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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE ALBERTA FARMER-LABOUR PARTY: A STRUCTURATIONAL

APPROACH TO THE HISTORY OF THE CO-OPERATIVE

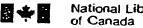COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION IN ALBERTA,

1932 - 1962

BY

DAVID ALBERT KALES

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND

RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis, entitled THE ALBERTA FARMER-LABOUR PARTY: A STRUCTURATIONAL APPROACH TO THE HISTORY OF THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION IN ALBERTA, 1932 -1962 submitted by DAVID ALBERT KALES in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS

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In Memory of

Edward Albert Kales (1912-1984)

ABSTRACT

The Alberta Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
existed as a political party from its inception in 1932 to
its transformation into the Alberta New Democratic Party in
1962. It was established in 1932 as a continuation of
political and social practices that characterized the
relationship between the United Farmers of Alberta and the
Canadian Labour Party (Alberta Section) throughout the
1920s and early 1930s. The new party was designed to
reproduce these relationships and practices within a
structured and functional institution — the Alberta CCF.
The history of the political party, however, can largely be
regarded as a struggle over the control and interpretation
of the structuration process throughout the 1930s, 1940s
and 1950s. Attempts to institutionalize this process
resulted in the amalgamation of the associate political
organizations (UFA and CLP) into the CCF in 1942. The
attempt to integrate socially and systemically the UFA and
CLP into the Alberta CCF failed because of internal
struggle between pro- and anti-CCF forces and external
influences of Social Credit. The attempt to create a
careful equilibrium between distinct factions broke down
after the failures to achieve electoral success in the
1940s and 1950s. The political crises and organizational
problems which developed within the Alberta CCF had their

fundamental origins in the social and political relationships which were produced when the CCF was formed in Calgary in August 1932. This thesis studies the underlying causes and implications of the structurational decline of the Alberta CCF as a political party.

"The modern prince, the myth-prince, cannot be a real
person, a concrete individual. It can only be an organism,
a complex element of society in which a collective will,
which has already been recognized and has to some extent
asserted itself in action, begins to take concrete form.
History has already provided this organism, and it is the
political party - the first cell in which there come
together germs of a collective will tending to become
universal and total."

                       Antonio Gramsci
                    "The Modern Prince"

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCF   — Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
CEA   — City of Edmonton Archives
CLP   — Canadian Labour Party (Alberta Section)
CPC   — Communist Party of Canada
BLP   — British Labour Party
DLP   — Dominion Labour Party
ERA   — Economic Reconstruction Association
GAIA   — Glenbow Alberta Institute Archives
ILP   — Independent Labour Party
LPP   — Labour Progressive Party
LSR   — League for Social Reconstruction
NAC   — National Archives of Canada
NLC   — National Library of Canada
PAA   — Provincial Archives of Alberta
SPC   — Socialist Party of Canada
UBCSC — University of British Columbia Special Collections
UFA   — United Farmers of Alberta

of the CCF in Alberta depended upon the success of the UFA government at the polls. In this regard, the government (and UFA organization) had two choices: adopt either the UFA-CCF program or the policies advocated by William Aberhart. The government, weakened by the resignations of Brownlee and Macpherson, divided into factions, and increasingly under attack by formerly supportive constituents, remained unaffected by Priestley's arguments and neglected both choices.

With the government's ultimate decision unknown until early 1935, the CCF Provincial Council continued to plan the organizational development of the CCF based on the provisional plan of 1933. Throughout 1933 and 1934, UFA and CLP leaders were elated by the number of CCF study groups and ERA locals being formed throughout Alberta. It appeared that the CCF and its programme enjoyed a wide basis of support in the agrarian community, but they were both overly optimistic and mistaken. Suffering from disillusionment over the failure of the government to solve their economic problems and deflated by the moral ineptitude of its leaders, the farmers turned away in large numbers from the idealistic conception of the "co-operative commonwealth" towards apparently more realistic financial and social reforms proposed by Social Credit.

Two conceptual difficulties at the UFA grass roots level made the social integration between the UFA and CCF

increasingly difficult. Many agrarians were concerned
about the policy planks contained within the Calgary
statement of 1932 and the Regina Manifesto with regard to
land nationalization. J.M. Coldwell of Kathyrn stated in
December 1933 that many farmers in his area wanted
Priestley or Garland to answer the popular charges

> that the CCF would make all share and share
> alike, that it kills individual enterprise,
> initiative and ambition, that those who own farms
> and businesses would lose all, that greed and
> selfishness would kill all, that the leaders of
> the CCF are not big enough to put it over, that
> the leaders and followers of the CCF are only
> people who are down and out, they have nothing
> and never had, the leader is a jail bird, etc.[133]

Some farmers attempted to find a common link between the
monetary reforms advocated by the UFA, CCF and Social
Credit. Christian Opp desired to know in November 1933, if
the "Douglas system" and the CCF were the same, and if they
were not, could some effort be made to "join all hands so
we might be able to win the battle."[134] The interest which
UFA leaders had in social credit confused UFA members and
supporters. Priestley himself attempted to reassure
supporters that the CCF policy of socialization was similar
to Douglas' scheme of financial reform.[135] If the
Provincial CCF was concerned about the extent of Social
Credit propaganda that was being disseminated through The
U.F.A. and popular pamphlets provided to UFA study groups,
then they should have used their powers as leaders to
correct the ideological imbalance. The question of public

ownership had the effect of alienating many potential members and supporters for "too much interference with private rights."[136] Norman Priestley assured his critics that Social Credit's and the CCF's objectives were similar – the abolition of poverty, restoration of the rights of the community, the preservation of liberty to the individual consonant with his place in an organized society and the creation of a Christian social order.[137]

The other conceptual problem facing UFA members was the concept of farmer-labour political co-operation as expressed through the institution of the CCF. Frank Phillimore wanted to know what labour and farmers had in common "so as to form a real co-operative commonwealth."[138] The disunity between workers and agrarians was a

> feature of our competitive system and will not be a feature of an economy in which production is for use and not for profit; when society is conscientiously organized to make possible the enjoyment of the abundance which science, technical skill and our abounding natural resources provide.[139]

The role of agrarians within and under a proposed CCF government was also being questioned. Priestley attempted to set the CCF policy with regard to agriculture and agrarians:

> We believe that the family farm is the best basis for a soundly organized co-operative system in Canada. We therefore do not propose to socialize land in the sense of acquiring the title for the state. We propose to progressively, and as occasion demands, protect the working farmer in the processes of production and marketing.[140]

Despite serious structural constraints, Norman Priestley and other UFA-CCF leaders had begun seriously to contemplate what a CCF provincial government would look like in Alberta. With assistance from Research Review, the monthly theoretical journal of the CCF published in Regina, provincial leaders began simplistic yet constructive political planning for the inevitable day when the UFA and CLP would submerge their institutional identities within a populist but structured united front party.

By the beginning of 1935, the political situation in Alberta had become increasingly muddled by the resignation of John E. Brownlee as premier, the increased pressure on the UFA by Social Credit supporters, the political independence of the CLP and the inefficiency of the CCF to consolidate effectively. Both founding sections of the CCF were torn apart by contradicting perspectives on tactics and strategies. Within the Labour Party, the creation of a third provincial wing of the CCF had increased concerns that the CLP would become politically marginalized. In response, Carl Berg desired to move the CLP away from the CCF towards separate political and institutional existence. The UFA was torn apart by three different factions - those supporting the adoption of a Social Credit platform, those supporting continued links with and eventual absorption into the CCF, and those who wished to maintain organizational integrity. Norman Priestley found himself

under continued attack from both the UFA and CCF for inept

institutional and political handling of the relationship

between the two organizations. Pressured by George

MacLachlan to drop Social Credit from the UFA annual

convention agenda in 1935, Priestley maintained his

confidence in the integrity and historical validity of the

UFA.[141] The historical task of the UFA was to

> destroy if at all possible, the delusion that has
> been set up in the province of Alberta by this
> man Aberhart. To do that appears difficult
> enough without our attempting to destroy an
> economic philosophy much more substantial and
> more universally laid.[142]

Some UFA members, who supported the continued

relationship with the CCF, believed that Social Credit was

a passing fad. However, the UFA government "had made a

mess of things" with the result that

> thousands who are CCFers will vote Social Credit,
> not because they have great faith in it but
> rather that it is in opposition to the old
> order.[143]

Jack King, CCF organizer for the province, sympathized with

Fraser and hoped that "these difficulties will iron

themselves out."[144]

The provincial CCF found itself in the summer and fall

of 1935 in a delicate political situation. The impending

defeat of the UFA government by Social Credit, provincial

and national CCF leaders observed, seriously threatened the

entire CCF organization in Alberta. Although there was no

official relationship between the UFA government and the

CCF, the UFA organization was tied to the new party as an affiliate. If the organization and government were defeated, the future of the CCF would be jeopardized. Moreover, the CLP had taken the unprecedented step of distancing itself from the UFA (and hence the CCF) because of the impending defeat. The supposed united front of 1932 had broken down by 1935.

Social Credit played a predominant part in these events but the continued reproduction of structural deficiencies and misconceptualizations on the part of UFA and CLP leaders towards the CCF must figure prominently in any structurationalist analysis. Confusion reigned over whether the CCF was the UFA under a new name as the chief apologist for the government, Norman Priestley, was also National Secretary for the CCF. The inability or the refusal, by many UFA leaders to distance themselves from the disastrous policies of the UFA government resulted in a sense of betrayal among many CCF supporters in Alberta.[145]

The results of the provincial election on 22 August 1935 shocked everyone within the CCF both in Alberta and throughout Canada. The left splintered, leaving Social Credit with fifty-six provincial seats as opposed to two Conservatives and five Liberals. The euphoria that permeated Social Credit ranks was matched by political demoralization in provincial CCF circles. Both the UFA and the CLP had run separate campaigns as separate

organizational entities. Only one CCF candidate was
jointly supportti - Elsie Wright in Edmonton. Elmer Roper
attributed the failure of the CCF in Alberta to the lack of
satisfactory organization. Writing shortly after the
provincial election, Roper stated that

> if there had been a provincial CCF organization
> in the field with candidates definitely running
> under that banner, we would have had a CCF
> government in Alberta today....[146]

An examination of the vote distribution revealed that
the leaders of the CLP in both Edmonton and Calgary had
lost the support of their members. In Calgary, where MLA
Fred White was running for re-election, the Labour vote
decreased from 15% in 1930 to less than 5% in 1935. In
Edmonton, the decrease was even more substantial, from 22%
in 1930 to 4% in 1935.[147] Charles Keeley of Mayerthorpe, a
CCF candidate in the federal election, noted that the party
did not make its appeal on the basis of hope. "In our
endeavour to be honest we have forgotten to be wise."[148]
Priestley was still optimistic that there was still a large
contingent of UFA voters who would remain loyal to the CCF.

> We have confidence in our analysis of the
> economic ills of society and are assured that the
> Alberta electorate will have to turn to such
> policies sooner or later; though they may have to
> suffer much meanwhile. I believe that our people
> of whom there are at least 32,000 still left to
> us will be more convinced than ever of the
> soundness of our position.[149]

Immediately after the provincial election, and also

after the federal election, the provincial and national CCF leaders were criticized for their inept handling of the Alberta situation. The defeat of the provincial UFA government led to the collapse of the UFA-CCF campaign in the federal election.[150] UFA members questioned the ability of federal leaders to appreciate the threat of Social Credit and to make modifications in UFA-CCF political tactics accordingly. Coldwell, for example, believed that Aberhart was a "passing cloud which will be dispelled within two years."[151] Elmer Roper and other Alberta CCF leaders were not so optimistic.

Chapter III

Building the Party: The Alberta CCF and Social-System Integration, 1935 - 1942

The defeat of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) in
the provincial election and the Co-operative Commonwealth
Federation (CCF) in the federal election made one point
especially clear to CCF leaders. The reproduction of
certain institutionalized processes within the CCF had to
be changed to respond more effectively to the Social Credit
government. In particular, the former reliance on the UFA
and Canadian Labour Party (CLP) organizations to recruit
and motivate members and supporters to the CCF program
failed to materialize in a political victory. Considerable
Social Credit support came from the very constituency from
which the base support for the CCF was supposed to be
drawn.

