

An arrogant government will have to listen if more New Democrats are elected.

BS AND JOB SECURITY —

It is very nice for Trudeau to say that he has created jobs at a greater rate than other Westerners. What he intentionally does not tell is that other Western countries do not have major employment problems. In fact, they have too many jobs, and not enough workers. Instead of trying to deceive Canadians, the Liberal government should be putting its efforts into creating enough jobs, using the same techniques that other Western countries have used so successfully.

It should be noted that provincial NDP governments in Manitoba and Saskatchewan have the lowest unemployment rates of any provinces in Canada. That didn't just happen. They work

More New Democrats in Ottawa will ensure that the government starts thinking and working toward creating employment, instead of producing unemployment and issuing deceptive election promises.



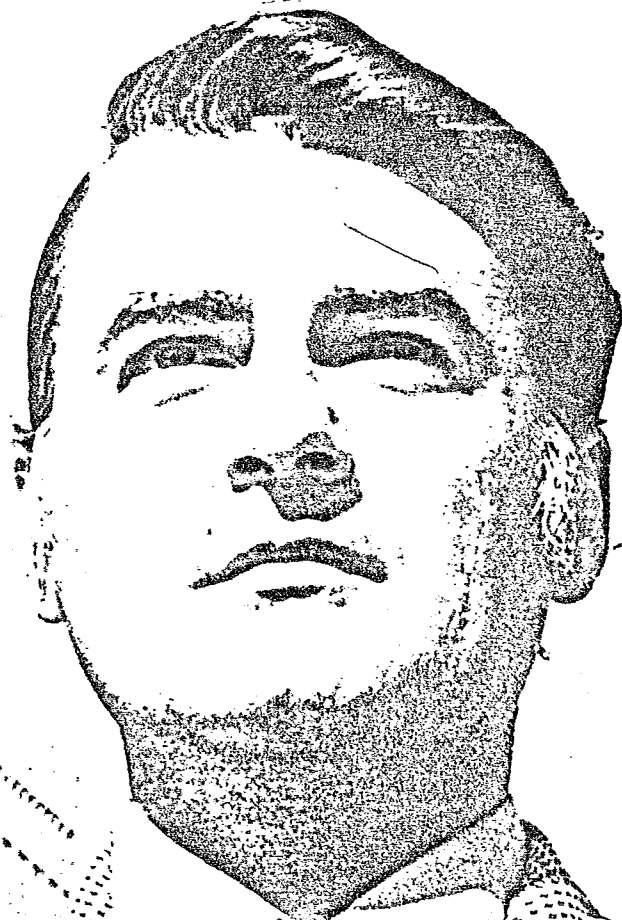
FARMERS DESERVE A DECENT BREAK —

Food prices continue to rise while the farmer gets less and less of the consumer dollar. The farmer has to invest more and more in order to survive, yet his return on investment and his own labour is the lowest of any sector of our economy.

Efforts can and must be made now to ensure that the farmers' share of the consumer dollar is increased. Assistance through lower interest rates to encourage the continuation of the family farm must be of paramount importance.

Farmers in Manitoba and Saskatchewan have helped to elect NDP governments. They know from experience that the NDP has fought harder for farmers than any other party.

DEREK BLACKBURN



*Your Man In Ottawa
Working For You*

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PUBLISHED BY THE BRANT FEDERAL NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY RIDING ASSOCIATION

ELECTION DATE
OCT. 30TH.

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DEREK
BLACKBURN**

CONCERNED ABOUT TAXES

YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO BE.

LOOK AT THE FIGURES.

TOTAL INCOME TAX COLLECTED

	20 Years Ago	1973 Budget
FROM PEOPLE	26.7%	49.9%
FROM CORPORATIONS	28%	12.2%

As you can see the tax load on people has almost doubled, while the corporations have been well protected by Liberal and Conservative governments.

And don't forget, come January 1, 1973 your income tax will go up by 3% unless present legislation is repealed.

This Friday or whenever your payday is, compare your rate of taxation to some of the following.

SHELL OIL - Between 1964 and 1969 this company had net earnings of \$516,557,000. During this time they did not pay a single cent of income tax.

DEBISON MINES - The boss of the company is running for the Tories. Between 1961 and 1970 company profits were \$63,533,238. Taxes paid not one cent.

ALBERTA GAS TRUNK LINE CO. - Between 1964 and 1971 cleared a profit of \$62,693,000. Total taxes paid \$7,350.

CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL GAS AND OIL CO. - Between 1965 and 1971 this company earned \$94,000,000. They paid in taxes \$2,000,000. That's an effective rate of 2.15%.

It should be noted that not all corporations have such sizeable tax loopholes. The level of taxation in the manufacturing industry is much higher.

The point is that if certain corporations do not pay their fair share then other corporations and particularly middle income earners pay more than their fair share.

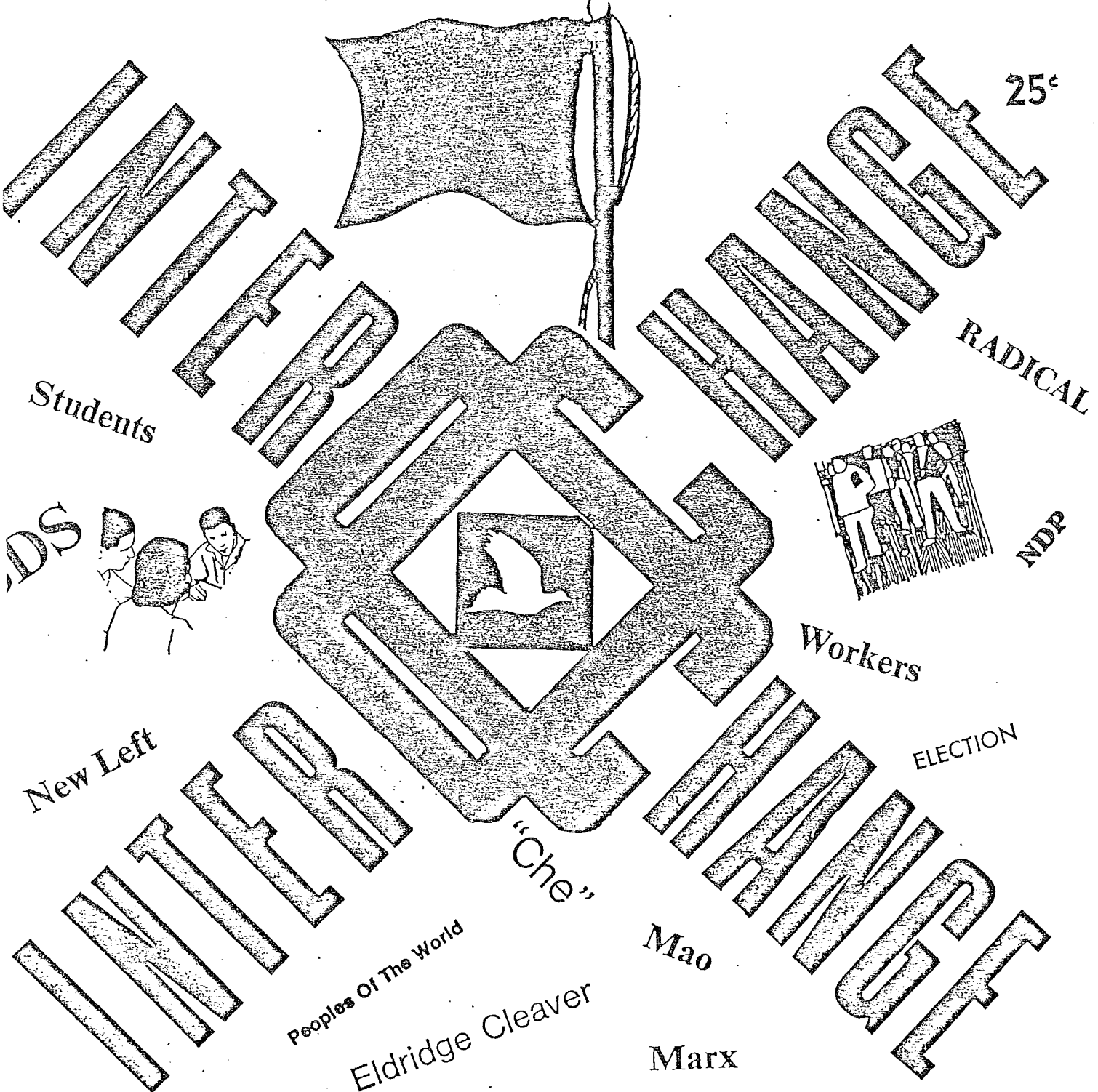
The New Democrats are the only ones who fought and are fighting for a fair tax system.

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Burford, 449-5167

Paris, 442-4705

INTERCHANGE NUMBER TWELVE



APRIL, 1970

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 5

Subscription 1.50

IN THIS ISSUE: WOMEN'S LIBERATION ----- JACKIE BROWN -----
PROBLEMS OF SINGLE PARENTS ----DUNLOP WORKERS'
CRISIS ---STUDENT DEMOCRACY --BARRY WEISLETTER --
CY GONICK --MICHEL CHARTRAND ---FUSION

EDITORIALDunlop Workers' Crisis

The announcement by the management of Dunlop Canada Limited, that it is ceasing operations in Toronto as of May 1st, dealt a severe blow to the 500 employees and their families. Mr. Trudeau's stagnation-creating economic policies will make it extremely difficult for these workers to find new jobs.

Jim Renwick, MPP, in whose riding the plant is located, has demanded in the Legislature that Mr. Roberts order an extension of the deadline and set up a feasibility study. He has worked with the union leaders to plan strategies of action and alternatives.

Mel Watkins, NDP Waffle members, and students from the University of Toronto have been acting in support of the workers in this crisis. Convocation Hall at U. of T. will be the scene of a rally to support the Dunlop workers (1 p.m., April 1st). Let us hope that Roberts will respond by acting immediately.

This story could be repeated anywhere in this province. Other multinational corporations - such as Massey-Ferguson in Brantford - could announce permanent shutdowns with only a few weeks notice to workers. No justifiable reasons were given in the Dunlop case. It is time we abolished the rights of management to arbitrarily affect the lives of workers and dependents. It is time we established the right to a job with a living wage as a basic right for all citizens.

(cont. on page 2)

INTERCHANGE is a publication of the Brantford Young New Democrats. Your contributions, suggestions, and criticisms are welcome. Write or phone the editor: Elfrieda Neumann, 6 Linden Avenue, Brantford, Ontario. 759-7885

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NOTE: The opinions expressed in INTERCHANGE are those of the authors and not necessarily the official policy of the New Democratic Party.

Dunlop Workers' Crisis cont.

The Dunlop workers have considered using their severance pay to transform the plant into a worker-owned, worker-run factory. The Ontario government, which gives millions of dollars to corporations (many of them foreign-owned) in the form of forgivable loans, has refused assistance in this case.

Suppose you lend your neighbour \$20,000 to buy your house. Then he pays it back to you for \$200 per month and pays you \$50 per month to carry out repairs and work part time to build an addition. At the end of five years he has successfully kept you employed so you tell him he doesn't have to pay you back the \$20,000 because you are grateful for the \$50 per month. You would never do this, would you? Yet as an Ontario taxpayer assistance is being done on your behalf by our friendly Ontario government.

As a job-making scheme in low employment areas, the Ontario government lends money to corporations. If an eligible corporation remains in operation for a certain number of years employing a certain number of workers, the loan is forgiven - in other words, industry keeps this money as a gift from Ontario taxpayers. In this way millions of our tax dollars are used to help foreign-owned corporations to buy out our country and exploit the people who pay the taxes.

In this case, the Ontario government should set Dunlop Canada up as a worker-controlled industry. Give the workers a loan and if they keep themselves employed for five years - declare it a forgivable loan.

A number of questions come to mind concerning this case. Why did Robarts act so quickly in similar circumstances in his own riding, yet do nothing in Toronto? Why was the Ontario NDP so slow in mobilizing membership to action? What, if anything, have the Toronto Labour Council and its affiliated locals done to assist these workers who have paid their dues for so many years? What action has the international union taken against this multi-national corporation?

If Robarts fails to act following the April first rally, labour leaders should begin planning more drastic action. In the 19th century May Day was celebrated by a general strike called by socialists and trade unions. May 1st is the date Dunlop is scheduled to close permanently in Ontario. Show solidarity for your brothers in Toronto by starting May with a long week-end. As the flyer advertising the rally says in its concluding appeal - "It could be your job next."

Editor: Dave Neumann, the author of our guest editorial this issue, is the president of the Ontario Young New Democrats and is the secretary of the Brantford YND. He is also on the executive of the Brantford NDP as policy co-ordinator.

COMING EVENTS

- 1 2 -BYND membership meeting - at the home of Dave and Elfrieda Neumann, 6 Linden Ave., Brantford - across from the Shanghai Restaurant on Colborne Street East - at 8:00p.m.

GUEST SPEAKER: GORDON CLEVELAND, secretary OYND.

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"She always has been convinced of male superiority; this male prestige is not a childish mirage; it has economic and social foundations; men are surely masters of the world. Everything tells the young girl that it is for her best interests to become their vassal."