UFA Integration and Constraints in the CCF

The crucial difference between the first period in the
history of the Alberta CCF (1932-1935) and the second
period (1935-1942) centers on the system reproduction of
social relationships of members and leaders. The
structural restraints put in place by the institutional
reproduction of farmer-labour co-operation and the
maintenance of organizational integrity undermined any
social relationship that existed between the CCF in Alberta
and individuals. In the second period, however, new forms

of social relationships were produced and reproduced that ensured a degree of direct personal and social connection with the CCF.[1] After the dual defeats of 1935, both members and leaders sought to affirm a personal and social relationship with the Alberta CCF. The production and reproduction of these processes at both a social and systems level formed the basis of the second stage.

Immediately after the provincial election defeat in August 1935, questioning began as to the organizational structure of the CCF in Alberta. According to an editorial in the Alberta Labor News, the electoral disaster would be "a clearing of the ground for a new and better political structure for the farmers and workers of Alberta."[2] According to Elmer Roper, Albertans expressed disappointment that they were not given the opportunity to vote for CCF candidates and program. Farmers and labourers "were not prepared to accept as CCF candidates the representatives of either of the groups affiliated with the CCF".[3] He believed that the majority of the members of the CLP and the UFA members desired to "have their political expression through the CCF", that they were not prepared to assist in the reproduction of existing political and social relationships.[4] The foundation of the CCF program was waiting, according to Roper, "for the superstructure of an unified, homogeneous organization that will stand the test of experience in the days to come."[5]

Labour Party leaders, such as Roper, had to take some
responsibility for the structural deficiencies that had
enabled a Social Credit government to come to power.
Roper's statement reflected a crucial reorientation away
from existing social processes towards the development of
new ones. Moreover, in a personal column, Roper insinuated
that he had made a mistake in maintaining certain
structural constraints against the provincial CCF.
Accordingly, it was "better never late, but better late
than never."[6] He realized that the Alberta CCF should have
been structured differently from the beginning; more open
as a political party rather than the creature of two
provincial bodies:

> But, the people who had the decision in their
> hands - and of course I was one of them - had
> vested interests to protect. They felt that any
> provision for direct membership in the CCF in
> Alberta would militate against the prestige of
> the foundation organizations, the Labour Party
> and the United Farmers of Alberta. We were right
> too. But were wrong also.... We'd have been
> better off to let our prestige as established
> organizations go hang. If we had permitted the
> organization of CCF Clubs three years ago the
> chances are that they might have swamped the old
> organizations. But in so doing we'd have
> acquired a new prestige which might have stood up
> better than the variety we possessed.[7]

Roper's allegiance switched completely to the CCF. He
openly assumed that the CLP and the UFA would be absorbed
without difficulty into the provincial CCF. "I am all out
for the formation of an unified C.C.F. movement in this
province."[8] Members of the CLP (those within the General

Membership Section) wholeheartedly agreed with Roper's assessments. A resolution was forwarded by the Central Committee of the Calgary CLP requesting that the federal arrangement be abandoned and a "straight party be formed to be known as the CCF."[9]

In September 1935, the Provincial Council officially disbanded the ERA and replaced it with the CCF Clubs Section. Direct membership with the Alberta CCF was provided through this mechanism. In addition, the organizational inclusion of both UFA and CLP members into the framework of the party was opened. The Alberta Labour News reported that "this may be the open door through which Alberta may set up one strong CCF body, such as exists in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Ontario."[10] The new section was designed to incorporate the general membership section of the CLP and the UFA Clubs. Moreover, the executive advocated that membership in the CLP and UFA become individualized for "those prepared to accept the program and policies of the organization and to abide by its decisions."[11] This new arrangement provided for the automatic reorganization of the CLP Membership-At-Large section as part of the CCF Clubs section.

Ultimately, the production and reproduction of social processes, whereby ordinary citizens, supporters and members of the UFA and CLP could become members of the Alberta CCF, had a profound affect on existing

institutionalized relationships between the UFA, CLP and the CCF. Members of the founding organizations who still believed in the organizational independence and integrity of the UFA and CLP felt threatened and alienated by the new populist swing of the Alberta CCF.

A crucial test for the provincial party came at the annual convention of the UFA in January 1936 at Calgary. Obviously, the most important issue to be discussed at the convention concerned the future political course of the UFA and its relationship with the CCF. Resolution 18, drafted by Norman Priestley, urged delegates to renounce all direct political activity and reconstitute the UFA as a "provincially rallying point for agricultural organizations."[12] The organization was asked to transfer its political role to the CCF. In the end, after two days of debate, the resolution was defeated and the UFA remained in provincial politics.[13]

The decision of the UFA against the better judgement of the CCF National Council, of which Priestly was part, led to the restructuring of the Alberta CCF during the spring and summer of 1936. A central council of CCF Clubs was established in February 1936, consisting of three executive positions and a number of "at large representatives."[14] By April, fifty-three clubs had been organized in the province.[15] The Commonwealth Youth Movement (Alberta Branch) was formed and affiliated with

the Junior UFA.[16] Throughout the restructuring period, CCF
leaders received contradictory advice from the membership
on the organizational structure of the party. George
Pritchard, for example, requested that the Alberta
Provincial Council of the CCF be given disciplinary powers
over affiliate bodies and the responsibility for drawing up
a provincial CCF program.[17] The new CCF had to have a
broader type of organization than previously to "encase the
widest strata of the farmers and urban workers."[18]
Furthermore, the task of the first Alberta CCF convention
in July 1936 was to unify and co-ordinate the movement into
a "homogeneous authoritative party of the common people."[19]

The provincial convention was the turning point in the
history of the Alberta CCF. Definite patterns of social
processes were produced that still contained certain
structural constraints that had been imposed before 1935.
The convention called for the involvement of the Alberta
CCF in provincial politics. A provincial program had to be
developed, however, with the approval of the three
sections. Alberta CCF Clubs were to be affiliated with the
national and provincial CCF councils, and provisions were
made for the establishment of central councils of club
organizations in every provincial constituency. An
executive was created consisting of officers elected at the
convention and one representative of each of the federal
ridings. Overseeing provincial developments was a

Provincial Executive consisting of the president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer. A code of conduct upon which disciplinary measures would be based was drafted.[20] All the essential elements of a political party organization were produced and reproduced within the Alberta CCF. Various forms of social relationships were reproduced: between members of the affiliating organizations with respect to ultimate loyalty and purpose of the CCF; between members and leaders; between leaders; and between specific offices structurally defined. Although earlier institutional relationships between the UFA and CLP were reproduced structurally in the Alberta CCF, new conceptualizations of what the CCF was going to become forced both leaders and members to reorient themselves towards the new party and to undertake a major loyalty decision as to which organization to continue working within. Towards the end of the 1930s, this process was reproduced with the effect that members and leaders of the UFA and CLP who had made the decision to support the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation shifted their allegiance to the Alberta CCF. Those who did not, however, remained structurally attached to the old organization or resigned. The relationship between the CLP and CCF between 1935 and 1942 reflected a careful shift of members and leaders from one organization to the other. The relationship between the UFA and the CCF, however, was more precarious.

The organization of the CCF Clubs as the third section
of the provincial CCF represented a significant break with
the past structuration of the party. The executive
believed that the plan was

> to broaden the basis of membership in the
> province to include persons who were not, and did
> not care to become, members of the Labour Party
> or UFA, but desired to associate themselves with
> the CCF.[21]

In January 1937, the UFA met in convention at Edmonton
and again deferred the question of withdrawing from
provincial politics in favour of the CCF. Robert Gardiner
noted in a confidential report to the National Executive
that "no work has been done by the directors of the UFA in
support of the CCF."[22] Moreover, several members of the
UFA Executive engaged in activities relating to the
"People's League" in opposition to both Social Credit and
the CCF. Former premier Richard Gavin Reid and Alfred
Speakman were "diligent in broadcasting, via public
meetings, propaganda calculated to turn the farmer against
the CCF."[23] The UFA was divided into several groupings of
members and leaders. Widespread confusion resulted at the
convention as to the proper future course of action. A
preferential ballot was given to convention delegates
outlining several options, one of which was to remain
affiliated with the CCF.[24] Interpretations of what the
individual options meant differed. Gardiner noted that the
third option meant affiliation with the national CCF only,

thereby destroying the provinc al CCF. The first option recommended that the UFA abandon politics to the CCF, but the second recommended abandoning politics without reference to any other political movement. Gardiner endorsed the perspective that the UFA should continue its affiliation status at the federal level. He was concerned that the CCF provincially was providing too much leadership for a movement that did not exist. The Alberta CCF, accordingly, was far more progressive than the people it wanted to lead. Gardiner believed that overt support for the CCF as a provincial party would "keep us away from the masses, or take us too far ahead of the masses...." The UFA was to Gardiner the "effective instrument and spearhead of progressive political thought in Alberta."[25] Attacking some UFA leaders who had become CCF members and supporters, Gardiner questioned

> What is the good of leadership if there is no one
> to lead. If you go too fast in your movement
> ahead, you will lose contact with the people and
> will not be able to take them with you.... I
> simply say that you must not go faster than
> people are capable of understanding and following
> you.[26]

Irvine responded by citing the moral obligation of UFA leaders to stand committed to the CCF as one of the founding bodies. A subtle warning was applied that he and other UFA members were prepared to switch their loyalties to the CCF if the UFA did not make the right decision.[27] The convention decided on the third ballot to remain

affiliated with the CCF at the federal level.[28] The
resolution adopted the next day recommended that the UFA
"remain actively in provincial politics, as a provincial
group."[29]

The result was, to CCF provincial leaders,
unsatisfactory. However, the delegates had not supported
the People's League, thereby depriving the CCF of valuable
organizational machinery.[30] There was a fear among the
leaders that both the intense pro- and anti- Social Credit
supporters might swamp the UFA convention and force the
organization to make a political committment. It became
apparent that the majority of the UFA convention delegates
(and possibly the remaining UFA members) saw the CCF as
primarily a federal political force, and they had not yet
accepted its provincial involvement. Moreover, with the
previous experience of Social Credit clubs and locals
undercutting UFA locals in the rural areas before 1935, the
convention saw the formation of a separate CCF Clubs
section as a threat to existing UFA local organizations.
They requested, without success, a disbanding of the third
section.[31]

Notwithstanding, the decision by the 1937 UFA
convention caused keep concern and impatience among
provincial leaders and members. Some of the UFA-CCF
delegates threatened to withdraw from the convention and
"break up the UFA."[32] Consideration was given to the

thought of calling an emergency convention of the CCF Clubs in order to make a clean break.[33] Edward Garland, CCF organizer in Alberta, sought to continue the relationship with the UFA on an organizational and personal level. The organizational power of the UFA was still formidable and could assist in co-ordinating the rapid organization of CCF clubs in the rural areas. Moreover, CCF Club members should become UFA members

> thus retaining the radical viewpoint within the farm movement. If all the CCF supporters withdraw from the UFA the latter will be left entirely to the reactionaries and in all probability will be used against us at some critical moment.[34]

Both UFA and CCF leaders knew that open hostilities between the CCF Clubs and the UFA would prove fatal to the future of both organizations within the province. As a sign of good faith, the UFA convention approved the position that all candidates in provincial elections endorsed by the CCF Provincial Council should be labelled CCF.[35]

The relationship between the UFA and CCF remained shaky throughout 1937 and 1938. CCF leaders, who had made the transition from the UFA, acted from a position of presumed strength. They could not accept the kind of structural constraints that the UFA wanted to have established between the two organizations and its membership. As CCF local organizations were being established in every federal and provincial constituency under the mandate of the CCF Clubs section, the UFA

continued to stress the need for a structural relationship that would reduce the membership drain. In the confrontation with the UFA, the Provincial Council called on the National Council for assistance. On 24 July 1937 the federal body unanimously passed a resolution criticizing the UFA leadership for the position taken at the January convention.[36] The Council openly sided with the provincial CCF arguing that the Clubs section had excellent opportunities for "building an effective organization which will be able to recapture the confidence of the people of Alberta in both provincial and federal elections."[37] Moving away from a position held during the early 1930s, the Council noted that the

> building of any effective party for federal
> purposes is clearly dependent on an effective
> party in the provincial field, and vice versa.
> The two are inseparable and are governed by the
> same general conditions.[38]

As a political ploy, the National Council pointed out to the CCF leadership that the Clubs section was growing at such a rate that it could overtake the UFA within two years.[39] Though these membership reports tended to be more optimistic than pessimistic, it made the UFA provincial and local leadership keenly aware of the organizational and structural existence of a potentially rival political party. All indications pointed to increased support for the CCF and decreased support for the UFA as a provincial party.[40]

Several political problems caused concern to both
federal and provincial CCF leaders. The rise of the Unity
League presented considerable obstacles to CCF extension
efforts into UFA territory. The concern over Social Credit
legislation disallowance in the autumn of 1937 and the
introduction of the "Accurate News and Information Bill"
prompted provincial leaders to reconceptualize their
immediate tactics and long-term strategies.[41] While
strenuously opposed to the Social Credit administration,
the Alberta CCF was in the difficult position of defending
Aberhart over the disallowance crisis.

On the one hand, provincial CCF leaders felt it
necessary to present an united opposition to the Social
Credit legislation, indicating to the public that the
provincial schemes were both foolhardy and impractical. On
the other hand, they also opposed federal intrusion into
provincial affairs. At the same time, the CCF risked being
shoved into a marginal position due to the formation of an
anti-Aberhart popular front formed by the Liberals,
Conservatives and remaining UFA leaders who had not joined
the CCF. In an attempt to confront this situation, several
meetings were arranged by the UFA and CCF in areas where
the "political pot is boiling."[42] The involvement of the
communists was an unknown element and their repetition of
the popular front plea caused the party some problems.[43]

Edward Garland was increasingly worried about the

impact of the Unity League on the CCF and UFA. He noted in a special report to the National Executive that the "popular front" organized against Social Credit was "playing the duce [sic] with our UFA and the Liberal Party seems to be coming back strong."[44] The League had been active in contacting UFA constituency officials but according to initial reports to the CCF, not much success. "However the [Provincial] Council felt that it is time the CCF point of view be more personally and effectively presented to the same Constituency officials."[45]

The National Council agreed with Garland's assessment and decided to hold the fourth national convention of the CCF in Edmonton in June 1938 to prop up the provincial organization in view of hesitant supporters, members and leaders of the UFA and CLP. Media attention was focused on CCF leaders, both federally and provincially. Moreover, the National Council could see first hand the situation in Alberta and appraise it better. At the end of the convention, the federal leadership passed a resolution condemning the UFA for its political inaction. In their view, the "present affiliation of the UFA with the CCF is incomplete and conditional" thus making CCF organization in Alberta "extremely difficult" and with the likelihood of serious conflict between affiliates. Moreover, without a "strong CCF organization, uniting farmer, labour and other workers, the field of progressive political action in

Alberta may be captured by non-progressive forces" [Unity

League].[46] Lewis was further instructed to pressure the

leaders of the UFA concerning the "complete affiliation

with the CCF and full acceptance of the responsibilities of

membership under its constitution."[47] To add subtle

pressure on the UFA, the National Council authorized the

CCF Clubs section to continue their organizational work

throughout the province.[48]

Provincial CCF leaders, in their reports to the

national leadership, tended to overemphasize the success

the CCF was having in organizing local organizations and

clubs. In 1938, provincial organization under the control

of the CCF Clubs was under way "very rapidly" in twenty

rural constituencies, with "constituency organizations and

poll committees doing an active and effective piece of

work."[49] Provincial organizer Edward Garland was much more

pessimistic than Roper in his assessment of the state and

future of the Alberta CCF at the beginning of 1939. It was

"hardly worth while to spend too much effort in Alberta in

the present chaotic condition of all political thought and

movement."[50] Garland still entertained some hope that the

UFA would back the CCF as its political vehicle thereby

making a separate organization untenable. However, the

political future of the Alberta CCF and the social

relationship between the two organizations were sealed with

the decision by the UFA to withdraw from provincial

politics and from the CCF. By an overwhelming vote, the
UFA convention in January 1939 decided to "cease from
direct political action as an organization."[51] This policy
was drafted reluctantly by Norman Priestley and Robert
Gardiner on instruction by the UFA Executive.[52] The UFA
Board recommended that the organization "cease all our
direct political activity." [53] Moreover, no individual,
local or association could be allowed to "use any part of
the UFA machinery to endorse or promote the interests of a
political party or movement."[54] In effect, those leaders
and members who had remained with the UFA after the 1935
debacle opted to withdraw from politics without providing a
clear political alternative, contrary to previous UFA
policy. It was difficult for those within the UFA, either
as members or leaders, to retain their positions of
authority or responsibility while also working for or
supporting the CCF. David Lewis wrote Priestley expressing
his sincere hope that UFA leaders who had an interest in
the CCF "will now do everything in their power to bring the
general membership of the UFA directly into the CCF."[55]
With the collapse of the UFA, the CCF remained the only
political party through which the farmers of Alberta could
"win their emancipation."[56] This hope faded completely
when it became apparent that the UFA Executive and Board of
Directors had decided to disengage completely and ban any
political involvement of its leaders or members at the

provincial or local level.

National CCF ____man M.J. Coldwell, in reassuring the provincial CCF, noted that the final break would result in increased organizational preparedness for the upcoming provincial and federal elections.[57] Duplication of effort by both parties made organization increasingly difficult at both the local and constituency level. The UFA could return to its original role as an economic association and the CCF would become the "unified political expression of the farmers and workers of Alberta."[58]

The decision of the UFA was understandable given the unique political situation. The party suffered from organizational dysfunction and social disintegration in the aftermath of the Social Credit victory. Social Credit had polarized the members and leadership of the UFA into protracted pro- and anti-CCF camps. Those who had supported the CCF since its inception in 1932 gradually, over a seven-year period, made their way into the CCF either through the CLP Membership-At-Large branch or the CCF Clubs section. What remained of the UFA in 1939 were members and leaders that could not, or would not, be integrated into the CCF. On another level, however, the Alberta CCF relied more on the UFA for its organizational structure and tactics. In the rural areas, CCF organization developed structurally and functionally along lines determined by the UFA. Constituency and local

organizations were ultimately the same. The importance of local organizations, clubs and study groups, evident in UFA organizations during the 1920s and 1930s, was transferred to the CCF.

Social practices and relationships that existed within the UFA during the 1930s, and which had not been disrupted by Social Credit, were similarly reproduced within the CCF. The success of this integration depended in large measure on the intrusion of Social Credit (the extent of system/social integration between the UFA and Social Credit), personalities and regional alignment. A low level of social integration between the UFA and the CCF occurred in provincial constituencies south of Red Deer. In the provincial election of 1940, CCF candidates ran in only two out of the eighteen southern ridings (11%). Wes Scott and J.H. Coldwell ran as candidates, successfully making the transition from UFA to CCF. In Olds and Warner, two former UFA candidates ran as Independents instead of under the CCF banner. Notwithstanding the arguments of the Independents having an united front against Social Credit in 1940, it appears that a number of UFA leaders and prominent members in southern Alberta refused to cross over to the CCF. The organizational restrictions placed on individuals and local organizations acting for the CCF by the UFA Executive in 1939 made this social integration more difficult, if not impossible. By contrast, the degree of social and system

integration in central and northern Alberta between the UFA
and CCF was much closer.

The abandonment of the UFA as the second affiliate of
the Alberta CCF left the CLP in a precarious situation.
Ultimately, between 1935 and 1939, the CCF had increased
its support in urban areas.[59] Members of the General
Membership section of the CLP moved out of the CLP into the
CCF Clubs section after the latter had been set up by the
Provincial Council in 1935. Prominent Labour Party
spokespersons and leaders, such as Roper and Walter Mentz,
switched their allegiance to the CCF. Long-time labour
leaders from the 1920s, such as Carl Berg, Fred White,
S.A.G. Barnes and Alf Farmilo, were superseded by younger
more militant party leaders. In particular, the activity
of the CCF Clubs in forging an united front with Social
Credit and the Communist Party of Canada in 1937 at both
the provincial and municipal level alienated some party
leaders who sought to maintain the organizational integrity
of the CLP.[60] The extent to which the CLP would co-operate
with the CCF depended in large part on the latter's success
at the polls in 1940. The Party in 1940 had 11% of the
provincial votes and 13% percent of the federal votes. The
party ran fifteen federal candidates and thirty-six
provincial candidates.[61] The general lack of membership
integration from the UFA to the CCF by 1940 was a key
factor in the party's inability to nominate in southern

Alberta. Moreover, "independent farmers" ran in two constituencies - Beaver River and Stony Plain.[62] In Calgary and Edmonton, the left put up independent candidates.[63] The candidature of Barnes sent a warning to the provincial CCF leaders that they had to quicken the pace of amalgamation with the CLP. Although the division of the left and labour in certain areas of Alberta indicated a lack of social integration between the two forces, it tended to accelerate the system integration of the CLP into the CCF.

A large number of members and supporters of the CLP in urban areas (e.g., Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge and Red Deer) tended to see themselves as being politically polarized between Social Credit and the Independent forces. The daily newspapers were not sympathetic to the provincial CCF, either at the federal or provincial level. Provincially, they perceived the CCF as "vote-splitters" and urged their readers to vote Independent if they were anti-Aberhart or anti-Social Credit instead of voting CCF.[64]

For certain progressive and left-wing elements within the province, labour included, concern was expressed that Social Credit was moving away from reformism and progressivism towards the right and that the Independents stood for real progress. The debate in the press surrounding the comparison between the New Zealand Labour

Party and the Social Credit Party in Alberta tended to convince more than a few leftists that Social Credit had to be supported.[65] The division between the CCF and the CLP was evident in Calgary as Fred White, the official CCF candidate, pitted himself against Duncan Mitchell, the Independent Labour candidate and president of the Calgary Council of the Canadian Confederation of Labour. One labour supporter noted that he "had always supported Labour in the past regardless of who the candidate was and I shall do so in this election."[66]

The Alberta CCF's lack of success in the elections can be attributed to the fact that the party was not adequately prepared. CCF leaders attempted in the months after the 1939 UFA convention to revive and stimulate interest in the CCF throughout rural Alberta. William Irvine's bitter attacks on the provincial government combined with general disenchantment succeeded in reducing Aberhart's support. However, all the organizational efforts did not translate into support for the party. The provincial and federal campaign was polarized between Social Credit and the anti-Social Credit coalition. The party was ignored by the major newspapers and criticized by independent candidates for splitting the opposition vote. The lack of effective leadership (divided between CCF Clubs and CLP sections) and party organization, the ambiguity of the federal party's stand on the war, and the ineffective social integration

between the UFA and CCF were significant factors in the party's inability to make a better showing. Party leaders recognized the importance of consolidation and social/systems integration between all sections of the party. The CCF Clubs section was instrumental in organizing provincial and federal constituency associations at the local level. The direct member section of the party became increasingly larger until it exerted a major influence on the organizational structure and activities of the party. The CLP viewed these developments critically. The CLP was declining as a political organization in terms of membership and leadership strength. Labour representation on the Edmonton and Calgary city councils diminished significantly. Canadian Labour Party leaders who remained t'ed to the party (e.g., Mary Crawford and Alf Farmilo) saw the urban decline of CLP strength as a direct consequence of the relationship between the CLP and the CCF. In response, they asked the National Council to allow the CLP to have full control over the political organization in urban areas. This led to a crucial turning-point in CCF political and social history, as members within the CLP had to make a clear choice between their party and the CCF.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a movement began to consolidate the CCF forces into an unified party. At a provincial Council of the CCF in July, a motion was passed

> authorizing the calling of a special joint
> convention of the Labor Party and the General
> Membership [section] for the purpose of
> amalgamating the two groups into one Alberta
> section of the C.C.F.[67]

The Labour Party met in convention in September and resolved to remain a separate political entity within Alberta municipal and provincial politics.[68] Left-wing labour in Alberta would be organized entirely by the CLP.

Roper felt that it was an impossible situation "to allow the Labor Party to be half in and half out of the CCF" leaving other units "hamstrung by [the] necessity" of obtaining CLP approval for any political activity.[69] He believed that the CCF would never become developed in Alberta unless a definitive Alberta section was organized "capable of making decisions without having to get the approval of a small and not influential appendage."[70]

The CCF Clubs section, meeting in October 1941, was firm in their refusal to adopt the Labour Party's proposal and forwarded to the Provincial Council an alternative. They called upon the provincial leadership to abolish the federal form of organization and set up a "single Alberta section of the CCF by the amalgamation of the Labor Party and the General membership groups.[71] They recommended, however, that there would be no interference into CLP municipal politics.