Simone de Beauvoir

ON LEARNING TO BE INFERIOR

by Jackie Larkin Brown

In almost any meeting of the NDP, whether at the local, provincial or federal level, a number of women are likely to be present. Those women are most likely to hold junior positions on the governing bodies of the party. The larger the meeting is, the more likely it is that those women will be conspicuously silent. The best example of this silence was at the Winnipeg Convention, where very few women spoke on the floor (with the exception of the debate on the women's representation on the Federal Council). Women clearly play a secondary role in the NDP!

NOTE: Jackie Larkin Brown is an active member of the Women's Liberation Movement in Ottawa, a member of the Federal Council of the NDP, a member of the executive of the OYND, and a staff member of the Waffle Movement.

It is, of course, too easy to lay the blame at the feet of 'men who are trying to keep women down'. It is also too easy to assert that 'women like things the way they are'. As socialists, we have learned to ask ourselves the questions: why do people react the way they do? what are the complex of social and economic factors which limit and direct the view that individuals have of themselves and the world? And we know, for example, that the child who is born in a slum will probably not finish junior matriculation. And we know that the reasons are not 'inherent' lack of ability, concern or motivation -- the child has instead 'learned' not to place a value on education; has 'learned' that it is useless to hope for higher education because his family cannot afford to subsidize him; has 'learned' that most of the people who have been born in his area have accepted their situation and rationalized it, and that he is no different than they. Of course, a tiny number manage to escape, but at an incredible sacrifice and determination, of the sort that no child born into a wealthy family would have to undergo.

It is clear that women 'learn' their place in the world in similar ways. Women learn to be inferior. They learn to be less articulate and less confident (outside the narrow confines of the home) than men. They accept a passive role in the world and they accept the fact that their choices are severely limited.

The process of socializing women in their roles begins 'at the beginning'. The female child learns at an early age that certain activities are appropriate for girls and some are not. She is rewarded in the form of smiles and encouragement if she behaves like a little lady, keeps as lean and tidy as possible, and refrains from boisterous activity.

On the other hand, "boys will be boys" -- they will usually come home covered with the dirt of a successful day of much activity and exploration. They are expected to be noisy and irreverent towards authority.

(cont. on next page)

Learning To Be Inferior cont.

young girl who deviates from the female 'role' is branded as a 'tomboy': one who obviously doesn't know where she's at and what she's supposed to be. The deviant boy is labelled a 'sissy': it is an inferior and lowly thing to exhibit some of the attitudes and behaviour normally associated with girls.

A brief glance at grade school readers gives a clear indication of how, from an early age, boys and girls are presented with stereotypes of the sexes which help to determine their self-conceptions. These stereotypes are not plucked out of thin air of course -- they reflect and re-inforce what children observe in their homes and in society in general. The little girls in the stories are behaved and dependent characters. They are usually depicted in helping roles. They help mother cook and clean house, they help the boys in their activities. And of course when they are older, they will be the doctor's nurse, the dentists' assistant, the boss's secretary. The only women to appear in children's books are generally mothers or teachers.

The boys, on the other hand, are aggressive and independent. They are continually getting in and out of various adventures, scrapes, and interesting situations. Perhaps the girls will tag along. The men depicted in children's books cover a wide variety of occupations: Men are fathers, firemen, policemen, storekeepers, etc. Men do many things, women do few things. Small wonder that boys believe they have a wide variety of occupational choices, while girls will generally see only the wife and mother role, or roles which are an extension of that role as the only jobs to which they can reasonably aspire.

From public school onwards girls and boys are separated into home economics and 'shop' classes. Boys receive no instruction in the care of children and home but they are taught to understand mechanical things and to make things with their hands. Girls, as we all know, 'do not have any mechanical ability', are far too fragile creatures to get their hands soiled with dirt and grease. (At least in Sweden a concerted attempt has been made to teach boys home economics and to give girls training in wood and metal work.)

By the early years of high school, girls have come to realize two important things: that science, mathematics, and related disciplines are male pursuits, while languages, history, and commercial subjects are more appropriate for girls who will some day be raising children or performing helping-type jobs in the labour force. As a result, the number of female students in the maths and sciences declines.

The second thing that every girl knows by the time she graduates from high school is that beauty and social popularity are more important attributes to possess than are a critical mind, an interest in athletics, or an ability to articulate and express ideas. And small wonder that girls seek to learn this. They recognize that in terms of the social standards laid down by society, women are judged by their successful husbands, their successful homes and their successful children. Men are judged by their ability within their occupations. The identity of the female is primarily determined by the male to whom she is married.

The mass media in this country continually reinforce those attitudes
(cont. on next page)

That young girls have learned. A day in front of the television set, taking note of the numerous advertisements which appear, provides sufficient example of the ugly and degrading exploitation of women by the ad men. Women generally appear in two roles: as sex objects or wives and mothers. Beautiful women with smooth and shapely bodies are used to sell any object -- from cars to trips to the Bahama 'islands' (represented by bikini clad women lying in the shallow water using the best 'come hither' looks that the ad men can construct). Women are told that they are not really women unless they have the latest nail polish, false eyelashes, or feminine deodorant spray. How else can they expect to be loved unless they appear as the most desirable sex object around? Mothers are told that they are failing their husbands and children if they don't have 'whiter than white towels' and fifteen different cleaning materials to do fifteen variations of the same job. Some go so far as to imply that the decision to use one detergent instead of another is an 'executive decision'. It becomes clear to us therefore that if we want to 'succeed' we should stunt our growth in about every area that men are encouraged to grow, (even though the kind of society we live in limits the potential of men also). Our ability to be attractive to men and to maintain good homes are the prime criteria of our 'worth' in the world. Small wonder that we often don't feel much of a sense of worth as individuals. Our worth is always defined in terms of men and children.

This brief article on socialization has, of course, been only an introduction. It merely skims the top and it ignores many of the really important factors. Working class girls undergo a socialization which is different in many ways from that of middle class girls. Perhaps these can be dealt with in future articles.

SINGLE PARENTS: Discrimination, Loneliness, and Poverty.

by Mary Smith

Recently a small study was made of the situation of single parents in the community of Thunder Bay. The survey was done using questionnaires and the respondents were drawn from the members of the Single Parents Action Corps. There are many biases inherent in doing a survey in this manner, the main one being that those who were available and who answered the questionnaire were probably a more or less specialized group who had something to complain about and felt they had the right to complain, or who were driven to the point of desperation. This would eliminate the women on either side of this group: those who feel that they have nothing to complain about, and those who have complaints but feel they have no right to complain or have merely given up the fight and reconciled themselves to sub-existence. Various signs point to the latter category being far more numerous than the former.

In spite of its restricted application, the results of this survey don't paint a very attractive picture of life for woman struggling to raise her children alone.

SINGLE PARENTS CONTINUED

First, here are the financial facts. All the respondents were women. Most of them lived on Mother's Allowance (Ontario Department of Social and Family Services), with some working to supplement this. One mother supported herself entirely by working and one worked and received alimony. Incomes ranged from \$189 a month for a mother and one child to \$350 a month for a mother and 6 children. This is the cash income per month. In addition to and above this, Mother's Allowance recipients have their hospital, medical, and dental expenses covered and they are entitled to have their prescription drugs paid for by municipal welfare. This is not quite as good as it sounds. First, working mothers are unlikely to make a taxable income; therefore their OHSIP is automatically covered by the government. Second, many dentists refuse outright to accept dental cards because the government doesn't pay the full amount of the bills, or they do a poor job, or the things are generally unpleasant for the mother, and even try to pressure her into making extra payment. Third, obtaining prescription drugs is at the discretion of the city, which means they do not have to pay if they choose not to. And also, this access to paid prescription drugs is not generally known. Some women were desperately trying to pay prohibitive drug costs out of their meager grocery allowance. They also lose this right if they are working to supplement their allowance.

In spite of this not very affluent picture of Mother's Allowance recipients, they are, on the whole, better off than working mothers. The working mothers made \$230.00 and \$208.00 a month and each had 3 children. Many working mothers (and other poor working people) merely write drugs, hospitalization, and dental care out of their lives as unobtainable luxuries and hope that they can get by without them. The only mothers who worked, either full or part time, were those who either didn't need a babysitter or who had free ones. If you have to pay a babysitter you can't afford to work. (None of the women used, in fact many had never even heard of the day-care centers which were ostensibly opened for people in this situation.) Wages for these people range from \$1.10 to \$1.37 an hour. Mothers on Mother's Allowance are allowed to make \$24.00 for the mother and \$12.00 for each child. The government keeps 75% of anything she makes over that. Apart from the obvious difficulties of finding an appropriate part time job, babysitter or drug expenses often cost more than she is making.

In spite of the obvious drawbacks involved in working, many mothers would rather work if it were at all possible; first, because it alleviates the scorn encountered if you are a non-productive consumer in this society and second, because it often provides their only contact with other adults.

A question was asked on budgeting. The question asked the respondent to list the amount they were allotted for certain items and how much they actually needed. Many of the answers to this question were confused or omitted entirely indicating a need for help in budgeting. In many cases this need was specifically stated. Those who listed their budgets consistently came out with them unbalanced and always on the wrong side. The general pattern seemed to be that one paid the set necessities first, that is, heat, hydro, rent, and water, things that are turned off or removed if not paid, and any money remaining goes for food, drugs, clothing, etc. None of the respondents felt they had enough money for food, clothing, recreation, and for a miscellaneous category which included such things as bills, repairs to appliances, drugs, transportation, etc.

SINGLE PARENTS CONTINUED

When asked what material things they felt their family needed most, clothing and proper food topped the list. These were followed by recreation, drugs appliances, furniture, dental care, decent housing, transportation for a crippled child, etc, etc.

The second part of the questionnaire asked about social life and problems. The overall picture of the social life of single mothers was pretty bleak. Hobbies and outdoor activities were restricted for obvious financial reasons. When asked how many times they went out in a month, answers varied from 8 times (2 respondents) to once a month (2 respondents) to "never". One woman goes only to church and the outside recreation of another consists of walking the dog. The answers to a question on the most recent dance, show or party attended ranged from last week (1 respondent) to 10 years (1 respondent) to "can't remember".

The general feeling was that unattached women weren't made to feel welcome in this society and that it was far more difficult to make friends. I've Listed some comments given in answer to the questions. "Wives are suspicious, men think you are easy prey." "You are not invited to mixed parties or gatherings unless it is to work so some other woman can dance with her husband." Few women go out on dates and outings with friends are severely restricted by lack of money. Loneliness is a major problem.

When questioned as to whether they would go back to school or take some form of retraining to enable them to become self-supporting, almost all said "yes." One or two felt they were too old and a couple thought they would wait until their children were older. Most of those who said "yes" added comments: "So I could get off Mother's Allowance." "So I could go and be a social worker and be better than some they already have in the Lakehead." "I'd rather stand on my own two feet and sever the present feeling of obligation and regain my self-respect and privacy."

In answer to the question: "What is your worst problem?" the answer was "MONEY! what else!" Money was needed for emergencies, (ie. a taxi to the hospital because your son needs stitches in a cut knee) school supplies, non-prescription drugs, allowances for children, etc, etc. Other answers included not having a father for the children, no credit for emergencies, the look on people's faces when you say you are on Mother's Allowance, exclusion from normal social life, low morale, etc.

The answers to question on the present state of affairs and desired changes were varied. Most people felt that the present system was destructive of morale and ultimately of people and children. They wanted more incentive to work, to be allowed to keep at least 50% of their earnings, or have government subsidies of dental-medical expenses if they worked and did not receive Mother's Allowance. Others felt a raise in Mother's Allowance would eventually be beneficial to all concerned- ie. they could keep their children in school longer so they would have enough education to be self-supporting and not end up on welfare themselves, and mothers would also be able to retain a little self-respect. Many recognized, and were helpless in the face of, the probability that they were producing children who would end up being unskilled, and probably unemployed in the future, because they could not afford to keep them in school. This is probably the most heart-breaking aspect of all.

(cont. on next page)

NGLE PARENTS cont.

e of the pictures that emerged from the answers to this question was one distrust and misunderstanding between clients and social workers. Many cipients knew very little about their rights and lived in dread of breaking some unknown law and losing their allowance. Some felt the workers were lacking in understanding, were hostile, and didn't keep the clients affairs confidential.

sum up briefly:

less you are skilled and/or have a free babysitter, you can't afford to work.

ere is considerable confusion over budgeting.

most all people feel they don't have enough money - clothing, food, drugs, recreation, furniture, and repairs top the list of things people can't afford. hobbies and recreation are severely limited.

cial life is limited mainly to people of your own sex and kind.

neliness and social ostracism are a problem.

st want to get off welfare and support themselves.

ney is the worst problem.

e change that most people want is a change in the regulations concerning the amount of money a woman may keep if she works to supplement her allowance.

INTERCHANGE INTERVIEWS

ITORS NOTE: The following interviews were conducted by INTERCHANGE reporter; Dave Neumann, at the Americanization of Canada Teach-In, held at the University of Toronto March 6 & 7, 1970.

Interview With Cy Gonick

TERCHANGE: You are the editor of Canadian Dimension. What role do you see your magazine playing in Canadian political development?

GONICK: I think many of the things that came out of the Waffle group that emerged at the Winnipeg Convention in the fall first had their beginning in Canadian Dimension. The Waffle Manifesto can be found in one form or another over the last five years in Canadian Dimension, so we take a little bit of credit for that.

TERCHANGE: How do you find your role as an MPP in the Manitoba Legislature?

GONICK: Well, I guess I am a sort of one-man opposition within the party and within the caucus, although I find surprising support on many issues from a large number of the caucus. I think that there are real possibilities there, providing that we look upon our role, even though we're in the government, as really being in the opposition.

TERCHANG: Could you explain that please ?

GONICK: When the NDP forms a government which does not arrive as the result of a great social upheaval, it really takes the government (cont. on next page)

INTERCHANGE INTERVIEWS cont.

CY GONICK: ment under circumstances where it is still in the opposition within the society at large. The real power still remains outside of Parliament. It remains in business which is still privately controlled; It remains in the press, which is still privately controlled; so all that an NDP government can do under the circumstances, I think, is to shake things up a little bit and to try and create an internal dynamic to begin a process of change. However, I don't think we can regard our victory as a climax of a great social upheaval, a social revolution, which allows us to do the things we want to do.

INTERCHANGE: Several people that I know within the NDP are quite concerned about Premier Ed Schreyer's relationship with the business community in Manitoba. Do you have any comments on that?

CY GONICK: Well Schreyer of course is no radical, but he is also not a sell out because he has never regarded himself as a radical. He has not reversed any of his old views as a result of being in office but he is a politician who primarily wants to avoid confrontation and wants to do things in business which avoid confrontation.

INTERCHANGE: Do you think that the Left ... can find a common goal with the Labour Unions in the NDP? There seemed to be quite a division at the Convention in Winnipeg.

CY GONICK: Well I think the leadership of the Trade Unions, like the leadership of the NDP, are by and large from a different generation and ~~are~~ only now undergoing transition. I think we will find a lot more sympathy among the young workers of our generation.

Interview With Barry Weisletter

INTERCHANGE: I see you put up a sign - The League for Student Democracy. Could you explain what this is?

ANSWER: This is an organization of high school activist youth who are trying to change the quality of education. We have organized in one high school and now have contacts in 25 other schools. What we are trying to do is to be a catalyst in organizing student dissent within the educational system, which does not relate to the individual person and to contemporary society.

INTERCHANGE: What's wrong with our school system as it exists? We have a democratic society and students can participate.

ANSWER: I can tell by the cynical tone of the question that you realize our society is not democratic in any way, shape or form. The fact that we hold an election every 3 or 4 years does not denote democracy. What we need is participation by workers in the factories, and by students in the schools so that the students can determine what the curriculum is and how they are to go about the learning process.

(cont. on next page)

TERCHANGE INTERVIEWS cont.

TERCHANGE: Is your organization very strong in the Toronto area?

SWER: Right now we are in the process of building it up. We began five months ago and we have undergone some great transitions in the past few weeks. We were recognized by our first political party, the OYND at their annual convention at the Lord Simcoe Hotel last February and we hope to proceed from there and gain strenght.

TERCHANGE: What kind of activities do you engage in in the high schools?

SWER: Well basically it's the building of a stronghold of power, trying to unite various people in their individual struggles. As each individual school is different so are our efforts different in each school. If a group of students are organizing on our behalf or as a branch of the LSD in their schools and they find that they come up against some oppressive force, then it is our duty to help them either through the distribution of literature or the organization of strike action if it comes to that.

TERCHANGE: I see a paper here that you're putting out -the Third Eye. Could you explain what this is and what is the significance of this intriguing title?

SWER: The Third Eye is the mystical eye of insight and we hope to give some insight into the political situation of students within a repressive educational system. It is the political organ of the LSD through its editorial policy. We try to inject some content of entertainment and general political interest and try to create an awareness of the political climate in our country and in our schools.

TERCHANGE: Is your movement at all related to the Waffle Movement? Why are you here at this conference?

SWER: It is related to the Waffle Movement in that we are trying to remove the interests of persons detached from the experience themselves, whether it be American Imperialism draining our natural resources, or whether it be the history books which are written, perhaps by Canadians, but taken from the style of American text books, using very little pure Canadian content.

DISCUSSION WITH MICHEL CHARTRAND

ESTION: What role do you see for political action in the labour movement in Quebec?

SWER: The workers should know that the fight they are putting on is in the larger context - against capitalism - or else we turn around like we have done for the last twenty years.

ESTION: Is there any link up between the CNTU and the Parti Liberation Populaire?

SWER: We worked together to a certain extent but we are not linked with
(cont. on next page)

Discussion With Michel Chartrand cont.

ANSWER: them. If they are doctrinaire, there is no chance for a link up. We won't change the Catholic Bible for another Bible. We are fed up with bibles. We are trying to work out socialism through political action committees. Some people say you should have a labour party. How can we shovel down the throats of the workers a political party if they don't want it? They are going to build it. We have over a hundred and ten political action committees.

QUESTION: Do you believe that the answer for Quebec lies in socialism?

ANSWER: Well there is no other answer! Mr. Trudeau once said that there is no national liberation within capitalism and we believe him on that point.

QUESTION: Is the Parti Quebecois a socialist party?

ANSWER: No it is not a socialist party and I am not a member. The Parti Quebecois is getting younger every day and is moving more and more to the left because workers are now joining it.

QUESTION: Do you see the same struggle occurring there as in the NDP, that is, to make it into a socialist party?

ANSWER: Sure, and it is a democratic party. I think it will be easier because there is less establishment. The establishment is stronger in Canada.

QUESTION: Is there any tie between the CNTU and the Parti Quebecois?

ANSWER: Not officially, no, but many staff men, workers, and militants in political action committees and grievance committees and officers have joined the party and are organizing for the party, that's all.

QUESTION: Would you hazard a prediction on the coming election in Quebec?

ANSWER: Well, I think that in the cities the P.Q. may take some from the Liberals but maybe the Union Nationale may win. What we would hope is that there would be fifteen or so members of Parti Quebecois elected, especially if they are young and are intellectuals and workers chosen by workers. Then we can let them have staff people as in the labour movement. We have to build a political party the same way we have built the labour movement.

QUESTION: So then you see the formation of a new party, a workers party?

ANSWER: There is no other way- and this is what we are trying at the Montreal Central Labour Council. We want the people to become more politically conscious and then organize in the municipal field, and then organize in the provincial field. You have two ways - either you fight on the electoral front or you take machine guns. And if you want to take machine guns, you don't have to make speeches. You just start in the underground. This is what all those parties who don't believe in parliamentarism and don't believe in democracy should do. They say, "There was never a revolution made in the ballot box." Well maybe there was never a revolution made in the ballot

(cont. on next page)

cussion With Michel Chartrand cont.

WER: box, but we are not in Cuba, China or Russia. Although I respect all those revolutions, we have to fight another way here. I do believe strongly that we still have political democracy and we should try to gain a consensus among the population. If the marines come over after -- well, -- we'll see....

STION: If labour organizes a separate political party in Quebec, won't this bring them into conflict with Parti Quebecois?

WER: Either the workers in the P.Q. may swing it, or if the workers decide there should be another political party, there will be one. We had the CCF, we had the New Democratic Party, (I was the head of the CCF for a while) and then the Socialist Party of Quebec. There is no tradition in Quebec (for workers) for political parties. We were fooled by political parties. Now we have to build all over, and why should we try to build with the people who are fifty years old, who have finished their career, and are tired. Let's get the work done for the new generation. They will go far and they will go fast. They are radicals and they don't bother with the past.

FUSION
(An Illusion Of Success)

by Kathy Hess

BCUTIQUE

The night
Creeps on.
Its fingers clutch
The tiny room upstairs
Strangling all light.

Above the heads,
Hair
Shining and long
Swaying to
The music,

Coffers drip
With beads
Lacing the mind
With the sweetness
Of leather and sandalwood.

The lights appear,
They reappear
Mirrored in many forms
Dancing with the shadows

Upon the wall.

Kathy Hess

(cont. on next page)

FUSION cont.

Many images appear within the mind at the mention of the word boutique. The above poem views the boutique not as a store but rather as a corner in time eaten away within the city. Touched with yesterday's beads and carvings, but living with today. Home of the mystic and the mind-expanding.

However, if one searches deeper into this illusion it becomes a reality. Every bead and strain of music becomes part of a large-scale advertising scheme to dupe kids into believing the merchandise of the boutiques is of good quality and worth the high prices being asked for it. You, in fact, pay only for the phony lights, the loud music and the plastic posters. Perhaps this is the reason "Fusion" is closing. The kids are gullible enough to dig the atmosphere but their bank accounts are not large enough to get hip to the prices.

NOTE: Kathy Hess is a member of the Brantford Young New Democrats and is one of their representatives to the executive of the Brantford-Brant NDP Riding Association.

COMING EVENTS

April 28 -PUBLIC MEETING ON UNEMPLOYMENT -special panel -Jim Renwick MPP, - a spokesman for the Just Society -Toronto - a spokesman for the Community Union - St. Catharines -as well as local people. Watch the Expocitor for location - sponsored by the Brantford-Brant NDP Riding Association.

May 12 -PUBLIC MEETING ON TRANSPORTATION IN BRANTFORD -panel with Donald MacDonald, Ontario leader of the NDP and local panelists. Watch future issues for further information or phone 759-7885. Sponsored by the Brantford-Brant NDP Municipal affairs committee. There will also be seminars on taxation and education.

May 2 & 3 -CONFERENCE on physical environment, social environment, and education - in Hamilton - sponsored by the Ontario NDP Municipal Affairs Committee.

----- NEWS NOTES

BYND CONVENTION in February -Dave Neumann (local BYND secretary) was elected president of the CYND and Gerry Hess (Local BYND president) was elected high school co-ordinator.

ANNUAL MEETING -BRANTFORD-BRANT NDP held on February 22- a resolution was adopted which committed the riding to run candidates in the next municipal election under NDP label.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION GROUP has held four meetings. At the last meeting a speaker on nursery schools stimulated a lively discussion on day care centres. Several of the women are preparing discussion papers on a variety of topics. Any one interested in attending the meetings should contact Elfrieda Neumann at 759-7885.

Brantford New Democratic Party

1970 Municipal Policy

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Letter of Introduction

Dear Friend:

In February 1970 Brantford New Democrats took a decision to enter the municipal field so that citizens would have a more meaningful choice, in both policy and candidates, for this December's municipal election.

In the spring and early summer of this year public meetings were held on a variety of topics to allow citizens of Brantford an opportunity to... freely express themselves on local issues. A hard-working two day public conference was held last June, with discussion centering on a number of policy papers written by NDP and non-NDP citizens in the community. At all of these public meetings notes were taken for later use.

During the summer about twenty Brantford New Democrats worked on a Policy Co-ordinating Committee to draft proposed resolutions for municipal policy. Meetings were held once, twice, sometimes three times in one week - all summer. These draft resolutions were distributed in advance to members who attended the riding meeting of September 8.

On September 15, 16, and 17 Brantford New Democrats met to debate, amend and adopt the proposed resolutions drafted by members of the policy committee. What emerged out of this process you will find in this booklet as our platform for this year's municipal election. We do not claim that it is perfect; perhaps we have made mistakes. The policy is nevertheless the result of a sincere effort by people who are interested in the future of our city. We have involved the community in this process. We have put hours and weeks of hard work into this effort. The result is a policy designed in Brantford by concerned Brantford citizens who believe that policies must put people first.

(Cont'd.)

APPENDIX K: Copy of the Policies and Platforms of the
Brantford N.D.P. During the 1970 Municipal
Elections

I express my thanks to Dierdre Chisholm, assistant policy - co-ordinator, members of the policy committee, members of the executive of the riding association and all the members of the NDP and the community who participated in debate and discussion at our open meetings. We have worked hard in drafting the policy. Let us now involve the community in electing the candidates who will attempt to make these ideas reality.

Fraternally yours

Dave

David Neumann
Policy - Co-ordinator
Brant - Brantford NDP

Purpose and Structure: New Democratic entry into
municipal politics. Resolution # 1

Brantford New Democrats have decided to enter municipal politics on a party basis. This action will give citizens a meaningful choice on election day. Brantford, we believe, will best be served by the presentation of a program evolving out of a sincere attempt to involve citizens through public meetings - a programme debated and adopted at an open democratic meeting. Democratically nominated candidates backing this program will present a sharp contrast to the present system in which candidates are accountable to no one.

The problems which face our cities in the areas of housing, education, development, transportation, pollution, and a host of others - can only be dealt with through long range planning and orderly development. The plans to meet these challenges can be most successfully evolved through the collective efforts of members of a democratic party attempting to include large numbers of citizens in the effort to plan the kind of city we want to live in.

The New Democratic party in Brantford is highly suited to take up this challenge because it is basically a working-class party made up of members who share a common conviction that we must build a society which views human needs as the top priority in any planning.