The Provincial Council of the CCF met on 1 November in Red Deer to consider the possible consolidation of the CCF

in Alberta.[72] The General Membership section of the CCF

"unanimously endorsed the proposal to form a single Alberta

section of the CCF".[73] It was acknowledged that the

federated system in which the CLP and the CCF operated

separately was "seriously hampering the work of the

movement in the province."[74] Conversely, CLP delegates

argued that the Labour Party, as a separate entity, would

"have a stronger appeal in industrial areas than the

CCF".[75] A moderate position was presented to the

convention that the Provincial Council meet to abolish the

"federation form of organization ... and the setting up of

a single Alberta section of the CCF by the amalgamation of

the Labour Party and the General Membership Section."[76]

The Council agreed to meet on 29 November in order to make

a final decision regarding the organization of the Alberta

CCF on a single party basis.[77]

The resolution of the CLP called for the participation

of one party federally (the CCF) and one party provincially

and municipally (the CLP). Irvine considered the proposal

absurd and noted that it would "make matters very much

worse" than the already complicated situation.[78] The CCF

Clubs section was firm in their refusal to adopt the

proposal. The Labour Party received a month delay in order

to take the matter back to the membership. Irvine believed

that such a period was designed to "stall any action in the

hope that if they can stall it long enough they will retard

our progress and thus win their point in the end."[79]
Irvine doubted that the CLP would agree to the new proposal
but questioned the tactics of moving forward without them.
The Labour Party "is as much CCF as we are under the
present set-up. **But it is equally certain that we can't
proceed with them.**"[80]

Another thorny problem which developed was the
insistence of the CLP to change the name of the proposed
united party from the "Co-operative Commonwealth
Federation" to the "Farmer-Labour Party".[81] Irvine
recognized the constitutional problems associated with such
a name change, but approved it regardless.

> My view is that we have the power to call
> ourselves a Farm-Labor Party affiliated with the
> C.C.F. Also I think that name would be very much
> better for us. But it might be inadvisable to
> make that change now after years in which we have
> become known as C.C.F. On the other hand if the
> whole national movement were to adopt the name
> Farm-Labor party at our next annual convention
> such action might be in the long run be the best
> course to take. However, that might be, I am
> quite sure that we shall have to face such a
> proposal here if and when there is a convention
> to consider abandoning the federation set-up.[82]

Irvine was concerned that the difficulties between the
two organizations might escalate into a full-fledged
crisis. CCF work had been "absolutely blocked" in Calgary,
Medicine Hat and Lethbridge because of the factional
warfare waged between supporters of the CLP and CCF.
Particularly in Calgary the CLP "managed to sabotage the
function of a joint council in these cities since 1935".[83]

Within the CLP there were leaders who were in favour
of completing the structurational process for the CCF.
Mary Crawford, of the Edmonton CLP, criticized the Calgary
CLP for "holding out against one party."[84] There had
always been a strong Labour group in Calgary and "they have
never been able to arrive at a working arrangement as we
have in Edmonton."[85] Crawford was convinced that the time
had come

> when we must form one party, and let the chips
> fall where they may. I believe the CLP may
> realize that too and would go the whole way if
> they could find the name 'labour' somewhere in
> the title.[86]

In times of crisis the provincial CCF and CLP turned
to the national CCF leadership for guidance and advice.
David Lewis was convinced that quick action had to be taken
to get the Alberta party on the correct path. In November
1941, the National Executive met and prepared a decision on
the Alberta situation, which was not made public.[87]

All affiliated sections in Alberta recognized that the
federated structure was "confusing, cumbersome and
inefficient."[88] Even though the CLP acknowledged this
conceptualization, it continued to see itself as a vital
and vibrant political organization in the urban areas in
structural contradiction to the CCF. Their continued
existence merely added to the "present confusion and
inefficiency" and would create two provincial parties.
Their proposal would "destroy one of the basic objectives

of the CCF, namely to unite the farmers and industrial workers in one political instrument."[89] As a compromise to the CLP, the National Executive suggested that an appropriate subtitle be applied to the official name to indicate the political unification of agrarians and workers. With these considerations, the National Executive supported the resolutions of the CCF convention and the Alberta Provincial Council without reservation. It was convinced, moreover, that the amalgamation was the only way "in which the present situation can be improved and the CCF placed on a sound basis." Adding a subtle warning, the Council stated that

> If the progress of our movement is hampered now by unnecessary obstacles, then we may well be jeopardizing the welfare of the Canadian people not only during the war but also when peace and victory have been achieved... Should the Alberta Section fail to achieve the necessary unity as outlined earlier, the National Executive will consider its duty to advise the National Council **to use its powers, and to take whatever steps may be necessary to adjust the situation in Alberta once and for all.**[90]

The National Executive was not prepared to allow the situation in Alberta "to drag on" and promised the CCF leaders that they would take "whatever drastic action [that] may be necessary to achieve the unification you desire."[91]

Lewis indicated that he would acquiesce to any decision made by the Provincial Council in order to alleviate the situation, but the name change to the "Alberta Farm-Labour

Party" would not be accepted. On principle, he felt that the use of the term "Farmer-Labour Party" as an official subtitle of the movement appearing on all campaign literature would "achieve, partially at least, the purpose in view without changing the name itself nationally or in any province." But changing the name would be a "grave disadvantage" in view of the tradition and reputation of the title and letters of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.[92]

The more conservative CLP leadership, buttressed by membership support, refused to accept the statement of the National Executive. According to Irvine, the Labour Party "planted their feet firmly in front of them, raised their tails, laid back their ears and assumed the well-known attitude of the donkey."[93] Using the threat of the National Executive to take unilateral action, the CCF managed to obtain from the CLP "their unanimous decision to call a convention." The ultimate objective of the 24 January 1942 convention was to "form a single party with or without the acquiescence of the Labor rump."[94]

The "unity" convention of 23-24 January 1942 succeeded in bringing together the General Membership Section and the CLP under the veiled threat from the national CCF leadership. According to Roper, "There was not so much unanimity as there was determination that differences would not be permitted to interfere with the purpose for which

the convention was called."[95]   The convention decided that the present organizational form for the Alberta CCF was "cumbersome, unwieldy and confusing".   In its place the Canadian Labour Party and the General Membership Section of the CCF combined to "form a single political party to be known as the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation - The Alberta Farmer-Labour Party."[96]

The process that occurred between 1935 and 1942 can be generally described as system integration.   Two founding organizations of the Alberta CCF were incorporated structurally into a new organization.   However, the success of system integration depended largely on the extent of social integration between the members and supporters of the UFA and CLP.   The Alberta CCF, in the initial period before 1935, attempted to base its organizational strengths on the established structure of the UFA and CLP.   This process was complicated due to the organizational structures of the founding parties tending to overlap.   A structured political relationship existed between agrarians and labour political establishments in Edmonton and Calgary.   This process attempted to be reproduced in rural areas when the General Membership Section of the CLP extended into predominantly UFA constituencies. Ultimately, the CCF was the structured reproduction of these social and institutional relations.   Structuration of the CCF along these lines provided for the social

integration of leaders, supporters and members of the UFA
and CLP into the Alberta CCF. The formation of the CCF
Clubs section in 1935 institutionalized the structured
developments that had loosely existed since 1932. The
three-pronged access to the CCF (farmer, labour and
citizen) was designed to make social integration easier.
However, institutional structuration within the UFA and CLP
over twenty years had caused the continued reproduction of
organizational solidarity and integrity on the part of some
leaders and members. As a result, a contradiction between
the two processes (structuration of the CCF and
structuration of the UFA or CLP) affected the degree of
social integration. System integration between the UFA and
CCF was affected by the forced withdrawal of the agrarian
organization from politics thereby freeing leaders, members
and supporters. System integration between the CLP and CCF
was effected by the organizational linkages between the two
organizations in 1942. In both cases, a clear split
between party leaders over system integration weakened the
extent of social integration. This split had more to do
with personal attitudes and desires than anything else.
The desire to maintain organizational integrity within the
CLP or UFA coincided with individuals' leadership role or
status. Other subsidiary leaders, having a desire to
maintain or escalate their leadership roles, made the
switch from the old party to the new.

Members and supporters of the affiliated parties may have held the same psychological attachment to the party. The continued social reproduction of the CCF as a political arrangement between farmers and labourers made the transition easier for members and supporters. The unpredictable element in any systemic model was Social Credit and William Aberhart. This external force affected system integration at the expense of equitable social integration. Faced with a political organization that tended to attract the same social milieu as the CCF, the UFA and CLP moved closer to each other institutionally, but not socially. The formation of the Clubs Section in 1935 was a structural consequence of the provincial election of 1935. The various attempts by National CCF leaders to assist in the system integration of the UFA into the CCF between 1936 and 1939 was a response to a difficult political situation in which Social Credit consolidated itself after the backbenchers' revolt in 1937. While system integration was essentially successful at a structural level, it was ineffective at a social level. When the CCF was formed in 1932, it was commonly assumed that leaders of the affiliated sections had the consent and approval of the membership and supporters of the party. When the leaders implemented a system integration, they further assumed that the membership would follow them into the new political organization. The emphasis on leadership

within the UFA-CLP-CCF triad suggests that an incorrect

assumption had been made leading to dysfunctional

consequences. UFA members and supporters did not follow

their progressive leaders into the CCF.[97] The debacle of

1935 (federally and provincially) can be seen as a

membership and supporter revolt against their leadership.

For CLP members, there was also a dysfunctional

relationship between major leaders and the membership.[98]

Through the structural mechanism of the General Membership

section, CLP members and supporters provided the incentive

by which CLP leaders shifted their allegiance to the CCF.

The organizational framework cemented by the 1942

amalgamation between the CCF and the CLP provided the means

for uniting the various strands left abandoned by the UFA

decision in 1939. The organization went through several

shifts in structural orientation from 1935 onwards. In

1935, Alberta CCF leaders felt that the movement had to

undergo a revolutionary change in structure to appeal more

directly to the Alberta people.[99] This represented a

significant departure from the form of organization that

had been set up in 1932 and from the UFA model of

organization.[100] The organization of the CCF Clubs section

replicated the structural dynamics of the CLP. Moreover,

the constitution of the CCF Clubs section formed the

prototype structuration for the Alberta Farmer-Labour Party

in 1942.[101]

In 1935, the CCF Provincial Council authorized the formation of clubs in rural and rural areas, independent of the other affiliated bodies, and citizens could thus join on an individual (as opposed to collective) basis.[102] Any individual "subscribing to the platform and manifesto of the organization and not being a member of any other political organization shall be eligible for membership."[103] Local clubs were formed by ten or more individuals in urban and rural localities.[104] The structure of each club followed regulated procedures. An executive would be elected by the membership consisting, where numbers warranted, of a chairman, secretary and/or treasurer and three other members.[105] Procedures and other essentials of organization and the political conduct of the clubs were provided for by local by-laws, and submitted to and approved by the next higher body, the provincial Constituency Central Council. There were cases, however, where the provincial constituency association had not yet been formed and responsibility for the clubs was undertaken by the provincial executive.[106] Where numbers warranted a provincial constituency association was formed consisting of a central council of representatives of all affiliating clubs. Following along lines similar to that of the UFA constitution, representation on the central council flowed from the principle of one delegate for every ten members.[107]

At the provincial level, on a par with the UFA and CLP provincial executives, was the central committee of the CCF Clubs of Alberta that consisting of officers, such as president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer, elected by the annual provincial convention.[108] A reproduction of the UFA political practice was the autonomy of district or constituency councils to handle their own organizational and political affairs. Disciplinary control, for example, was delegated to local leaders.[109]

In 1939, the CCF Clubs section of the Alberta CCF was transformed into the "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, Alberta General Membership Section." This organizational act amalgamated the UFA clubs and locals, CCF clubs and the general membership section of the CLP into one provincial organization.[110] The restructuring of the party at the local level reproduced the relationships between the local and provincial leaders that had developed during the period after the Social Credit victory in 1935. More importantly, the party had structured itself with a view towards competing at an electoral level. The local CCF club (or UFA or CLP club) became, in essence, the local poll organization composed of members of the CCF who carried out political activities between and during election campaigns. While constituted organs such as the provincial and federal constituency association executives and boards acted as intermediaries between the party's leadership and the

members and supporters, organization of locals and polling

organizations necessitated, not simply another bureaucratic

level within a complex political organization, but an

organized entity through which leaders could interrelate

with members. Fundamentally, the party operated on

provincial and federal constituency basis thereby obscuring

the demarcation between provincial and federal poll

organizations. In cases of difficulty or confusion, the

central (provincial or federal) or constituency executive

could decide to organize more substantial organizations,

such as CCF clubs, that transcended polling boundaries.[111]