New Democrats in Brantford share common ideals concerning the kind of city we would like to live in. We are realistic enough however to say to our fellow citizens that many of our ideas cannot become reality without major changes at the provincial and federal levels of government. New Democratic candidates will strive to achieve our program fully aware of the limitations placed upon municipalities in a federal system.

(Cont'd.)

It is important that we present a program and then act locally to carry it out as far as we can while at the same time speak with a strong voice to higher levels of government to bring about changes which will give more power to local municipalities to solve their problems.

Nomination of Candidates

1. Nominations of mayoralty and Board of Education candidates will take place at a convention of New Democrats who reside within the city of Brantford. This nominating meeting will be called by the executive of the riding association.
2. Nominations of aldermanic and Public Utilities Commission candidates will take place at meetings of New Democrats in the respective wards. These nomination meetings will be called by the N.D.P. ward committees in co-operation with the riding executive.
3. To become a New Democratic candidate a nominee will be required to get the support of 50% plus 1 of those members present and voting.
4. Where there are the same number (or fewer) names placed in nomination as the slate allows a yes/no ballot will be held on each name to determine whether candidates have support of a majority of the members.

Responsibilities of Candidates

- A. New Democratic Party Candidates elected to office will:
 1. Support the program adopted by the policy convention and will work together to enact it.

(Cont'd.)

2. Report their position and account for their actions to the Ward associations, the N.D.P. Riding Association and the citizens who elected them. To that end, elected members will attend
 - a. public town hall meetings called by the riding association in the spring and winter of each year to report on their actions as elected representatives and hear the views of citizens.
 - b. a municipal policy convention of the N.D.P. riding association to be held in September of every year to review policy.
 - c. meetings called by their ward associations, if requested.
 3. Make a full and complete disclosure of any and all funds received and expended for the municipal election campaign.
 4. Abide by the decision of properly called nomination meetings prior to each municipal election.
- B. A New Democratic mayor in Brantford will devote full time to his position as mayor.

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TAXATION

Resolution # 2

Citizens in municipalities all over Ontario are facing ever increasing burdens of unjust forms of taxation. The property tax which provides the major source of revenue for municipalities such as Brantford is an archaic relic of a pioneering and agricultural era when property assessment was a relatively fair estimate of wealth. Ontario citizens - urban and rural - are on the verge of a revolt against a system of taxation which bears little relationship to the ability to pay.

Brantford New Democrats recognize that citizens have in this area, reached the limit of endurance. We are also aware that the need for change in our increasingly complex urban society is greatest at the local level if we are to prevent the further decay of our cities and develop an environment suitable for creative urban living. Municipalities must, therefore, have access to new sources of revenue to solve their urban problems. This must be accomplished in such a way that we maintain and increase the autonomy and strength of the local level of government - the level closest to the people.

New Democratic candidates for municipal office would adopt the following tactics and steps to improve our taxation system and ease the impact of the present unfair system locally.

1. We would strongly urge the Ontario government to adopt a municipal foundation plan which would distribute revenue to local governments on the basis of a formula which takes into consideration population, cost for services needed and present assessment base.

2. An N.D.P. city council would make full use of the existing grant system so that Brantford may benefit from such needed services as public day care facilities.

(Cont'd.)

3. We would work towards tax methods which would encourage upkeep of buildings and property, and discourage the deterioration of buildings.
4. We would discourage land speculation by increasing taxes on undeveloped land.
5. We would use the research resources of the city to determine how the new provincial assessment will affect citizens' tax burdens and to find out whether homeowners and small business men will bear a larger percentage than at present.
6. Old Age Pensioners who are eligible for supplementary assistance from the Federal government would be given some relief from the present heavy burden of taxation on their homes.
7. We would exempt unemployed homeowners from interest payments on unpaid taxes for the period of their layoff if it exceeds one month.
8. We would investigate the possibility of providing publicly owned property and fire insurance for home owners through collection of the premium at tax time.
9. The municipality should advise the apartment dweller the amount of tax payable on his apartment. Should there be a reduction in the tax, the apartment dweller will reduce his rent accordingly.
10. The municipality shall raise revenue through methods recommended by the Smith Commission through licensing regulated lotteries.

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SOCIAL SERVICES

Resolution # 3

The social wellbeing of all citizens in the community is the goal of the Brantford NDP. In a society in which there is true equality of opportunity for all to develop their potential, it will not be necessary to follow a negative social services system which merely tries to assist those who are most abused by our present dog-eat-dog economic system.

OVERCOMING ALIENATION

1. The alienation of people from each other should be overcome by creating a community that all would feel is worth living in. Mental stress and isolation would be overcome if citizens could participate more in planning their communities.
2. Programs for youth-planned by youth- must be encouraged to end the boredom facing young people in our society.
3. Citizens must have better access to use the mass media such as radio T.V. and newspapers so that all viewpoints are heard.

HEALTH CARE

4. An expanded program of preventative medicine would help to eliminate the high cost of medical care.
5. A community clinic would be established within the communities' hospitals. Hospital services will be improved as soon as possible to include permanent resident doctors attached to the hospital to ensure that in-hospital care and emergency services are as complete and effective as possible.
6. An improved program of education on the non-medical use of drugs would be encouraged for all citizens including youth, parents, teachers, doctors and law enforcement officers.

(Cont'd.)

CO-ORDINATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES

7. Studies that have been made on the recipients of social assistance have shown that they tend not to suffer from one isolated problem but rather from a series of problems ranging from inadequate housing to unemployment.

To properly meet the needs of the multi-problem family we must develop a co-ordinated and consolidated approach to social services.

This would mean the relocation of our social service agencies so that they would all be housed either in the same building or at least in very close proximity.

8. All our social service agencies must work together on individual cases in order to provide the best possible service for the multi-problem family.
9. There should be a community social service board representing a broad spectrum of the population including low income families, the unemployed, and representatives from the various agencies.
10. Comprehensive programs to assist people in learning how to handle their budgeting and in overcoming their debts would be developed for all those receiving social assistance and for any other citizen desiring this service.
11. More full-time professional people should be employed to help develop programs of assistance provided by our various agencies.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE

12. Our present welfare laws are designed for a society where the opportunity to work is available for everyone. However the present economic system and the deliberate policies of our federal government have made unemployment a brutal reality for many Brantford citizens. An NDP municipal council would make strong representation to the federal government to embark on a policy of full employment and to provincial and federal governments to change the present system of welfare so that all Canadians are guaranteed

(Cont'd.)

a basic standard of living. Wherever possible people should have meaningful employment through retraining, rehabilitation and work incentives. The present welfare system destroys incentive and pride.

13. Brantford City Council should act quickly to meet the growing need for assistance for members of the community who are suffering as a result of a deepening recession.

14. Homeless and transient individuals should be given proper assistance and a program should be created to help men caught in the ugly skid-row system.

15. Municipal governments should fight for the right of welfare recipients to supplement their welfare cheques until they are capable of supporting themselves entirely on the supplement.

16. The county welfare office should ensure that people are properly informed of their rights under the welfare act.

17. Emergency assistance should be provided for people requiring aid after the regular agencies have closed.

18. The purpose of welfare and social agencies should be to eliminate the need for their existence.

19. Public housing facilities should be increased and a policy of integration rather than segregation should be introduced. (see Housing Policy)

FACILITIES FOR CHILD CARE - Preamble

Day care centres serve the needs of both parents and children. A mother who has some time away from her children either at work or gaining a better education or just a few hours of leisure time for herself will find herself less harrassed and a better mother in the time she does spend with their children. At the same time she knows her children are receiving excellent physical care and good learning experiences to aid their emotional and mental development.

(Cont'd.)

Brantford New Democrats believe it to be essential that proper day care be made available in Brantford to families of all socio-economic levels, but priority would be given to families from the lower income level where the need is acute in this city.

20. The Council of the municipality of Brantford should set up Day Care Centres as specified under the Day Nurseries Act, Article 2, sections 1 & 2 and Article 3, sections 1 & 2.

These Day Care Centres should be established in various sections of the city and one should be included in the Market Square development. Part of the Market Square Day Care Centre should include a section where parents can, for a small fee leave children for a few hours while conducting business in the downtown area.

The Day Care Centres of the Municipality should include, eventually the following:

- a) group Day Care for infants and pre-schoolers.
- b) co-operatives and head-start programmes.
- c) emergency Day Care
- d) nursing service including assistance in keeping medical appointments and crises supervision
- e) therapeutic Day Care Centres for children with physical and emotional problems.
- f) day time programmes for New Canadian pre-schoolers who do not speak English and their Mothers.
- g) after-school programmes for children from five to eleven years. (Also see Board of Education Policy)

21. Steps should be taken to ensure that developers of multi-family units be required to set aside space in the buildings for day care centres.

22. City Council should provide legal and professional advice to individuals or groups of individuals who wish to set up Day Care Centres.

(Cont'd.)

23. Industries employing a large number of married female employees would be required to set up day care centres on their premises for the children of such employees. This would result in savings to the industries as the absentee rate of their female employees would decrease if they did not have to worry about the care of their children while they are working.

THE BRANTFORD AND DISTRICT LABOUR COUNCIL
Meetings every fourth Wednesday of the month
7:30 p.m. 458 UAW Hall, Erie Ave.,
Brantford

HOUSING and TENANTS' RIGHTS

Resolution # 4

The shortage of adequate housing is one of the most crucial problems facing the urban dweller today. Good housing should be regarded as a basic right for every citizen. Therefore it is essential that we as New Democrats implement an imaginative long-range programme of good housing for all of the citizens of Brantford.

(A) Single Family Owner-Occupied Housing:

The dream of owning one's own home is rapidly fading into extinction for many of Brantford's citizens due to the rapid increase in property values, high interest rates on mortgages, and the inability to meet down payment regulations. Furthermore there is little, if any, government aid to low income families to assist them in purchasing their own homes.

The Brantford NDP therefore recommends that:

- 1) land speculation be stopped
- 2) the city engage in a land assembly program to provide cheaper lots for sale on long term lease to citizens.
- 3) a real estate exchange office be set up in city hall where people wishing to sell, buy, or rent properties could register, exchange information at a central location, and thus reduce the cost of real estate exchange.
- 4) the city purchase older homes and re-sell them to low income families with no down payment being required, provided they make the necessary repairs.
- 5) that city council urge the other levels of government to adopt a standard, but less rigid, building code.

(B) Tenants and Landlords:

The major problem between tenants and landlords is alienation - a lack of communication between the two parties. The New Democratic Party in Brantford therefore urges that the following

(Cont'd.)

recommendations be adopted to create better relations between tenants and landlords.

- 1) That a Rental Review Board be established to set maximum rents based on collective bargaining between tenants and landlords. This Board should be given the power to enforce these rents.
- 2) An Information Bureau for Tenants and Landlords to be part of the central Real Estate Exchange office of the city. This would indicate properties available for rent.
- 3) That discrimination of any kind be illegal.
- 4) That support be given to the Ontario Tenants' Association and similar organizations.
- 5) That all tenants be granted security of tenure, with eviction only for illegal non-payment of rent or undue damages, and that a rental administration be set up to arbitrate eviction orders, this body having the right to lower rents when services are reduced or cut off.
- 6) That city council recommend to the Provincial Government to put an upper limit on subsidized renting so that tenants do not pay more for the apartment than it is worth.
- 7) That City Council recommend that standard residential lease forms and monthly rental agreements be prepared by the Legislature - in comprehensible language.
- 8) That City By-Laws stipulate that builders of new apartments must be made to finish interiors and landscape their property at least two months after the first occupancy, or tenants get reduced rent. (In cases where plaster must mature for a year before being painted and when landscaping is impossible due to winter months, Tenants and Landlords should negotiate and have a specific date added to the lease or rental agreement, or a reduction of rent for the waiting period.)

(Cont'd.)

(C) Public Housing

Since the Brantford NDP recognizes adequate housing as the right of every citizen, and since, at present there is an urgent need for more public housing, and since there is now a stigma attached to living in public housing, we therefore recommend that -

- 1) more public housing be built.
- 2) public housing be better integrated into other private housing to remove the atmosphere of isolation from the community that public housing creates.
- 3) rents be reduced and we recommend to the Provincial Government that maximum rents be set on geared to income programmes of housing. (Also see Social Services paper and point 6 under planning)

POLICE - CIVILIAN RELATIONS

Resolution #5

The complexities of modern urban living often create conflicts and frictions which will necessitate police intervention. The present system, originally planned for a less complex society needs to be updated in order to best serve the community.

Brantford New Democrats realize the necessity of having its public protectors responsible to the people.

THEREFORE we recommend -

(1) than an independent Citizen's Review Board be established to hear citizens' complaints.

(2) that a Board of Enquiry be established to conduct public hearings on unsettled complaints - this Board of Enquiry being independent of both the Citizens Review Board and the Police Commission.

(3) that the Police Commission be made more responsive to the people by having the majority of the commission appointed from elected offices and the rest elected directly and further, confine the powers of the Police Commission to the administration of police activities.

(4) that the hiring of police officers include psychological testing and their education place greater emphasis on civil liberties and human rights and include encouragement for extra courses at community colleges and universities.

(5) that city council pay, without prejudice, legal expenses for any charges levied against a police officer if incurred while in the line of duty.

(Cont'd.)

(6) that an NDP mayor of Brantford will while serving on the Board of Commissioners owe his primary allegiance to the elected city council and will where circumstances warrant it, always comply with the wishes of council over those of the Board where they conflict.

(7) that all meetings of the Brantford Board of Police Commissioners be open to the public unless the matter being discussed will prejudice the judicial process.

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LABOUR RELATIONS

Resolution #6

The New Democratic Party has always considered itself to be the political expression of working-class people. Brantford New Democrats comprise a cross-section of people who face the day-to-day struggle in our society. It is therefore natural that New Democratic candidates for municipal office in Brantford would enjoy a fraternal relationship with labour and would work to develop a healthy climate for labour in Brantford.

New Democratic candidates elected to office in Brantford would therefore set an example for private industry and other municipal governments by establishing and maintaining a humane labour policy in relation to public employees in the city of Brantford. We would strive to eliminate the unproductive and false antagonisms which exist between workers and management by emphasizing and representing the common interests of all public employees and other working class Brantford citizens.

1. The most important and immediate step that would be taken by a New Democratic city council would be to vastly improve communications at city hall between management staff and other public employees. Workers who are participating in a meaningful two-way flow of information and ideas can do much to help develop new methods and approaches and to eliminate waste and inefficiency. Workers have a right to know why decisions are made and in all matters affecting their daily working conditions, they have a right to participate in making the decisions.

2. Morale among public employees in Brantford is low because of the present Council's practice of increasing the amount of contracting-out of even the minor constructions jobs to private contractors. This results in a lack of security among public employees and means that city taxpayers support the

(Cont'd.)

profits of private contractors. City equipment lies idle and Brantford citizens remain unemployed. A New Democratic city council would seek to improve the equipment and experience of city departments so that many jobs can be done by our own employees at savings to the city. If in some cases private contractors are still used, none using non-union labour will be employed. All private contractors doing work for the city of Brantford shall ensure that wages paid to their employees are in accordance with the fair wage scale.

3. An effort would be made to develop a skilled and competent staff at city hall so that it would not be necessary to rely on as many expensive out-of town consultant firms and lawyers.

4. Public employees would be encouraged and assisted in upgrading their qualifications so that future vacant administrative and managerial positions could be filled by people with experience in Brantford. Such positions would be advertised and posted locally.

5. Elected New Democrats would use their influence to make sure that city facilities are not used to intimidate workers on strike in private industries.

6. New Democrats would work vigorously to do everything within the power of a municipal council to reduce the amount of unemployment in the city of Brantford by

- (a) embarking on programs such as urban renewal and housing as soon as possible.
- (b) making strong representation to the Federal government about this serious problem in our community.
- (c) using imaginative policies to develop Brantford.

Much can also be done to ease the impact of unemployment upon many hundreds of our families.

DEVELOPMENT OF BRANTFORD

Resolution #7

Preamble:

It is the belief of Brantford New Democrats that new industry is attracted to a given area, by more than the provision of the physical requirements of the industry. Rather, the whole area is assessed with regard to its schools, its recreational facilities, its progressive attitudes (or lack of them), and the overall health of the area as a place for permanent settlement. We believe that the implementation of our programme will provide such an environment for this city.

Unemployment is a continuing problem facing Brantford. The only significant growth of employment occurred in a period of Federal Government subsidies, when Brantford was a designated area. Although there has been a new increase in jobs, Brantford has been excessively dependent on the farm implement industry which is subject to considerable uncertainty. A greater variety of industrial types must be located here to alleviate this problem.

Brantford New Democrats disagree with the present system which forces communities to compete with each other in attracting industry by offering tax incentives and other "Give - Away" programmes at tax-payer's expense. A planned economy at the provincial or federal level would lead to full employment and orderly development which would eliminate such self-defeating competition. Nevertheless there are a number of things which an N.D.P. municipal government could do, within the present limitations, to relieve the suffering caused by the present unemployment

(Cont'd.)

1. An invigorated N.D.P. city council will undertake an aggressive advertising campaign to attract new industries to Brantford. An updated and improved brochure will be printed to highlight the desirability of locating in this community.

2. The cultural, recreational and housing facilities will be improved to encourage new industry to locate here.

3. The industrial commission would be revitalized and personal contacts made to persuade prospective industries to settle here.

4. Selective tax concessions will be used. In each case we will take into consideration the overall impact of the industry and its effects on the social and physical environment.

5. Public land assembly projects will be used.

6. Consideration will be given to improvement of airport facilities.

7. The tourist industry will be promoted through various advertising techniques and the rich historical background of this community will be exploited wherever possible.

8. Local cultural and sports endeavours will be given official support and encouragement to make Brantford a well-known centre, and to give deserved recognition to local athletes, performers and artists.

9. All efforts will be made to establish the campus of a community college or of a university in order to make Brantford more attractive and enhance the opportunities of our children.

PARKS AND RECREATION

Resolution #8

Preamble:

The New Democratic Party has as its goal the well-being of the people who live in this city. This includes in an urban environment the need for restful beauty and active leisure-time facilities. An attractive city can be a healthful place to live. At present, those of sufficient means can escape the drabness of city existence periodically, while those who are poorer are dependent on its inadequate facilities for all relaxation. A city which makes a priority of beauty and of healthful activities for all its citizens is the kind of city which attracts new business and industry, and which people are reluctant to leave. We believe that this city has great potential and intend by the following resolutions to attempt to realize this potential:

1. There is a very real shortage of developed parkland in the city, particularly in older high density population areas. An N.D.P. government will do a thorough study to determine needs and to locate suitable lands for park development. It will provide an orderly programme of land development. All new developments within the city whether high-rise, multi-family or single family will include land designated for park and recreation facilities, sufficient to meet standards established by the city, until at least minimum standards of acreage are met in all areas of the city.

2. Aware of the need for more public swimming facilities, we will make the building of an indoor pool an immediate priority.

The hours of operation of Earl Haig Pool can be extended so that shift workers can make use of the facilities at night. Free swimming should be available to all citizens. At present, deprived families continue to be denied access to even publicly owned facilities because of the cost.

3. To supplement the present limited playground area under the jurisdiction of parks and recreation, other publicly owned facilities will be made available to children and teen-agers under supervision. School yards and General Purpose rooms, unused during summer months and on week-ends with greater co-operation between Board of Education and Parks and Recreation can be given maximum use. (See Education Policy)

4. The recreation programme will be expanded to include broader winter activities including evenings and week-ends for young people and adults. The neighbourhood schools can become community centres with wide-ranging programmes of crafts and sports activities.

5. Sports programmes should include greater emphasis on individual games and activities and the provision of facilities for sports such as gymnastics, track and field, racquet sports, lawn bowling, shuffle board, etc. Organized minor sports, should be more effectively subsidized and ice surfaces and floors to minor organizations, should be made available at minimum expense.

6. Long Term Development

(a) Mohawk Park can develop into a major attraction for this city. The lake must be cleaned up as soon as possible so that it can provide swimming, fishing and rowing space, as well as ice-skating in the winter. With a new year-round pavilion, the park could provide the convention centre the city currently lacks.

Additional, more attractive playground equipment should be installed immediately.

(b) The land along the Grand River should be acquired as it becomes available and developed into parkland. The potential of the city's natural setting can be realized, if we are willing to devote the imagination and resources required.

(Cont'd.)

(c) The city must conscientiously preserve and augment the trees and green space it now has. It must ensure that industry becomes aware of the need to beautify the grounds and buildings it occupies. Brantford can become a beautiful city if we make our priority beautiful parks and business areas instead of "beautiful" pavement and roadways.

POLLUTION

Resolution #9

The destruction of our environment through pollution has put in doubt the survival of man. It is the aim of a socialist government to ensure that human values are foremost in consideration. Control of pollution is now essential and it is necessary as never before to stop polluters.

An NDP city council would:

1. strongly urge that the provincial government set up a local pollution control station to take swift action in all areas of pollution and that the "oath of secrecy" provisions be removed for all employees of such a station.
2. draft and act upon in co-operation with others a plan for the cleaning up of Mohawk Lake and the Grand River.
3. endorse the concept of independent citizen's anti-pollution groups.
4. make public wherever possible the results of studies made on pollution in the Brantford area.
5. not support a lake Erie pipeline, or any pipeline, until it is satisfied that the Ontario government is taking swift and meaningful action to halt pollution of the great lakes and to clean up and develop water reservoir systems in the Grand River. If it even then proves necessary for a pipeline to be constructed the total costs should be borne by the provincial government.
6. develop with the P.U.C. alternative methods of transportation in our city which would meet the needs of our citizens yet do a minimum amount of damage to our environment.

PLANNING

Resolution #10

In the past, city governments measured their success by the miles of paved streets and acres of parking lots which have been constructed.

New Democrats believe that planning means more than wider streets and expressways. Planning studies in Brantford recently have been very limited because they had to proceed in planning while assuming that the Brantford Expressway was as fixed and permanent as the Grand River and that the automobile had priority.

A New Democratic government would take a much broader approach to planning by setting as a goal the creation of an urban environment that would be pleasant and meaningful for people.

1) Planning should be done on a regional basis with the city planning part of the greater scheme and more co-operation with the county planning board.

2) The Brantford Planning Board would be restructured to be more representative of all citizens. Those who would benefit from land speculation etc. would be barred from serving.

3) Planning should serve mainly the human element to provide for a better environment.

4) Planning should have as its goal the development of community needs within areas of the city so that all citizens no matter where they live would have easy access to shopping, parks, recreation, education, entertainment etc.

5) Our present staff of town planners should be expanded to serve the community, instead of the hiring of so many out-of-town consultant firms who do not have to live with their plans.

(Cont'd.)

6) Public housing projects should be integrated into the community and adequate services must be ensured.

7) Planning should be done without favouritism. The general good of the whole city and its area communities to grow in a healthy creative environment should be the main goal.

URBAN RENEWAL

Resolution #11

The need for urban renewal is nowhere as apparent as in Brantford. Certain areas of the city, especially the downtown section, are deteriorating at an alarming rate.

This deterioration results from unscrupulous property exploitation and speculation, an insane taxation system, and poor city management which does not take into consideration the needs of human beings.

New Democrats in Brantford recognize the need for urban renewal in order to make this city more attractive for new and established businesses and industries, and most importantly, to provide a better and healthier environment for its citizens.

To prevent further decay of parts of our city and make our program of urban renewal effective we will strive to achieve the following:

1. The Urban renewal committee would be made more representative of all segments of our population and in particular residents from areas under consideration would at all times be represented.

The responsibility of this committee will be to see to it that a complete new plan for urban renewal be drawn up as soon as possible. In doing so the committee would take into consideration the needs of urban renewal throughout the city and the studies done in preparation for previous and present plans.

2. Property owners who do not keep their properties up to minimum structural and safety standards would have their taxes raised on a sliding scale and if necessary be condemned for occupancy after being given an opportunity to make improvements.

3. Tax rebates will be given for certain remodeling and reconstruction projects which are considered beneficial to the city.

(Cont'd.)

4. A Transportation policy which would end congestion of traffic in the downtown area and encourage the development of imaginative new public transit techniques, will reverse the process of decay in the downtown area.

All street parking would be banned on Colborne Street and Dalhousie street between Brant Avenue and Clarence. Parking facilities near the civic centre and a bus shuttle service would be provided to service the downtown until such time as an effective overall transit system is established.

5. The old market square would be developed as a service centre containing a bus terminal, public washroom facilities, a city-operated child care centre for downtown residents and shoppers and a cultural and ethnic centre. Open space areas in the square would allow people to relax in a park-like atmosphere.

6. Funds set aside for unpopular projects such as the downtown parking garage and the Brantford Expressway would be diverted to a sensible transportation and urban renewal program.

7. Traffic should eventually be banned from the downtown area altogether so that an urban renewal scheme to develop the whole area into an enjoyable shopping mall atmosphere would be possible. This way our downtown area would be revitalized and would become a beautiful place for residents and shoppers. It would become the envy of other cities.

TRANSPORTATION

Resolution #12

Urban centres in North America have reached an impasse. Plans for transportation in cities have centred around the automobile. All other urban planning has been subordinate to the elaborate plans we have developed to accomodate the automobile. In most cases politicians and planners have not considered the social and human side-effects of this dead-end approach. Accomodating the automobile has not provided the solution to our transportation needs, and in fact the course we have followed in many cities has prevented us from fulfilling other human needs.

It is time that we drastically shift our goals in relation to transportation. We must begin to take a much more imaginative approach and cease the present costly and wasteful method of continually widening streets and building expressways and parking lots to accomodate the automobile.

Brantford New Democrats will take an open-minded approach by setting as our goal the movement of people and goods within our city in a variety of ways rather than only planning for the movement of vehicles.

This means a drastic shift in emphasis to public transit systems that meet the needs of people without the same harmful effects we see today.

Brantford can be saved from the destructive and futile course larger North American cities have followed. It is not too late to use a new and imaginative approach and make Brantford a model that other cities will want to follow.