The purpose of these local organizations were threefold: to

organize political campaigns during elections, to stimulate

political interests between elections and to elect

delegates to provincial or federal nominating conventions

and to annual constituency conventions.[112] The poll and

local organizations were fundamentally responsible for the

structuration process that reproduced the social and

political interrelationships that tied together party

supporters, members and leaders. Although the CCF was

initially organized as a political party operating at the

federal level, the organization of the CCF and later the

General Membership section reflected provincial political

orientations. The basis of the political structuration

occurred at the provincial level. Deprived of any federal

Member of Parliament (unlike between 1932 and 1935), the

CCF structure and organization, and hence the reproduction
of social processes, were provincial in scope. The
provincial constituency model became the structural model
for the organization primarily because it reinforced the
social relationships at the local level between the CCF,
UFA and CLP.[113]

The provincial executive provided for the organization
of constituency associations in all provincial
constituencies but t'~se were not artificial creations. In
areas where the CLP and other affiliates (trade union,
agrarian or municipal parties) existed, CCF constituency
councils were formed composed of equal representation from
each affiliate organization to reproduce political co-
operation between progressive forces.[114] The constituency
executive was responsible for the

> general administration of the affairs of the
> constituency at all times between conventions and
> shall also be responsible for the complete
> organization of all the polls in the
> constituency.[115]

The provincial constituency convention was the major
democratic institution within the local party and was
composed of representatives of the polling organizations
and clubs on the basis of members.[116] The business of the
constituency convention was to review the political and
party work of the constituency, approve the financial
report, suggest amendments to the provincial platform,
elect constituency executive and board members and elect

delegates to the annual provincial convention.[117]

Federal constituency associations were provided for by the provincial executive depending on political conditions. In areas where CCF affiliates (provincial and local) were active, a co-operative federal council could be formed for reproducing harmonious political relations and co-operation. However, from the beginning, there was no strict demarcation between federal and provincial party organizations. More precisely, the only federal organization that existed was the sum of corresponding provincial organizations. The only political force the federal constituency council had was to co-ordinate provincial associations within the federal constituency "into one effective federal unit to handle the federal campaign."[118] More importantly for the reproduction of social relationships and processes at the local party level, the composition of the federal executive was exactly the same as that of the provincial executives.[119] The calling and purpose of the federal constituency convention generally followed that of the provincial, except for the federal political slant. The administration of the federal constituency between elections, insofar as this did not involve the selection of a candidate (i.e., mundane political tasks), was handled most appropriately by provincial constituency leaders.[120] This ensured, more often than not, a high degree of social integration between

CCF members, leaders and supporters, across constituency boundaries. This also ensured a high degree of political effectiveness insofar as external political conditions allowed for greater effectiveness and significance.

Another important structuration process that was completed at this stage in the organic development of the Alberta CCF was the process of nominating candidates for federal and provincial elections. Previously, as forms of social reproduction, CCF candidates were chosen through negotiated compromises with affiliated groups that made up the Alberta CCF. In 1939, after the withdrawal of the UFA, the procedure was tightened to ensure that the basis of representation for elections remained within the party. Moreover, no nomination convention would be valid unless at least one-third of the polling organizations or locals had representatives at the meeting. This ensured crucial local autonomy over the selection of the running of candidates. No dead constituency organization (one in which there was no functioning party apparatus) could be driven to nominate a candidate. The procedure by which candidates were nominated was specifically spelled out. Unlike other political parties, through the established rules and norms, no candidates would be accepted as "CCF candidates" unless selected by a accredited nominating convention. Thus, it was a physical impossibility to have independent CCF candidates in the field. This process merely reinforced

the reproduced norm to protect the name of the party so its use could not be used by fringe or independent candidates.[121]

The constitution of the General Membership section of the Alberta CCF stemmed from that of the other province where a formalistic CCF structure had been developed, without the hindrance of affiliates. The essential difference between the 1936 and 1939 constitutions was that the provision allowing the party to "cooperate with other organizations having similar aims and objectives" was removed. Any candidate who before or after the nomination agreed to accept an endorsement from, or formed an alliance with any other political party, would be automatically dropped as a CCF candidate.[122]

A significant difference between the two structural forms of the CCF involved the delicate issue of CCF clubs. Originally conceived as part of Woodsworth's concept of a federated party, the clubs became more of a nuisance than an aid to the federal party leadership. They quickly took on a character of their own, in terms of organization and ideology. As the party became more centralized and affiliated groups were either replaced or superseded by the CCF, the need for such clubs became redundant.[123] These clubs, however, took on a life of their own and refused to die out. They were remnants of UFA locals or study clubs that had merely changed their names after the UFA decided

to vacate politics. These clubs simply reproduced
themselves within the new conceptual structure of the
CCF.[124]

Along with this structural restraint, the objectives
of the CCF in Alberta changed. In 1936, the CCF was
designed to

> promote through political action and other
> appropriate means the establishment of a co-
> operative commonwealth based upon the common
> ownership and democratic control of the means and
> instruments of production and distributing wealth
> in which the basic principles will be the
> supplying of human needs and not the making of
> profits and to Co-operate with other
> organizations having similar aims and
> objectives.[125]

Three years later, the Alberta CCF substantially reduced
the passage taking out reference to co-operation with other
groups and watering down the substance of the policy from
"common ownership and democratic control" to "regulating
production, distribution and exchange."[126]

After the constitutional change in 1939, the Alberta
CCF had become a highly structured and centralized
political party. The CLP continued to maintain its hold on
the urban centres through their central committees, but the
shift of members, supporters and leaders from the CLP to
the CCF General Membership Section drained whatever
organizational strength the CLP had left after the 1935
debacle. Most significantly, this process involved the
personal committment by dedicated CLP leaders and members
to move away from the Canadian Labour Party towards a newer

and unfamiliar political party. The political commitment
of leaders such as Harry Ainlay, Mary Crawford, Roper and
Mentz towards making the CCF a "united front party" negated
any organizational relationships they may have had to the
old CLP. However, the possibility of unique individual
designs, ambitions and emotions that may have motivated
them to switch their allegiance away from the CLP towards
the CCF cannot be discounted. The tests of the political
unity would only come through an examination of crises in
which supporters, members and leaders participated.

Chapter IV

Towards Crisis: The Alberta Farmer-Labour Party, Social Conflict and System Contradiction, 1942 - 1949

The creation of a united political organization, such as the Alberta Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, necessitated the structural reproduction of political relationships that existed between members, supporters and leaders. In particular, new forms of organizational structures were designed to support the structuration process. At the top of the organizational structure were the central party establishment and apparatus.[1] The Provincial Board was enlarged to allow for equal representation from both the ex-UFA and ex-CLP leaders and members within the CCF. The election of Elmer Roper as a MLA in 1942 separated the party leader from the president. A demarcation in party tasks and perspectives resulted. Two perspectives emerged, both complementary and contradictory - the party as an organizational entity, and the party as a political and legislative force. The Provincial Board straddled both these perspectives, in much the same way as the old UFA Board did in sorting out the disjunction between the demands of the local constituencies and those of the government.

The provincial executive was chiefly concerned with the continuing structuration of the CCF in Alberta. Assisting them in their organizational tasks, and

reproducing the organizational perspectives of the party was the Provincial Office, controlled by the Executive, not by the provincial convention.[2] The establishment of a Provincial Office by the CCF in 1939 did more than just centralize a growing bureaucratic political organization. Haphazard party procedures that had been adopted from the UFA and CLP were redesigned and reproduced to give the party a semblance of legitimacy. The institutions of membership dues, subscriptions, donations, balance sheets, financial record keeping, auditing, membership and subscription drives, and organizational drives were all designed, not only to support the party's organizational structures, but also to reinforce the political existence of an institution called the Alberta CCF within the consciousness of supporters and members. Few critical observations have been made of the normative every-day institutional occurrences that transpired at both the local and provincial level of the political party, but the conclusion is these practices helped to establish the CCF as a viable political organization and force in Alberta.

The Provincial Secretary, for example, was respc ˜ible for the day-to-day affairs of the party. At Edmonton, the secretary was the vital link between the national and provincial parties, between the provincial executive and the constituency organizations, and between the leaders and members. The secretary was responsible for the

communication and information flow and directed the
implementation of decisions. The secretary's task was to
co-ordinate the activities of federal, provincial and local
CCF organizations.

The other important position within the party was the
provincial organizer, whose duties were to help in the
operation of constituency organizations, plan and
participate in local membership, subscription and election
fund-raising drives, and co-ordinate the nomination of
candidates and election campaigns. Regional organizers
were invariably hired to cover southern and northern
Alberta.[3] Moreover, to maintain ties with local areas,
provincial leaders were required to act as regional and
constituency organizers in the areas from which they came
or represented.[4]

At the local level of the party, the structural
complexities necessitated by the centralization and
bureaucratization of the party after 1942 did not infringe
lower level organization of supporters and members. Within
each provincial constituency, the constitution provided for
the organization of clubs, locals and groups. With the
approval of the constituency executive, six or more members
in any locality could form a CCF Club for social,
educational and political purposes.[5] However, for the
purpose of nominating candidates and conducting election
campaigns, members of all clubs and locals within the

constituency had to act through the constituency associations.

Slowly, local party units were organizationally superseded by other institutions. The local social interactions between individuals in different clubs were supposed to be transposed to the constituency organization level. However, with the introduction of the poll organization - a sublocal group - composed of four or more members for the purpose of holding meetings, the reproduction of social relationships and processes shifted to the local level, rather than crystalize at the constituency level. Party organization at the constituency level was formalized only by its institutionalization. Structuration took place at the local level between individual members, supporters, sympathizers and local leaders. The party constitution imposed certain structural and social constraints upon local party operations by addressing what could transpire and by whom.
The constitution stipulated that poll organizations had to exist during election campaigns. However, at a social level within the local party, poll organizations became the nucleus around which the party functioned between elections.[6] Official sanction for this development was legitimized by the private inter-relationships between provincial and local leaders that by-passed federal and provincial constituency executives and boards.

The formal structure of the Alberta CCF was completed in 1944 shortly before the provincial general election. The constitution adopted at the annual convention in November 1944 was the culmination of five years of organizational development that had begun in 1939. Despite all the structural implications of a provincial executive and leadership, provincial office, party functionaries, and strict conformities to roles and formalities, there was a certain adherence to informal political and social relationships that had been reproduced since 1932 between significant individuals and groups in Alberta. The emphasis upon local and constituent autonomy, from the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), was incorporated into the structure of social practices and relationships within the new CCF. This was similarly reciprocated at the national level when the CCF provincial leadership made it clear to federal CCF leaders that they would not tolerate any interference into provincial party autonomy.[7] Provincial leaders realized from the beginning that they could not impose their wishes upon local party organizations. When unique local conditions suggested a relaxation of ordinary rules and norms, the Provincial Executive generally reversed the modifications to ensure that they did not contravene the spirit of the constitution or provincial conference decisions, or alter the standards of recruitment, procedures for selecting candidates, or

relationships between the local party organization, the provincial and the national structures.

To some critical observers, the provincial executive and office staff could be seen in a machiavellian sense as oligarchical instruments of party power. They were entrusted with the constitutional right to conduct inquiries into alleged breaches of prescribed party procedures and to apply sanctions against disobedient groups and individuals. Accordingly, the Provincial Board had the power "to discipline any CCF member by warning, reprimand or suspension for any cause by it deemed sufficient."[8] However, the power wielded by party executives was not uni-directional. Even with the adoption of a unified and rigid party structure in 1942, the Alberta CCF remained a loosely constructed political party. Party leadership was decentralized throughout the province and the central establishment tended to rely more on regional, constituency and local leaders for information and political incentive in day-to-day affairs. The provincial executive was composed of individuals who had been politically and organizationally shaped at a local level within the UFA and CLP. Through their out-going personality and commitment to the party, provincial leaders interacted with the members of the party on a daily basis either by sifting through incoming correspondence or by visiting party locals throughout Alberta. The relationship

between the leaders and party members was close, as
demonstrated by the correspondence that flowed into the
provincial office. The party could not operate in an
organizational vacuum despite the continued reproduction of
its populist foundations. However, unlike the other
political parties in Alberta, including Social Credit in
the 1950s, the CCF continued to maintain a cadre approach
to party building.