At present, the city is faced with a rotting down-town core because private automobiles can be better accomodated in suburban plazas and because downtown streets have become severely clogged by heavy traffic. The city also needs additional ways

(Cont'd.)

of crossing the Grand, the development of improved north-south links to Nanticoke and Kitchener and an effective by-pass between Hwy 2 from Hamilton and 24 south and 53 west.

The present city council along with the province has determined to alleviate all problems with one road, which on the surface sounds like good and effective planning. However, we are aware of a multitude of problems arising from the present Brantford expressway plan. In fact, we consider the problems created to be much more serious than the problems it was designed to correct.

Firstly, the cost of the expressway, (\$6½ million) is going to be much greater than the original figure stated. Paid by debentures, the interest rates alone add an enormous financial burden. The inflationary costs will probably double or treble the figure by the completion date. The upkeep on such roads is almost as great as the original cost of installation. All these expenses will have to be born by the taxpayers of the city.

In the course of this construction, hundreds of homes are being purchased and destroyed at a time when low-cost housing is in very short supply.

Such highways, particularly in an urban area are dangerous polluters. Because it is being designed through, instead of around the city, the city is being split into virtually inaccessible sections particularly the north-east, and Eagle Place. Few, if any provisions are planned for pedestrian crossing of the "barrier".

Access to parks, schools, hospitals, etc. will be extremely difficult as well as their being faced with an environment detrimental to their functions.

(Cont'd.)

Citizens will find it even more inviting to avoid downtown and will make use of plazas on the periphery.

The bridge is being located immediately south of the Lorne instead of a more logical and useful location to the north of the present bridge.

The expressway further encourages the use of the private automobile for in-city travel and will have a detrimental effect on the public transportation system.

All of these problems and many more have led us to the following proposals which would be the policy of an NDP city council.

1. An immediate halt will be made to Expressway activity to study and re-evaluate the needs, and to review all of the costs, both financial and social, of the present plan. The study will be a complete examination of transportation (inclusive of rail-road and road transportation confusions) not assuming the expressway in the terms of reference.

2. Such a study will also explore all alternatives, including a north-south by-pass instead of a through city route, an independent new bridge to the north of the Lorne, the development of Blossom Ave. and its bridge through to 24 and 53 for a southern by-pass, and all other possible alternatives.

3. To stimulate the downtown core and to alleviate the problems of heavy private traffic, we will expand the service of the public system. (see P.U.C. policy.)

4. Eventually parking lots at the periphery of the city and effective public transport will encourage drivers to leave automobiles and use other means of entering the city and using the downtown core.

(Cont'd.)

5. The provincial government will be encouraged to extend Go-Train service westward to the advantage of our citizens who commute daily to Hamilton, Oakville and Toronto.

6. The realities of the present system make it obvious that by its grant structure, the provincial government gives far more encouragement to highway building than to public transit systems. We believe that these costs should be born by all levels of government with 25% by the federal government, 50% by the province, and 25% by the municipality.

We will petition strongly that changes in the grant structure be made immediately. We will suggest to the provincial government that they help develop Brantford in this way, making it both an experiment and a model for other cities to follow.

Policy Platform for NDP Public Utilities
Commission Candidates

PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION

Resolution #13

The presently constituted elected P.U.C. is a carry-over from an earlier period and does not fulfill the needs of the present. The elected members cannot, in fact, be responsible to the citizens, because they have no taxing powers. If the services now offered by the P.U.C. were intergrated with the facilities of other city departments, then the city budget could improve the P.U.C. services. The N.D.P. will work towards the eventual integration of public transit with city transportation, power and water with sanitation, etc., through restructuring the P.U.C. as part of the city administration.

The function of the P.U.C. is to provide the best possible service to the citizens to fulfill their needs in the areas of hydro water and public transportation. The New Democratic Party in Brantford believes that the needs of citizens in the latter area particularly are not being adequately met and can be greatly improved. The current structure of provincial grants which greatly favours the building of roads for private automobiles over the provision of public transit must be changed, and a New Democrat P.U.C. will work with city council to persuade the province to increase grants to public transit. However, we believe that some good can be accomplished presently with imaginative planning for Brantford's needs.

Long Term Goals

1. Public transit must be established as a viable alternative to private automobiles. This will involve:
a) overall study and planning to determine needs with regard to speed, convenience and economy.

(Cont'd.)

- b) the establishment of new routes to service all parts of the city, not just the core.
- c) the investigation of a variety of modes of public transit - minibuses, electric service, rail, etc.

2. Brantford P.U.C. will co-operate with the O.W.R.C. and the G.R.C.A. to continue the cleanup and conservation of the water in the Grand River for use of Brantford citizens. If it becomes an obvious necessity that supplemental water supplies be found the P.U.C. will co-operate with the O.W.R.C. in development of a pipeline. However, we believe that the cost of building such a development should be borne by the Province.

Short Term Goals

1. We will examine the present hydro power rate structure to ensure that all sections of the economy are bearing fairly the costs of hydro.
2. Fare structure will be examined with the understanding that the fare-box cannot, alone, support satisfactory service.
3. Schedules of all routes will be made readily available to users of the system.
4. An immediate attempt will be made to make more service available.
5. Where possible, service will be expanded into all residential and business districts where it is inadequate or non-existent.
6. Bus stops will be clearly marked with a system which is consistent throughout the city.
7. Where feasible anti-pollution devices shall be installed on buses and other P.U.C. equipment.

Policy Platform for NDP Board of Education
Candidates

EDUCATION - Preamble:

Resolution #14

An educational system should encourage the development of human beings who are capable of independent thought in a society which allows every individual to reach his full potential. Our schools should free and not form the minds of youth.

Rather than mirror the present society with all of its injustices, a school system must expose students to a large variety of concepts for debate.

Since environment plays a large role in affecting people, those involved in our education system should not merely learn about democracy but should practice it. In this way our young will learn to live and function as human beings in a democracy, rather than as at present, where power is concentrated in the hands of administrators; and students, parents and teachers do not fully participate in making decisions.

Our schools must provide true equality of opportunity for all students regardless of sex, creed, race ethnic or cultural background and life style. The system must protect the rights of the minority within as open system where the will of the majority is also felt. Our schools must overcome class distinctions which tend to stream students in such a way that children from low income families rarely make it through to higher institutions of learning. The generation gap must be recognized for what it really is: a growing alienation of youth from their parents. Every effort must be made to ensure that our educational system does not use this tragedy to explain away its shortcomings but rather use its intellectual and pedagogical finesse to try to effect a degree of reconciliation.

(Cont'd.)

Our schools must recognize that learning is a lifelong process not to be confused with the present institutionalized structure we call education. Our schools must be the gateway to the future - an intellectual dream where old ideas and conclusions are learned, not memorized, and used to create new ideas and arrive at new conclusions.

An N.D.P. Board of Education would work to adopt the following:

A. Democracy and Human Rights

1. In order to overcome a sense of alienation citizens must have a sense of participation in our education system. Our schools must be democratized and a basic code of human rights should be adopted so that freedoms of assembly, publication etc. are guaranteed in our schools.

The operation of the schools must be decentralized so that parents, teachers and students can be involved in the decision-making process. A committee of the Board could be set up to plan the details of implementation of community and school councils (along the lines suggested in the MacDonnell, Hess, Robbie paper of June, 1970). Note: Copies available on request.

2. The central school board would continue to set general goals and adopt budgets but the creation of community and school councils would eliminate the need for the large number of high cost administrators.

3. A citizen's advisory board would be established immediately, to allow for citizen participation until such time as community councils are established.

4. Citizens would get full usage of our expensive school facilities by the opening up of these facilities in off-hours and seasons through programs to be established in co-operation with the parks and recreation board. (See Parks and Recreation Policy)

(Cont'd.)

5. The system of Ontario School records be adjusted where necessary to insure respect of a student's human rights and that parents be informed of such records accordingly and Ontario school records not be available to others outside the school system.

6. That a representative of the Six Nations students be elected to sit on the Brant County Board of Education.

7. Every effort should be made to establish the gradeless or open school concept of learning. To this end streaming should be eliminated and planning for individual student's needs would be encouraged.

8. Children with learning disabilities would receive expert help outside the regular classrooms in order to correct the students particular learning problems or help him to compensate for it. However, every effort must be made to return these students to the regular classes.

9. Beginning teachers should serve an internship in order to better prepare them for the various problems they are likely to face in a classroom situation.

10. In order to better prepare students who are underprivileged in their pre-school environment, either through lack of exposure to experiences other children have enjoyed, or through under nourishment, or through simple lack of attention and affection, to take advantage of the learning situation in our schools a program would be established along the lines of the ENOC program (Educational Needs of the Older City) in Hamilton in some ways similar to the Head Start program in the U.S.A. This would be done in co-operation with social agencies such as: Children's Aid in Brantford. Included would be a nutritional supplement program which would not single out individuals for embarrassment, an expanded pre-school educational program,
(Cont'd.)

extra training for teachers so that they can better handle problems facing inner-city children, and a program to encourage parents to stimulate children at home through such techniques as a "read-to-me".

11. That the Brant County Board of Education acquire facilities for outdoor education and that financial encouragement to assist in the education of teachers for this field be provided to develop this programme.

12. That the party fully endorses the payment of provincial grants to separate schools providing that shared facilities be used throughout the Brant County system.

13. The Board in conjunction with the other city agencies should ensure that at least one properly trained social worker is available for every high school area with its feeder schools. Social workers would assist the guidance departments in the handling of student problems which do not necessarily pertain to the schools.

14. The board in conjunction with the Brant County Health Unit would improve health services by providing yearly medical and dental check-ups for students. A dental clinic providing treatment for public school children would be established. An improved program of preventative health care would be established. Any individual presently in the Brant County educational system who has a drug problem should be required to take the proper treatment to overcome his problem.

15. Psychological services must be drastically upgraded in order for our schools to serve the needs of all students. This would necessitate the hiring of more professional personnel.

16. In our rapidly changing society new forms of creative endeavor are constantly coming into being while old ones are becoming obsolete.

(Cont'd.)

Our school system therefore should offer a wider and larger range of courses including fields such as photography, theatre, radio, television and others. The Board would purchase necessary equipment and negotiate with Jarmain Cable T.V. to ensure that Brant County students may benefit from E.T.V. programs being produced by the Department of Education with our money. Students would learn to help create their own E.T.V. programs in an imaginative way.

17. A greater use of facilities and lecturers outside of the schools themselves should be encouraged to allow the community to participate in the education process and to allow students to feel a part of the community in their learning experience.

18. Partisan religious education would be replaced by comparative religious studies on a volunteer basis.

19. The elementary French Language Programme would be extended into earlier grades throughout the Brant County system.

20. Methods would be developed to improve the level of basic skills of students.

21. The Brant County Board of Education contact all other boards of education in Ontario would work together to have the best school designers produce a basic design for all schools, for use in all future school buildings, - thereby cutting costs.

22. An attitude of co-operation and positive motivation in an open school concept would eliminate the need for negative motivations such as detentions and corporal punishment.

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Resolution #15

The introduction of party politics into the municipal arena will undoubtedly open the channels of communication and decision-making, give citizens a meaningful choice and make for more responsible representation. It is important for New Democrats to consider the structure of government in the Brantford area.

1. Citizens must be positively encouraged by elected members to participate in formulating new ideas.

2. Meetings of elected bodies and committees will be fully publicized and citizens will be encouraged to attend. All meetings will be open to the public.

3. City Council, Public Utilities Commission and Boards of Education must work together and co-operate.

4. NDP elected representatives would strive to ensure that any system of regional government is democratic, open and responsible to the people.

5. NDP elected representatives in addition to performing their normal duties would specialize in one or two areas to serve more effectively.

6. An NDP city council would abolish the antiquated ward system and have aldermen elected on a city-wide basis.

7. NDP city council appointees to boards and committees administering the maintenance of social planning and health agencies in Brantford would ensure that meetings of said boards and committees be advertised and open to the public.

APPENDIX L: Copy of the Constitution of the Brantford
N.D.P. Ward Association

C O N S T I T U T I O N
O F
W A R D A S S O C I A T I O N .

(1).....NAME

Name of the Association shall be Brantford New Democratic Party Ward
.....Association.

(2).....PURPOSE

The purpose of the Association is to submit policy resolutions to Brantford New Democratic Party Conventions and, in co-operation with the Municipal Affairs Committee, to nominate Municipal candidates.

(3).....EXECUTIVE

The executive shall consist of CHAIRMAN, ASSISTANT CHAIRMAN and SECRETARY, to be elected annually. The first executive to be elected at the founding meeting and thereafter in January or February of each year.

(4).....MEETINGS

The CHAIRMAN is responsible for calling the Ward Association meetings to discuss Municipal topics on a continuing basis. There shall be a minimum of ten (10) meetings per year including the Annual meeting.

(5)

The Secretary shall file with the Secretary of the Brantford-Brant New Democratic Riding Association and Secretary of the Municipal Affairs Committee a copy of minutes of each meeting.

(6)

A copy of this Constitution shall be filed with the Riding Association.