Inherent within the structuration of the Alberta CCF
in the 1940s were the seeds of its destruction. Part of
the failure of the party to succeed politically in an
adverse political climate centred on the long-term effects
of the initial structuration process that occurred between
1932 and 1942. These traditions sharpened normal political
party problems of differences of opinion, tactical
orientation and strategic perspectives regarding what the
party was, how it would be structured and function, and its
future direction. There were organizational differences
between supporters of the UFA and the CLP, and political
differences between radicals and moderates. These
differences crystallized in a series of intensely political
debates and crises within the Party between 1939 and 1956.
An examination of these crises indicates that there were
significant social conflicts among leaders and party
members that led to system contradiction in the 1950s. At
that point, the party became largely irrelevant to the

external environment, the product of constant squabbling
between interparty factions and groupings of leaders and
members.

The basic disagreement between various members and
groups in the late 1940s and early 1950s hinged on whether
the Alberta CCF was conceptualized as "cadre party" or a
"mass membership party".[9] The former was upheld by
socialists and radicals within the party such as Nellie
Peterson, William Irvine and Harold Bronson; the latter
viewpoint of the federal leadership and the more
conservative provincial leaders such as Roper, Neil Reimer
and Ivor Dent. An organization, such as the Alberta CCF,
could not be forged and consistently reproduced socially
and structurally in the face of serious theoretical flaws
emanating from a difference of perspectives regarding the
processes. The structuration process succeeded in the
1930s in reproducing the social and political coalition
between the UFA and CLP leaders, and members and
supporters, but in so doing it had produced contradictory
conceptions of what it was that was being replicated.
Social conflict developed within the party when various
individuals attempted to put into practice their concept of
the party-building practice. Moreover, political conflict
was accentuated by personal conflict in which individual
motivations, emotions and limited awareness affected
internal consciousness of reality at the local level.

Political conflict became personalized and personal conflicts became politicized.

Party Unity and the Elections of 1944-45

The Alberta CCF emerged from the November 1942 annual provincial convention united as a political party. A provincial program was prepared for the upcoming provincial election expected in late 1943 or early 1944. Two external and unknown factors made future plans of the party uncertain. Firstly, the direction of the Aberhart administration during its second term in office was indeterminate. Secondly, the nature of the popular front coalition of Liberals and Conservatives under the "Unity League" remained unclear. By mid-1943, with the death of Aberhart and the succession of Manning, the political situation appeared clearer for the CCF in Alberta. The unexpected election call in March 1944, following soon after the Saskatchewan election, left the Alberta CCF moderately unprepared, and federal CCF finances, manpower and resources had been channelled into Saskatchewan. Despite the expectations, extensive material and personnel committment to the provincial party by its members, the party only managed to increase its legislative membership by one.[10] On the popular front, the party managed to obtain 25% of the votes compared to 11% in 1940.

The provincial election of 1944 was a watershed in the history of the Alberta CCF. Called unexpectedly by

Manning, the electoral strategy of the Social Credit

government was to "knock out" the opposition by undermining

the strength of the CCF in western Canada.[11] Irvine, as

provincial organizer, was extremely optimistic in his

reports to the National Secretary and asked for substantial

federal financial assistance.[12] When the election call

came on 3 July for 8 August, provincial officials began

asking the National Office to send organizers and leaders

to Alberta. National leader M.J. Coldwell came out in mid-

July while the two provincial CCF leaders, E.B. Jolliff of

Ontario and Harold Winch of British Columbia, came out at

the end of July.

Organizational difficulties plagued the party from the

beginning. Twenty-two constituencies had not held

nominating conventions when the campaign bega.   .: last of

these was held at Grande Prairie on 21 Jul.   . ine was

concerned about the lack of organization. ~ iness and

authorized the holding of special conventions under

emergency rules.[13] The election call was denounced by

Roper as a "shabby trick" on the people "solely out of

panic caused by the victory of the C.C.F. in

Saskatchewan."[14]

Provincial CCF leaders, such as Roper, Harry Ainlay,

Sig Lefsrud, Irvine and Peterson, travelled extensively

throughout the province attending rallies and nominating

conventions.[15] Radio was used almost equally by the CCF

and Social Credit, but the government had a special edge because it tended to use radio to make official government announcements, while the CCF had to work through the official Wartime Information Board.[16] A series of local meetings involving M.J. Coldwell were held between 18 July and 21 July to lift morale among the members and electoral supporters and to promote Alberta to a more prominent position within the national CCF, similar to Saskatchewan and Ontario.[17] According to a campaign report prepared by Clifford Lee, Provincial Treasurer, the meetings "look too good to be true; I am sure they could not be typical of the province as a whole. But Roper and Coldwell had 2 000 at Medicine Hat and 1 500 at Lethbridge on the last two nights."[18]

A major disappointment was the reluctance of David Lewis, the National Secretary, to participate. Irvine had asked Lewis to assist in the campaign, but the National Secretary noted that he had other pressing matters to attend to. This was particularly awkward as Lewis had joined Coldwell in Saskatchewan only weeks previously.[19] The provincial elections in Quebec and New Brunswick required a French-speaking national leader and Lewis and F.R. Scott had to concentrate their attention on these two provinces.[20] Lewis promised that the national office would do everything in its power to assist in the Alberta campaign, but funds were limited in a year in which there

were five provincial elections and a upcoming federal
election.[21]

Roper's assessment of the provincial campaign hinged
on his involvement as party leader and MLA. He was
optimistic, but the Alberta outcome was far from certain:

> It is impossible to forecast any result. That we
> have made very great gains is evident but whether
> or not they have been great enough gains in any
> of the constituencies to win is still uncertain.
> We could treble our vote in the province and
> still not win a seat. However, we are greatly
> encouraged by what is happening in a number of
> places and you need not be surprised at
> anything.[22]

Moreover, Roper gave the impression to Lewis that the
Alberta party organization could not adequately deal with
the attention it was receiving from the electorate or the
press. By March 1944, the provincial secretary was
reporting that the party had 10 000 members on its lists,
up from 4 000 the year before. The Provincial Office
appeared to be swamped with membership requests and
enquiries from newly formed constituency associations.

The National Office was concerned about the state of
the provincial organization and its capacity to wage a
fully fledged election campaign in the midst of great
public and media attention. Moreover, Roper had concerns
about Irvine's capabilities as provincial organizer and
about the role of the Labour Progressive Party (LPP).[23]
From such a long distance, it was difficult for Lewis to
"form any reliable impression" of what was going on in

Alberta.[24]

Clifford Lee's assessment was more optimistic. Coming from the CLP, Lee had replaced Lorne Ingle as provincial treasurer in 1942 and was one of the youngest leaders within the CCF. His appraisal of the organizational readiness of the party to the election call was that the Alberta CCF had not sufficiently built upon the changing sentiment in the province since the death of Aberhart and was not able to raise large sums of money from members, supporters and sympathizers.[25] However unprepared the organizational vehicle was, the political machinery was prepared to "make this a real campaign." For the provincial leadership, the effects of a win in Alberta, following that of Saskatchewan, would reverberate throughout Canada.[26] Irvine thought that anything could happen:

> If things keep on growing one may defeat the
> government. One thing is sure - our advance will
> be great. The swing towards the CCF is most
> pronounced. Our meager skeleton of an
> organization cannot cope with the extensive
> possibilities of the swing. This is our
> weakness. If we had just six months to
> consolidate our gains we could here wipe out S.C.
> without a doubt. As it is I am hoping for a
> strong opposition at the least.[27]

Irvine and Lee thought that such a breakthrough could occur if the National Office had sent out more assistance and financial support. Lewis, on the other hand, refused to budge and relied on Roper's rather less optimistic assessments.[28] Still, optimism spread out from the

provincial office to the local level. Lorne Ingle reported back to Margaret Telford, secretary at the National Office, that "things sure are looking much brighter than I expected when I arrived. It is practically a straight fight between the Social Credit and the CCF and I think we have a chance to win."[29]

The electoral strategy of the Alberta CCF, resting on the assumption that the contest was between the two major parties (CCF and Social Credit), called for a comparison between the Social C edit program and that of the CCF. It continually emphasized in advertisements, literature and campaign speeches that Social Credit was "purely a local movement" that could not achieve its program except on the national field.[30] The choice for the Alberta electorate was between the CCF, which could achieve its programme within provincial boundaries, and Social Credit, which could not achieve its program "except in a [federal] field in which it has no support at all."[31] The problem with this analysis was that the provincial CCF had trouble in rationalizing its programme as anything other than national. Until the Saskatchewan CCF won power, few party leaders understood how the party could put its policies into practice at the provincial level.

The election results were not inconclusive.[32] Social Credit obtained 51.8% of the popular vote and 51 seats while the CCF obtained 24.9% of the vote and two seats.[33]

The third-placed Independents obtained 16.8% of the vote but became the official opposition with three seat . The CCF had nominated candidates for all 49 constituencies, covering the entire province, even in ridings where there had been minimal CCF organization.[34] Party candidates came in second in 30 out of 47 rural ridings. In three constituencies (Clover Bar, Lac Ste. Anne and Stony Plain) CCF candidates ran alone against the Social Credit candidate and obtained an average of 39% of the popular vote. In 14 constituencies the party obtained more than 30% of the popular vote. In 25 ridings the CCF was faced with competition from the LPP; in only six constituencies the LPP a threat.[35] In Pincher Creek, the CCF candidate was opposed by a Labour United candidate who received 37% of the popular vote to the CCF's 20% and 43% for Social Credit. The supposed electoral interference from the LPP, feared by Lewis, never materialized. Only three constituencies would have gone over to the Alberta CCF if enough LPP supporters had designated the CCF as their second choice.[36] On the other hand, the CCF used the transferrable vote in three other constituencies to deny the Independents' victories over Social Credit.[37] The party had to look elsewhere for faults and problems as explanations for the electoral defeat.

After the provincial election, a series of post-election analyses were performed by provincial CCF leaders.

Jack Cook, provincial president, noted that the provincial election was not a "knockout blow for the CCF in Alberta."[38] There was a recognition of the fact that the party was "somewhat amateur in the political arena against professionals."[39] Since 1935, the CCF had to "struggle against a political organization which sometimes used identical words and phrases, but mean something different, thus making confusion more confounded in honest minds searching for an answer to a perplexing social conundrum." Social Credit was described as a political organization that used the term "social" in its title, but then denied that it was meant to "social-ize [sic] anything - even credit."[40] It was, according to Cook, a political organization that claimed to be radical, but opposed change.

The Alberta CCF, on the other hand, could not be defeated. Founded on truth, "nurtured in sacrifice and struggling in a righteous cause it does prevail." It was " an irresistible force, legitimate offspring of the age old struggle for individual and human justice for the human man."[41]

Lorne Ingle had a different, more pointed, analysis of the electoral defeat.[42] CCF leaders, members and supporters had to accept that the party had lost the election. In attempting to get the party to assume a more critical appraisal of its organizational and political

weaknesses, Ingle noted that "we gain most by realizing

wherein our shortcomings lay and strengthen our cause by

making plans which will avoid them in the future."[43] There

were two forms of sentiments among party members:

complacency after a victory and despair after a defeat.

Members in Alberta and Saskatchewan faced these two

extremes. The provincial election saw

> a tremendous line-up of forces against us. The
> Social Credit government had the backing of the
> oil companies (through their Alberta Petroleum
> Association) and all the daily newspapers in the
> province. The individual Liberals and
> Conservatives practically abandoned their
> protege, the Independent Party, and many of them
> actually stumped for Social Credit. Even the
> communists urged their supporters to give the
> government candidate their first choice, or their
> second choice where there were Labour
> Progressives in the field. Such an array of
> forces is hard to beat any time, anywhere.[44]

Ingle believed that the single transferrable vote system in

the rural areas further worked against the CCF.

The party could blame external conditions and factors

as causes for their electoral defeat, but it also had to

turn inward to find some answers. There were a number of

factors over which the party had a degree of control. The

party could have been more prepared for the "snap

election". Nominations were held too late in the campaign.

Given the short period between nomination and election,

many candidates could not cover their constituencies

adequately. The party depended too much on centralized

public meetings and ignored local and smaller house

meetings as a means of introducing the party's candidate to sympathizers and supporters.[45]

Criticism of the National Office accompanied that directed at the Provincial Office. Lewis sent out Sandy Nicholson to assist in the organizational framework for the provincial election. One criticism Ingle noted was the erroneous introduction of Ontario CCF structuration practices into the Alberta party, without taking into consideration local conditions and requirements. The kind of campaign activity that Ingle desired in Alberta focused more readily on local needs and conditions. It required more initiative from local members and "more imagination and drive on the part of the central office."[46] Moreover, it required good organization of local polls throughout the province. This requirement, Ingle believed, "won the election in Saskatchewan, and the lack of it lost the election in Alberta."[47] He did not believe that "no amount of good organization" could change the result if the "swing" vote was against the CCF. According to Ingle,

> **This is dangerous and fallacious platitude.** The voting in Alberta was very much closer than the results would indicate. **12,000 people voting CCF instead of Social Credit in certain ridings would have given Alberta a CCF government.** It was within the power of the CCF to accomplish that switch.[48]

Faced with these two post-election analyses, party leaders and members had sufficient reason to feel optimistic. The CCF appeared to be on the upswing across

the country as the effects of the Saskatchewan victory sunk in. In Alberta, despite the electoral loss, the party had shown itself capable of running a province-wide electoral campaign with support everywhe e in Alberta. Party membership had reached 12 000 in 1944.[49] The party had two sitting MLAs in the provincial legislature, a weekly newspaper and two provincial offices (Calgary and Edmonton). The mistakes made by the local and central political organizations would be corrected before the next provincial election. As Lorne Ingle enthusiastically pointed out, "There will be no turning back."[50]

The federal election of 1945 was a success for the CCF across Can da; a failure for the party in Alberta.[51] The party obtained 18% of the popular vote compared to 13% in 1940. In six constituenc , the CCF popular vote was above 20%.[52] The provincial leaders were not at all hopeful that the CCF could make a substantial breakthrough in Alberta, and this view was sustained by national leaders who tended to bypass Alberta to concentrate on Saskatchewan and British Columbia. Irvine's decision to accept a nomination in the Cariboo, British Columbia was a popular hint that the CCF could not win federally in Alberta. This pessimism seem to have affected the highest leadership of the Alberta party. In March 1945, Roper noted to Lewis that the CCF had only an outside chance to win a seat or two.[53] Lewis, in response, was depressed by

> the conviction which all of you seem to have that
> the CCF condition in the province is poor that
> our chances in the federal election are hopeless.
> I am finding it rather difficult to understand
> why there should be this hopelessness in view of
> the tremendous advance in popular vote which you
> made during the last provincial election.
> However, I am sure that your determination to be
> realistic about
> the situation will not interfere with the public
> presentation of great confidence, nor with the
> work that needs to be done.[54]

The political reverses of the CCF in the provincial election of 1944 and federal election of 1945 dampened the ardour of "even the most enthusiastic" supporter and member of the party. However, at the annual convention in Edmonton in November, delegates accepted Ingle's report and endorsed one of the most ambitious organizational plans ever undertaken by the provincial party. The three-year plan called for the full employment of at least two provincial organizers and funding for further expansion. The organization was to be extended and solidified.[55] In January 1946, Jack Griffin was appointed a provincial organizer.[56] Local constituency leaders were approached through the provincial office to ensure that local CCF clubs were reorganized to become "the backbone of our organization effort throughout the province."[57] It was the intention of the Provincial Office to ensure a closer working relationship with local clubs to work out projects by which local members could "actively take part in the building up of our movement."[58]

The withdrawal of Irvine from Alberta as the new CCF

MP from the Cariboo in 1945 dealt the Alberta organization
a crucial blow. It necessitated a change in leadership.[59]
The position of provincial organizer and secretary was
transferred from Irvine to Jack King. Moreover, Henry
Spencer, a close Irvine associate and fellow UFA MP, left
Alberta to undertake a diplomatic posting. The
ramifications of the leadership shift meant that the
Alberta party would not have a capable party organizer.

Towards Disunity 1944-1949
Central Autocracy and Local Autonomy

The Alberta CCF was a political party in 1942. The
political unification that melded the CLP with the CCF at
the beginning of 1942 resulted in a structured political
party. The structuration process between 1935 and 1942
within the Alberta CCF attempted to integrate socially and
functionally members, institutions, forms and rules of both
the UFA and CLP into the new party. However, in forging a
new political party, certain organizational and political
elements were released that resulted in system dysfunction.
In particular, the relationship between the centre and the
periphery within the party became ossified, resulting in
political disputes and crises. In these social conflicts
and system contradictions, individuals became entrenched in
their organizational positions. In Alberta, the party was
faced with the conflict between centralized autocracy (from
Edmonton) and local autonomy. At the national level, the

Alberta CCF defended peripheral autonomy (Alberta) as opposed to centralized autocracy, as represented by the national leadership of the CCF. A distinct system dysfunction prevailed as provincial leaders defended their provincial autonomy from federal interference, while interfering in local party decision making. At the heart of this structurational deficiency was the debate over proper methods of building a party.

In 1946, a crisis erupted within the CCF organization in Calgary over the nature and purpose of the CCF as a political party in Alberta. Throughout its party-building period, between 1939 and 1944, the Alberta CCF had not been immune to factionalism.

In 1939, over half of the Calgary CCF membership were expelled from the party because they refused to adhere to the proper structuration process as defined by the Provincial and National Executive.[60] In that situation, the CCF local was split vertically into two factions, each of which claimed to represent the legitimate membership and leadership of the Calgary CCF. The basis for the crisis rested on deficiencies within the structuration process during the 1930s. The legitimization of the CCF Clubs in 1935 resulted in the reproduction of new structures and mechanisms for social relationships among various political groupings in Calgary. Although this process structured the relationship between the CLP, UFA and CCF along lines

recognizable by provincial leaders (who had come from the UFA or CLP), there was an inherent contradiction between what the structuration was designed for and what would be ·.. ultimate outcome. The inevitable result of the post-,35 structuration process involved a revision, not a consolidation, of the social and institutional relationships between the UFA, CCF and CLP. Through social integration, the system components were altered and integrated. The social conflict took place in Calgary in 1939 as a contradiction between the degrees of social integration and system integration within the local environment. Popular conceptualization of the future development of the CCF included the absorption of the UFA and CLP into the CCF, and the structuration process initiated in 1935 moved towards this goal. However, provincial leaders of the CLP and CCF were hesitant about accepting the social and system integration processes taking place around them. They reacted out of personal motivation to safeguard their own structural positions.[61] The conflict in Calgary was between members of the CCF who were responding positively to the structuration process by pushing forward social and system integration at a local level, and provincial leaders who desired to control local situations in order to perpetuate the status quo.

At the local level, there was a contradiction between the conceptualization of how to build a political party and

those of the leaders. The dissidents desired to accelerate the structuration process by setting up a CCF constituency association in Calgary and incorporating social elements of the UFA, CCF Clubs and CLP without involving, at an institutional level, the Labour Party. This was contrary to the rules of the federated Alberta CCF as interpreted by Roper and Edward Garland in Alberta, and Lewis in Ottawa.[62] There was, however, a clear realization among members of the Calgary CCF that the CLP was not interested in submerging its identity into the CCF, and was only interested in maintaining its organizational structure intact at the expense of creating a mass left-wing movement opposed to Social Credit. The Calgary CCF attempted to establish a CCF party irrespective of the structural relationships that existed between the CCF Clubs and the CLP. Moreover, social integration that was continuing since 1932 would be facilitated by a system integration initiated by the complete takeover of the CLP by the CCF. The actions of the majority of the membership in Calgary to restructure the political dynamics within the local whereby the organizational relationship between the CCF Clubs and the CLP was redefined were negated by the imposed structure from the provincial leadership. This maintained the system dysfunction which the restructuring attempted to solve. The organizational weaknesses in the Calgary section were accentuated by the imposition of an artificial

structuration. The contradiction between the established relationship between the CCF and CLP at the provincial level, and the imposed, structured and rigid relationship at the local level resulted in a serious crisis, which was artificially resolved by expulsion.

In 1946 a similar crisis occurred in Calgary when a group of CCF members attempted to redefine the relationship between the CCF and the Civic Reform Association (CRA), a municipal political organization. As in 1939, their efforts at restructuration would have resulted in a redefinition of organizational boundaries between groups at a systems level as well as a heightening of political and social relations at the local level. Views concerning the party-building process of one group contradicted the views of the party establishment, both locally and provincially. The contradictions led to a structural impasse resulting in social conflict.

Buttressed by a substantial membership and electoral support in 1944, the CCF turned its focus in 1945 to municipal politics.[63] To counteract the influences of the conservative Civic Government Association (CGA), the CCF worked with Social Credit, the LPP and the Calgary Trades and Labour Council in forming the CRA.[64] The electorate in Calgary responded to the new leftward trend and elected Alderman James Watson, a CCF leader, mayor.

The difficulties of preserving a united front in

municipal politics between the LPP, Social Credit and CCF became evident in 1946. Buoyed by a victory at the polls in 1945, the communists began becoming more involved in municipal politics, making Social Credit and trade union leaders increasingly uneasy about continued support for the CRA. Moreover, CCF leaders in Calgary were under pressure from members to disengage themselves from the Association. At a special meeting on 2 October 1946, the Calgary CCF Constituency Association, supported by Alderman P.N.R. Morrison, withdrew from the CRA and entered municipal politics directly as a political party.[65]

The Calgary local was torn apart by the question of party-building in urban areas, but most of the local leaders were also provincial leaders.[66] Moreover, questions were raised in the party and press as to the organizational and political tactics of the Calgary CCF leadership in reversing a democratic vote to withdraw from the CRA.[67] On the direction of the National Executive, the Provincial Council under Roper and Jack King intervened to settle the dispute.[68]

The party leadership recognized that the split within the Calgary organization extended deeper than mere disputes over strategy and tactics. What was at stake was an attempt by a CCF local to change the organizational and institutional relationships that had been carefully restructured between the CCF and the remnants of the CLP

after the 1939 crisis. P.N.R. Morrison understood that the
Alberta CCF emerged from the war with a consolidated
structure, two sitting MLAs and at least 25% of the popular
vote in Alberta. To build organizationally and socially,
the party had to disengage itself from other organizations
and to promote itself as a distinct political entity at
federal, provincial and municipal levels. Moreover,
Morrison believed that the time had come in Calgary, and
elsewhere in Alberta, to "get rid of the old girls",
implying the removal of aged office-staff and leadership
held over from the pre-1942 period.[69] Frustrations were
felt within the Calgary CCF at the continued structuration
process that permitted the same political and social
processes that had occurred in the 1930s to continue in the
late 1940s without regard for newer forms of
structurations.

The Provincial leadership faced the dilemma of
supporting the younger faction, under Morrison who felt
that the time was ripe to push onwards, or remaining tied
to the older UFA-CLP establishment group centred around
Aemilia and Norman Smith. If the leadership sided with
Morrison, Smith warned, then the "co-operatively minded
people" would conclude that there was nothing "more that
they can do ... and retire from the field."[70] If the
leaders endorsed the establishment, then the party risked
losing some of its youthful and more energetic supporters.

Unilateral intervention by the Provincial Board into Calgary party affairs began on 20 October 1946 when the local was officially dissolved and the provincial leadership took over the political and administrative functions to mediate between the two factions.[71] After a period of investigating, the Provincial Board mechanically constructed a new organization under direction and control from the Provincial Office in Edmonton.[72] Part of the plans of the provincial leadership plans included the restoration of limited local autonomy in the Calgary CCF through the controlled election of a new constituency executive.[73] After a four month trial period in which the Provincial Board and Council were directly involved in the day-to-day operation of the Calgary CCF, twelve new executives were unilaterally confirmed.[74]

Although the Calgary CCF organization had been reconstituted and reorganized along lines dictated by the Provincial Board, a sense of demoralization affected members and supporters in Calgary. The organization, which had been one of the most vital and consistently energetic in Alberta during the 1930s, decayed to an old remnant of the pre-1940 CCF.[75] While an official constituency association had been created by the provincial leadership, adhering to the established structurational practices, the process undertaken destroyed the party local socially leaving an organizational shell. The imposition of a set,

defined structure with accompanying social and political relationships by the provincial leadership resulted in a system dysfunction between what the CCF was supposed to be - a grass-roots socialist/labour party - and what it had become - a bureaucratically defined and structured monolithic organization.