(7)

This Constitution shall not contravene with the Constitutions of the Brantford-Brant New Democratic Party Riding Association and the Ontario New Democratic Party and the New Democratic Party of Canada.

(8)

Only New Democratic Party members shall have a vote at meetings and be eligible for an elected position.

(9)

The CHAIRMAN of the Association executives shall be a member of the MUNICIPAL AFF. Steering Committee.

(10)

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds (2/3rd) majority vote at a Ward meeting as provided in clause seven (7) and with the approval of the Executive of the Riding Association.


APPENDIX M: Copy of Letter From Derek Blackburn to Glenn 302
Pattinson Regarding the Appointment of
Enumerators in the 1971 Federal By-Election
in Brant

19 Lynnwood Dr., Apt. 604
Brantford, Ontario
April 14, 1971

Mr. Glenn Pattinson, President,
Brantford-Brant N D P Association,
Brantford, Ontario.

Dear Glenn,

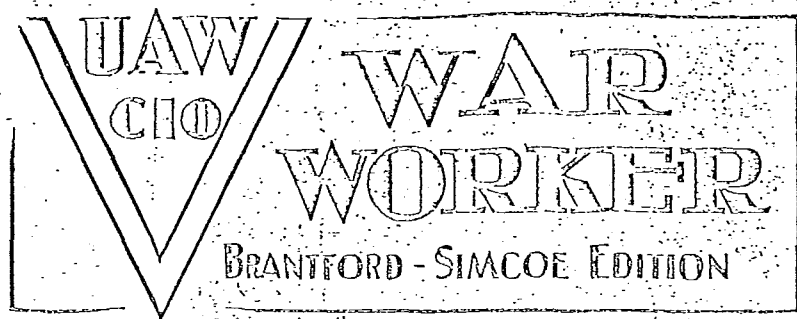
Would it be possible for me to have the right to choose enumerators for the Paris area for the up-coming federal by-election in Brant?

Many of these people have worked for me and the Party in  both the 1965 and 1968 federal elections. I thought it would be fitting of me to pay them back in some small way.

This is the only request I will make in the campaign. I wish you all the very best.

Sincerely,





Vol. I, No. XVI

BRANTFORD, ONTARIO

Aug. 2nd 1943

Join
UAW-CIO
To-day!

SPECIAL EDITION

"CANADIAN TRIBUNE" EXPOSES BRANTFORD "STOOGES" UNIONS

TORONTO REPORTER GETS THE GOODS

The oft-repeated contention of UAW-CIO that the Cockshutt and Massey-Harris Industrial Councils are nothing but "stooge" unions has been dramatically confirmed by R. S. Gordon, staff feature writer for the Toronto "Canadian Tribune", a weekly newspaper with a wide circulation.

Commissioned by his newspaper to make a survey of Ontario's major industrial centres and write articles for the Tribune, based on his findings, Gordon, while in Brantford interviewed local officials of workers' organizations; both "legal" Trade Unions and "illegal" Company dominated outfits.

Hutcheon Strips Soul Bare

Alex. Hutcheon, President of Cockshutt's Company Union, for instance stated to Gordon "that his Industrial Council operated by special dispensation of the Cockshutt management and violated the provisions of the Ontario Collective Bargaining Act." Asked, "Do you consider your Industrial Council to be a Union?" Hutcheon answered, "without so much as a blush or a stammer", "well it wasn't, but it will have to become one now."

Massey-Harris Rings Gong

Describing the Massey-Harris Company Union constitution as an "all-time Canadian classic", Gordon goes on to say of it, "It provides an alleged grievance procedure with more twists than a scenic railway."

For the full story we have reprinted on the inside pages a duplicate of Page 11 of the Canadian Tribune of Saturday, July 31st, 1943.

When you get through with your copy, pass it along. Help UAW-CIO remove Brantford's "nest of Company Unions". Join UAW-CIO today. See your Keyman right away.

Cooler and Cannery C.

Cockshutt's

COMPANY CLUB AND

COUNCIL COOKED-UP

Latest moves designed to legitimate union organization reported from the Univ Cooler Company, Brantford Cannery Machinery Limited, Simcoe Cannery Machinery, Simcoe.

Following application for recognition as collective bargaining the Labour Court by Local UAW-CIO, Simcoe, the Cannery Machinery of Simcoe hurriedly gathered their stooges and yes including foremen, supervisory draughtsmen and office staff together and hurriedly drew up constitution for the so-called Cannery Club.

UAW-CIO was recently successful in winning wage increases for all factory employees in this despite every effort on the part of management to avoid payment even subsistence wages to its workers. The Ontario War Labour Board authorized new wages designed to raise everyone's pay 5c per hour last April. The Company refused to pay. Further presentations by UAW-CIO resulted in the Board ordering employers to pay the new rates, estimated that this meant "Back Pay Bill" to the Company of approximately two thousand five hundred dollars to be distributed in the form of back pay to employees.

(Continued on Page 4)

SPECIAL JOINT MEETING

M.-H., M'k't. St., Verity and Cockshutt Members

Thursday, August 5th at 8 p.m., in the UAW-CIO Hall, 25 George Street

Business of Evening: "Application for Charter" and selection of "Charter Members."

Official Membership Receipt must be shown to gain admission.

Saturday, July 31, 1943

CANADIAN TRIBUNE

Page 11

Brantford Dummy Union Stooage 'Tells All'

Frankly Owns Up to 'Bargain' Between Industrial Council And Cockshutt Plow Co.

By R. S. Gordon
Tribune Staff Writer

Brantford, Ont. — Company unions are very coy about revealing their internal affairs or stating their real purposes. This past week, however, I have had the opportunity of hearing this district's key company union stooage strip his soul bare for my personal benefit.

He is Alex Hucheen, president of the so-called Industrial Council at the Cockshutt Plow Company. He told me, with a frankness that was almost embarrassing, that his Industrial Council operated by special dispensation of the Cockshutt management and violated the provisions of the Ontario Collective Bargaining Act.

Cockshutt and Massey-Harris constitute the main rampart of a "Mugshot Line" erected by anti-labor employers in an attempt to keep trade unionism out and collective bargaining out of the many war plants in Brantford. Hucheen's free confessions draw the veil from the situation which has arisen as a result of this vendetta against labor, which parallels that in the war industries of such centres as Hamilton, Sudbury and Galt.

"Nest of Pink Unions" Comment of M.L.A.

At the hearings of the special Select Committee of the Ontario Legislature on collective bargaining this spring, many representations were made con-

cerning the chief ones are the Industrial Councils at Cockshutt and Massey-Harris.

To get a firsthand impression of the company union drive I called on one of its moving spirits, Cockshutt Industrial Council president Alex Hucheen. His verbatim statements speak for themselves.

Co-Union Stooage "Spills the Beans"

"Do you," I asked, "consider your Industrial Council to be a union?"

Without so much as a blush or a stammer Hucheen replied:

"Well it wasn't, but it will have to become one now. With the new labor act the Ontario government has seen fit to introduce we'll have to finance ourselves now, and there will have to be some reorganization of the Council."

Since this was an admission that somebody has been financing the Industrial Council, I asked pointedly where the money has been coming from. At first Hucheen tried to parry the question. "We didn't really need any," he said finally, because the Council was enabled to use the facilities of the company.

But surely, I pointed out, there must also have been some operating expense; for example, it required money to pay for such a simple thing as letter-heads. (I learned later Hucheen had been making a number of radio speeches and issuing

said Hucheen, with the labor act prohibiting the company from financing the Council, it will have to introduce dues payments, although he preferred to use the formula, "We're going to finance ourselves."

My last question was: "Has the company been favorable to the Industrial Council?"

Without hesitation Hucheen replied: "Very favorable."

If any further evidence is needed of the "sink" nature of the Industrial Councils operating here to offset legitimate trade unionism, it can be found in the constitutions and "sweetheart agreements" they boast at Cockshutt and Massey-Harris, which employ a total of more than 5,000 workers.

The Cockshutt Council's constitution says as plain as the nose on your face: "The company shall provide at its expense suitable places for meetings of the Industrial Council and its sub-committees." Legitimate unions often have to put up a fight even for the right to put notices of meetings on company bulletin boards!

The Cockshutt Council's "agreement" with the company has a clause on settlement of disputes that vies for first place with that made notorious in the company union contracts of International Nickel at Sudbury and Port Colborne. It says that whenever a dispute arises that cannot be settled by discussion between the Council and the company, "the matter shall be referred to the General Manager."

Needless to say there is no mention of basic wage rates, which is presumably part of the "bargain" about which Hucheen waxed so enthusiastic. And, of course, it provides an iron-clad closed shop for the company union.

the scales against the union. But it is claimed that the majority of these have now joined the union.

2. It is charged the election rules were violated by the Industrial Council.

3. It is charged there was discrimination against some workers, and the union has affidavits sworn to by workers to the effect that there were irregularities in the actual voting.

Another item of interest is the fact that the Cockshutt management's policies are duplicated in a number of other local plants which are its subsidiaries.

Massey-Harris Set-Up Rings the Gong

The constitution of the Massey-Harris Industrial Council (the company has two plants here) is an all-time Canadian classic. It surpasses any other document in the field that I have seen. It has as many "ifs" and "buts" as the English language will permit, and would make a Philadelphia lawyer look like a schoolboy in short pants.

It provides an alleged "grievance procedure" with more twists than a scenic railway. In the first place, although it is supposed to represent the workers, it consists of an equal number of worker and management representatives. Then, it states specifically that once a policy or action is decided upon, "its execution shall remain with the management." That's one up on the formula of the Niagara Industrial Relations Institute.

If the Council, after preliminaries too extended to give in detail, does reach a decision in any dispute, its recommendation must go to the works management or superintendent. The latter can decide the mat-

And as a reminder of the blood relationship with the company, there is the inevitable proviso: "The company will provide at its expense places for meetings of the Council and its sub-committees."

This, then, is the sort of thing the workers face here in their attempts to exercise rights now supported by the laws of the province. The facts show they are being deprived of these rights in most cases by the employer gang-up. But there is more to it than that.

Low wages and anti-labor policies on the part of management have led to a situation that has even employers worried. They have resulted in a rate of absenteeism of alarming proportions. It is difficult to get precise figures, but authoritative sources state that there is more absenteeism in Brantford war plants than in most Ontario centres where absenteeism is a problem.

The solution, according to union leaders like Robert Stacey and Charles Tanner, also a UAW international representative, lies in abandonment by employers of their last-ditch battle to prevent their workers from organizing into legitimate unions, along with acceptance of democratic collective bargaining.

That has been proved, Stacey declared, by the experience of the UAW in the brief period since the union has undertaken an organizational drive here. The main cause of absenteeism here, he said, is lack of organization and the attitude of the bulk of the employers.

The union is organizing in plants employing a total of about 7,000 workers. Contracts have already been signed at both plants of Brantford Coach and Body, Canadian Duxco Abrasives, Brantford Owen and Mack Limited and negotiations

cerning the plant committees and plant councils in this area. They moved L. Hagey, Brantford Liberal M.L.A., to remark that his constituency seemed to be "a nest of company unions." The evidence of local labor leaders' supports that assertion.

The significance of the widespread promotion of company unionism here lies in the fact that Brantford is a town of many industries which are only now being organized. Out of a total population of about 36,000 people, about half—or 18,000—are wage earners, producing aircraft and tank parts, shells, military vehicle parts, railroad rolling stock equipment, abrasives, dies, wood products, garments, farm implements, electrical products and many others.

Brantford is a war production centre. Although it has the oldest Trades and Labor Council in the Dominion, and solidly established unions among the fire-fighters, printing pressmen, typesetters, garment workers, and others, organization of the war industries has only begun fairly recently, mainly under the banner of the United Automobile Workers. Under the cloak of "paternalism" employers have kept wages at levels substantially below those in centres where trade union organization has brought workers and management together in collective bargaining relations.

Robert Stacey, resident UAW international representative, told me "the UAW" has come up against company unions in every plant it has organized. "It is safe to say," he declared, "that all the main plants in Brantford not under union contract have company

numerous leaflets for his Council).

"Well," Hucheson continued, "whenever we needed anything like that we just went ahead and ordered it and the company paid. That was part of our agreement with the company. The company paid all expenses, and we considered it a good bargain."

That being a statement with all the 'I's dotted and the 't's crossed, I turned to his remark about the necessity of re-organizing the Council.

If the Council had been a bona fide organization as claimed, I asked, why should it now be necessary to reconstruct it?

"Because," said Hucheson, "the act that the government has seen fit to introduce says you mustn't be company-financed or company-dominated. We claim it's just part of our agreement—a good bargain. We feel that if we can make an agreement with the company to supply all our needs, then we don't see anything wrong with it. But the new law says you can't."

"We have had an agreement with the company since we started about three years ago. But now we will have to draw up a new agreement when we revise our constitution to conform with the law."

The Council's main cry against the UAW organizational campaign in the plant has been the fact that to join the union the workers would allegedly have to pay dues to John L. Lewis. (The fact that Lewis has been out of the CIO for some time and that his policies are being vigorously fought by the UAW and the CIO is something the Council has chosen to ignore). Now,

Illegalities Charged In May Plant Vote

Hucheson's Council lays claim to representing the majority of the Cockshutt workers on the basis of a vote last May in which a minority voted for the UAW. But the union gives this version of the vote:

1. The great majority of the older workers voted for the UAW, an influx of new workers whom the union had not yet been able to recruit weighing,



Robert Stacey, UAW international representative at Brantford, Ont., who this week declared that the solution for the serious absentee problem in Brantford, war plants lies in recognition of the right of the workers to choose their own free unions and participate in the war effort as an equal partner.

ter in so important that it has to be referred to the president of the company. But don't think that puts the president on the spot. Not at all. If he happens to be around and can give the matter his consideration, he can either accept it or notify the works manager and superintendent that they should in turn notify the Council that its recommendation isn't really cricket, and would the Council please start all over again and find a more satisfactory solution.

Or else he, too, can attach such importance to the original suggestion that he finds it necessary to call a meeting of representatives of Industrial Councils in all the company's plants at Brantford, Woodstock and Toronto to study the matter.

And when this "General Council" meets, the whole process begins all over again, with the company president still holding the ace in the hole, deuces running wild for the management, the workers holding marked cards, and the pot going to you know whom.

Let there be any slip-up, there is still another joker in the deck.

On each plant Council, as well as on the over-all General Council, the vote of the so-called workers' representatives counts as one unit and the vote of the management representatives similarly counts as one unit. Thus, if the worker representatives vote one way, and the management representatives vote another way, the result is a tie. And then—yes, you guessed it—the matter once more has to be referred to the temple wherein the demi-God holds undisputed sway—the infallible "president of the company."

are under way with Canada Car and Foundry.

Urges Genuine Co-operation

"At these plants we are developing excellent relations," Stacey said.

Canadian Durex was an example of what could be done through union-management co-operation. The Durex contract contained a special clause designed to combat absenteeism. It also assisted morale by stipulating that girls and juniors should get equal pay for work comparable to that done by adult males.

Already, Stacey said, the contracts signed by the union have improved the whole labor situation here, having resulted in a general wage rise in non-union plants as high as 50 per cent. The union has also broken down the carefully fostered idea that the "paternalism" of a by-gone day can take the place of free and untrammelled collective bargaining relations.

"We deplore the attempt to promote company unionism to offset democratic organizations of the workers' own choice," Stacey declared. "In the present common emergency we stand for full labor-management co-operation—a co-operation of equals, not of master and servant. We seek such co-operation in the interests of war production, in support of a total war effort, and for a better post-war understanding between employers and workers."

A similar attitude on the part of management here would be a service to the war effort that would give our fighting forces more guns, tanks and planes for the victory that will rid the world of Hitlerism for industrialists as well as labor.

Reprinted from the Canadian Tribune

The above is reprinted from the "Canadian Tribune" exactly as it appeared in that Weekly Newspaper. This unbiased report of a neutral newspaperman should convince workers it is in their best interests to avoid any form of Brantford Company Unions and hitch their wagons to the star of legitimate trade Union organization. JOIN UAW-CIO TODAY. See your Keyman.

CANADIAN CAR AND FOUNDRY SIGNS ACE AGREEMENT

Another new UAW-CIO contract was signed in Brantford this week. Canadian Car and Foundry Limited employees numbering around 400 are covered. The agreement, perhaps the best labour agreement in Brantford provides that UAW-CIO be recognized as a sole collective bargaining agency and covers all plant employees of the company.

Among its provisions are:

Seniority to be established after 3 months' employment.

Lay-offs and rehires to be strictly according to seniority standing.

Leaves of absence to employees to take part in Union activities without loss of seniority.

Cumulative seniority to those serving in His Majesty's Armed Forces.

A simplified Grievance Procedure designed to correct injustices without delay, and without the necessity to strike.

Reinstatement and reimbursement for employees wrongfully discharged.

Guarantee of two hours pay to any employee reporting for work unless previously properly notified not to so report.

Time-and-a-half for overtime after 9 hours, Monday to Friday, and after 3 hours on Saturday.

Double time for overtime worked on Sundays or Holidays.

Top seniority for Committeemen and Stewards.

Equal pay for equal work.

Bonus of 5c per hour to all hourly rated employees working night shifts.

Compare this first class UAW-CIO agreement with the so-called contracts between Companies and Company Unions. You can't be covered by such an agreement. If you want UAW-CIO benefits, join UAW-CIO today. See your key-man or join up at the UAW-CIO office, 10 Temple Building, Brantford. The office is kept open during noon hours.

Cooler and Cannery (Continued from Page 1)

Another application from Local 237 is also before the Board for holidays with pay, and time-and-a-half for overtime, along the lines negotiated for workers in other plants.

Universal Cooler, Brantford

Latest Company to establish a dominated workers' group is Universal Cooler Co. of Canada, Ltd., Brantford. Concrete evidence of the tie-up between the Company and its Management dominated council was brought out at a selective service hearing on Monday, July 26th, over the case of Steve Kowalyk who was discharged without sufficient reason.

Selective Service ruled in Kowalyk's favour and against the Company. The two head "stooges" on the Council had previously refused to do anything about the case, thus providing Cooler employees with first-hand evidence that a Company Union does nothing against the wishes of management.

The evidence tying up the Council with Management was furnished by Factory Manager McMillan and Superintendent Long. They ought to know, and their evidence, wrong from them as an admission, should be conclusive.

INSIDE STUFF

COCKSHUTT

Is it true that Girls in Department 47, Undercarriage, were herded into their rest room while Lancaster officials investigated delays in deliveries and listened to the Company cry—"lack of help"?

Is it true that a copy of a telegram intended to stimulate production of undercarriages was passed around the "Undercarriage", that it had its desired effect until the Foreman and Assistant Foreman told willing employees to "wait until after lunch" for instructions on set-up?

Is it true that Mel. Howden, who stooged for the Company at the time of the vote, after double-crossing his union workmates, finally reaped his reward and was fired and beat-up?

Is it really true that Dean Brooks, Cockshutt stooge and Council member in the tool room, had such a poor reception in getting Company Union cards signed, that he figures on putting on another drive?

Is it true that Tom Howard complains that E. Ray must still represent Dept. 20 as Chief Stooze Hutchcon and Sub-stooze Ray confeder, frequently taking girl employees into the office for "conferences", ignoring representative Howard completely, and is it true (no it can't be, with the warnings contained in the new Labour Bill) that Tom Howard was also told by a Company supervisor to put onto his time-card one hour's pay for taking around Company Union application cards?

A little bird told us this one:—(can it be true?)

Tom Howard and Ernie Ray held a conversation a little while ago which went something like this,

Howard: "Come on Ernie, let's join up." (the armed forces).

Ray: "No sir, not me, nor any of my family."

Howard: "Maybe the day isn't far off when your boy will HAVE to go."

Ray: "He'll never have to go. They can put him in jail but they can't make him fight. Why should I or any of my family go to war while Cockshutt sits back here and makes millions." (No wonder he wasn't returned to the Council. That kind of stuff won't make you either liked or respected by the boys and girls in the shop Ernie.)

Here's a note received in the Union office Friday, July 30th:— "This morning there was a strike in the Undercarriage Department 47, of about one hour duration. It seems that the Company took all the doors off the toilets so that every one using same was in full view if foreman came in. Along with this a workman was fired last night for washing his hands before 6 p.m., hence the shutdown this a.m. Outcome seems to be that doors go back on and workman is reinstated on the job." MUST BE ONE OF COCKSHUTT'S MORALE BUILDING EXPERIMENTS. (Note—Alex. Hutchcon, "Cockshutt's will see that you get a square deal.")

Is it true that Ernie Ray takes work off of Nova Scotia girl's time cards?—and after bamboozling them into signing Company Union application cards?

Ernie you're a very, very, bad boy—Company spank, Council spank, workers spank.—Union WALLOP.

And can it be true that Foreman Stan. Stowe and Harry Williamson did the job for the stooge Council in handing out Company Union application cards? (YOU can't do that fellows, it's agin the law.)

And surely it can't be true that the personnel of the 1943 Cockshutt Council Executive was fixed before the election even took place?

And is it really true that Wm. Melton of the Shell Department, council representative, with the co-operation of his foreman, has had a supervisor nominated to and elected to the Council? Why, you're as bad as Alex. and Bobby, Willie, you'd better read your constitution too.

And here's the story going the rounds about the girls employees of the Wings Department who were given raises to vote Company Union on election day. It seems that they have since been transferred to jobs with a lower rate classification. (Say, girls, you're right back where you started. Better get in the Union, that's the only way you can be sure of a square deal.)

And if a fellow didn't know the lousy kind of an outfit they were it would be hard to believe that new employees in the Air-craft office are getting higher wages than employees who have had 10 months' service on the same jobs, but that's just another example of the Cockshutt Square Deal extolled by Chief High Stooze Hutchcon.

And is it really true that the Company Council have not yet fulfilled their pledge to D. Vance. What are you waiting for Alex, the first dues payment to your Company Union? For further information see Mr. Vance.

AND IS IT TRUE THAT THE COUNCIL EXECUTIVE IS AFRAID TO APPLY TO THE LABOUR COURT FOR CERTIFICATION AS BARGAINING AGENCY BECAUSE THEY HAVE HAD RETURNED TO THEM A SMALL 20% OF THE APPLICATION CARDS—OR IS IT BECAUSE THEY ALL KNOW THAT THEY ARE AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION?

We'll bet 5 to 1 that they don't dare file application.

COCKSHUTT REPORTER

MASSEY-HARRIS

Is it true that Don Harris burnt a girl worker on the arm with a countersinking tool that had been heated, leaving a large painful scar?

And is it true that he was reported by both the Nurse and the Foreman?

And is it true that notwithstanding this playful attitude of his, that Matt. Scott made him a supervisor?

M.-H. SCRIBE

Ryan Printing Co. Ltd., Brantford, Ont.

Release: Immediate

March 19, 1969.

Re: Chicago Rawhide Strike, Statement of The [REDACTED] Brantford New Democratic Party Riding Association arising out of a decision of The Executive March 18, 1969.

According to the principles and laws of a democratic society workers have the right to bargain collectively with their employers. The management of Chicago Rawhide have made a concerted effort to deny workers these rights. Through ultimatums sent to each individual worker, and through the hiring of non-union employees, they have ignored negotiation procedures and attempted to destroy collective bargaining.

The taxpayers of Brantford are being asked to subsidize the police protection required to uphold the strike-breaking tactics of the company. We demand that city council reveal to the taxpayer the extra cost of this action, which puts property ahead of people. Several workers have complained of police brutality and attempts at intimidation.

Our police force is being asked to uphold the unjust tactics of management and being forced to ignore the rights of citizens on and off the picket line.

In a society in which labour laws are stacked against labour, workers are coming to realize that strikes are insufficient. Only political action to change the government can uphold the long term rights of the Canadian workers. The law should protect the rights of citizens to a job with a decent wage, so that all Canadians can share in the worker-produced wealth of Canada. The time has come for Canadian workers to stop regarding their jobs as privileges, but consider them as rights which deserve protection under the law. Why should the law uphold an arbitrary decision of management to deprive workers of

continued...

their rights as in the Chicago Rawhide dispute?

We call upon Brantford citizens and public representatives to support the workers by forcing management to cease from the tactics which are undermining the security and livelihood of many families. We call upon management to immediately reciprocate the union desire to negotiate by meeting with the union prepared not to issue more unilateral ultimatums, but to bargain in the true sense of the word.

We call upon all citizens to support the workers at Chicago Rawhide. You may be next to be deprived of your security, your job and your rights. We call upon citizens to demand an explanation of the use of our police forces in this dispute.

(30)

For further information call George Hess at 753-0596 or 756-5007.

APPENDIX P: Interviews

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>
ANGUS, Beryl	June 7, 1976
ASLIN, George	May 27, 1976
BLACKBURN, Derek	June 5, 1976
CHARLICK, Lorne	May 26, 1976
COOPER, Harry	June 1, 1976
COOPER, Reginald	June 2, 1976
COX, Nelson	May 31, 1976
DEWAR, Doris	June 2, 1976
EASTO, Clare	May 26, 1976
GEORGE, Karen	June 7, 1976
GILLIES, Jack	May 27, 1976
GOOD, Robert	June 1, 1976
GUEST, Harry	August 31, 1976
HANSON, William	June 11, 1976
HUMBLE, William	May 31, 1976
JENNINGS, Fred	June 7, 1976
MACKAY, Charles	June 2, 1976
MAKARCHUK, Mac	June 6, 1976
McLELLAN, Margaret	May 29, 1976
MAYCOCK, John	June 10, 1976
MINNERY, William	June 4, 1976
MOWLE, William	June 1, 1976
NEUMANN, Dave	June 8, 1976
NEUMANN, Elfrieda	June 8, 1976
PAPPLE, Robert	June 8, 1976
PATTINSON, Glenn	May 28, 1976

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>
SANDERS, Harry	June 1, 1976
STRANGE, Charles	May 31, 1976
STATHAM, Stan	June 2, 1976
TAYLOR, Robert	May 25, 1976

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