Towards Disunity 1945-1949:
External Pressures and Organizational Collapse

In the post-war period, the Alberta CCF was faced with two serious problems. The party had to respond politically and organizationally to the growing anticommunism and antisocialism of the Cold War period, and to the re-entry and resurgence of the Liberal party into provincial politics. The external effects of the cold war upon the Alberta CCF cannot be dismissed in this analysis. As with other socialist and labour parties in western democracies, the difficulties of pursuing an independent democratic socialist line became apparent as the Cold War escalated. No socialist party could ignore the basic international issues of the day, such as the Berlin blockade and airlift, the Czechoslovakian coup d'etat, the Yugoslav-Soviet split, the creation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and the gradual rearming of Germany as part of western security.

Immediately after the war, socialist and labour parties pressed forward their socialist ideals. The Labour government of Clement Atlee (1945-1952) was held up as the

model socialist government, and its achievements in

nationalization and health care were eulogized. However,

by 1947, alarming trends within these parties were noticed

as members turned their attention from domestic to

international concerns. At this point party leaders

hesitated about taking doctrinaire viewpoints on

international issues. Roper firmly believed that the

primary emphasis of the Alberta CCF had to be upon domestic

policy. Writing to Lewis in January 1947, Roper noted that

> for us to continue to devote almost every
> statement that is made by our national leaders to
> learned, and in my view, completely correct
> analyses of international affairs may mean to
> miss the boat in the practical down-to-earth job
> of winning an election. Unless we can have some
> sort of dynamic policy that will appeal strongly
> and even strikingly to the imaginations of the
> Canadian people, we are going to be in exactly
> the same position as we were in 1940.... I do
> suggest that the time and thought and energy of
> our National and Provincial organization should
> be devoted to consideration of such issues.[76]

The group to whom Roper referred were members who were the

"backbone of the organization, who are very passionately

interested in foreign policy, and anxious that the CCF work

out one in line with general socialist objectives the world

over."[77] It would be a mistake, according to Lewis, to

ignore these individuals. Furthermore, party leaders had

the responsibility to balance domestic concerns with

international issues that "the core of our movement may

retain its faith and vitality."[78] Regardless, it was this

group that began to concern Roper in Alberta.

The provincial leadership's concern about the leftists within the Alberta CCF in the late 1940s was overshadowed by organizational problems stemming from a sudden decline in membership and finances. In the pre-1945 period the Alberta CCF was capably managed by a number of highly profiled individuals - Chester Ronning, William Irvine, Edward Garland and Lorne Ingle. By 1946, they had all left. Both Ingle and Garland were appointed to the National Office, Ronning went into the diplomatic service and Irvine retook his seat as a CCF MP. With these capable leaders gone from the provincial scene, the Alberta organization began to decay. The failure of the Alberta CCF to take advantage of the Farmers' Union of Alberta (FUA) strike in 1946 turned guarded optimism into fatalistic depression. Jack King's initial perception of the Alberta situation was that the people were "ready to move politically" to the CCF.[79] Four months later, after the strike, he noted that the party had gained some strength but "not enough to materially change the situation."[80] By 1947, with the official re-entry of the Liberal Party. King's observations became more pessimistic. He counselled the National Secretary not to be overconfident of the possibilities of electoral success.[81] Although there was no tendency on the part of the Alberta CCF "to slacken our efforts", only normal re-organization of party forces occurred between 1946 and 1948.[82]

The realities of the party's organizational situation became clearer when the provincial election was called for August 1948. Several provincial and federal constituency organizations were nonfunctional in the interval period, and Lorne Ingle blamed the Provincial Office for their inefficiency. The federal constituencies were "deader than doornails."[83] Moreover, some members began shifting their allegiance to Harper Prowse's Liberal Party in an effort to defeat Social Credit. Roper knew that attempts were being made in several constituencies across Alberta to forge an electoral united front with the Liberals, but he did not repudiate their actions, much to the chagrin of the left wing.[84]

The 1947 provincial convention was supposed to be the turning point for the Alberta CCF.[85] In preparation for the upcoming provincial election, the party announced a new membership drive and new provincial platform. The membership drive was designed to rejuvenate interest and financial support for the Alberta CCF. Party membership had declined between 1945 and 1947 from 13 000 to 3 339.[86] The new platform was designed to wean away supporters of the LPP and Social Credit.

The provincial election of 1948 was expected by many areas of the Alberta CCF community to produce a dramatic upset over Social Credit.[87] When CCF popular support actually declined from 25% to 19%, many leaders, including

Ernie Cook, believed that the lack of an efficient and effective organization played a significant part in the electoral failure of the party.[88] Although Roper and Liesemer were able to hold onto their legislative seats, popular support for the party dropped by one-quarter. The pre-election and campaign organization and membership drives increased party membership to 4 920 but this was hardly translated to votes in the election.[89] Across the province, the Liberals overtook the CCF in terms of popular support. The CCF placed second in 26 ridings while the Liberals came second in 16. Seven constituencies excluding Calgary and Edmonton went to second counts.[90] In all of these constituencies, the Social Credit candidates would have been defeated by the CCF or Liberals. In all cases, however, extensive plumping (not marking 2nd choices) by CCF supporters and a tendency to support Social Credit as a second choice rather than the CCF or Liberal candidate led to Social Credit winning all seven ridings.[91]

The electoral loss of 1948 affected the organizational potential of the Alberta CCF immediately. Morale was considerably damaged among the leadership and hasty decisions were made days after the election. Jack King terminated the employment of three provincial organizers, including Jack Griffin of Macleod. Moreover, King seriously doubted whether the party would be able to keep the Provincial Office open.[92] He noted that "obviously

after the disaster of yesterday we are no longer in a
position to maintain an organization staff .... I guess we
will be forced by circumstances to lay low for the next two
or three years."[93] Griffin realized that the closing down
of the party organization would be a tragic mistake and
approached Roper for confirmation. He noted that

> this is not a time to retreat, but a time to dig
> in. In the face of the impending federal
> election we cannot afford to leave the field to
> the SoCredible [sic] liars and run for cover like
> a bunch of beaten pups. It just cannot be that
> there are not enough supporters in the CCF
> movement to maintain the kind of organization
> that you and Bill Irvine had in the first days of
> our existence. Retrench yes! Dig in if need be,
> but I will not believe that the defeatist tone of
> this letter represents the sentiments of
> C.C.F.ers with whom I have been working for the
> last four years, or the sentiments of a fighter
> like Elmer Roper.[94]

Griffin continued to offer himself as an organizer in
southern and central Alberta so the party could "hold our
beach-head against the encroachments of Fascism in this
Province."[95] Roper's response as provincial leader
testified to the extent to which the post-election
pessimism had affected the decision making process. It
was, according to Roper, best "for all of us to face up to
the possibility [of electoral defeat]."[96] Writing to
Irvine later, Griffin noted that Roper "did his part in the
above letter" by washing his hands of party organization at
the local level.[97]

The situation at the local level within the Alberta
CCF became increasingly desperate. Members informed the

Provincial President (Peterson) that either the local party organization was "at a standstill" or had disintegrated completely.[98] In some areas, federal constituency associations ceased to exist and local leaders moved taking with them vital party records.[99] The Provincial Organizer (Ernie Cook) noted in 1949 that the Provincial Board had decided after the 1948 election it was "not prepared to consider a full programme of organization for 1950 until the membership, or such part of it as can be contacted has signified a willingness to finance such activity."[100] Party leaders came to the conclusion that if there was no party activity at the local level, there would be no membership, interest or understanding.[101] However, the attitude of some provincial leaders appeared to be that the party had to concentrate its limited resources on areas and sectors that would generate the highest support for the party. The emphasis continued to be on central Alberta, with northern and southern Alberta practically ignored.[102] When party members around Medicine Hat requested some central assistance in holding provincial constituency conventions, Cook argued against this because of the lack of potential party support.[103] With the federal election looming a few months after the provincial election, provincial party leaders were in a defeatist mood. In response to a request from Blairmore for organizational help, Ernie Cook wrote

> What can we do? Is it possible to have home
> meetings? Or any meetings that might stimulate
> activity? Or must we content ourselves with
> making calls on definite people who may set up
> some activity of their own? What is the
> point.[104]

At the November 1948 provincial convention in Calgary, the
decision was made to "reduce our budget for provincial
organization and office staff to a minimum, and by the same
token ... placed the responsibility for immediate
organization in the hands of constituency associations."[105]

Provincial leaders realized the Alberta party was
seriously lacking in organizational capacity, membership
was falling and finances dwindling.[106] According to a
post-election report drafted by the Provincial Board in
April 1949, the Alberta CCF had the lowest paid-up
membership in several years primarily caused by a
significant decline in electoral support. The party was "at
a low ebb."[107] Maintaining party membership was a
significant problem for the organization, as was declining
interest in local party organization and activities.[108]
However, from provincial leaders, particularly Roper, the
People's Weekly received a higher profile than local
organizational work as an effective means for rebuilding
the party. It was considered "the most effective
instrument in the maintenance and building of our movement
and is an indispensable link between organization and the
membership."[109] Organizational party work, essential for
maintaining and rebuilding the structurational process

within the Alberta CCF, was relegated to a minor role in 1949 "to the extent that funds are specifically subscribed for the purpose, and should consist of a concentrated rather than a general effort."[110]

The emphasis placed on the People's Weekly and minimal organizational work outside the central region resulted in deficient structuration. Although the Provincial Office attempted to maintain regular contact with provincial constituency associations, party organizations at the local level became non-existent. Since the provincial and federal constituency organizations were paper institutions, leadership forms had to be created. The withdrawal of local organizational structures and processes, which had been built up over the late 1930s and early 1940s, almost destroyed the Alberta CCF in terms of membership and support.[111]

Chapter V

The Alberta Farmer-Labour Party in Crisis:
Social Conflict and System Dysfunction
1949-1962

The federal general election of June 1949 had two

important ramifications for the Alberta Co-operative

Commonwealth Federation (CCF): the national CCF began an

immediate reappraisal of its position within the political

environment, and William Irvine returned to Alberta after

losing his federal seat in the Cariboo. The results of the

federal election necessitated an awareness of

structurational problems within the CCF. The gap in

political education and political activism made it

impossible for the national and provincial party offices to

make effective contributions (financial, personnel and

informational) to the local political units. Inadequate

communication and educational programming at the

constituency and local level was further complicated by the

ineffectual contact between the provincial office and the

local party. The provincial leadership of the party was

"at least twice removed from the grass roots where the main

job has to be done."[1] The program designed by Donald

MacDonald called for "mass education" of party workers and

members through various innovative forms of mass

communication to facilitate "dynamic socialist education."[2]

Since educational activities were the key to building and

maintaining active local party units, the emphasis had to be on building local party organizations.

Irvine returned to Alberta as provincial organizer and to undertake the organizational and educational programs drafted by the National Office. The national party leadership had not yet written off Alberta and believed that the province was fertile ground for expansion.[3] Elmer Roper and Jack King had reservations about the usefulness of the federal plans for Alberta and believed that accepting the programs in their entirety would be wasting valuable party money.[4] Irvine, however, accepted the plan and conducted the organizational drive of 1950 personally.[5]

Irvine's involvement in the reorganization of the Alberta CCF is crucial to an understanding of the social conflict and system contradiction which occurred within the party in the 1950s. Differences of opinion in terms of correct party-building approaches, strategies and tactics permeated the relationship between the provincial and national party leadership and within the provincial leadership. For the national leaders, membership became the criterion by which to measure growth or decline in a party. Lorne Ingle was confident that the number of party members in Alberta would increase when the Alberta CCF fulfilled their obligations and carried out their provincial responsibilities with respect to the organizational and educational plans drafted by the

National Office.[6]

Irvine's approach to party-building rested squarely on developing local organizations, bringing forward the issues and teaching socialism from the "policies which we advance in respect to such issues."[7] His efforts were directed towards forming "our old members who are scattered over the country into local groups so that they may be able to work together in an effective way to extend our membership."[8] The fact that these members had been driven away by the inadequate organizational work of the provincial party in his absence only increased the antagonisms within the provincial leadership. Instead of using negative tactics for motivating potential support for the party, Irvine felt that a "decidedly positive program" had to be emphasized. Moreover, the party's organizational approach had to reinvigorated by highlighting specific ridings and areas where CCF support was substantial.[9]

In attempting to reverse the organizational approach of his predecessor, Irvine discovered the real reasons for the collapse of the party after 1945. Jack Griffin, who was deprived of organizational services after the 1948 electoral defeat, briefed Irvine that

> By the squandering of funds in the prodigal
> amounts of election literature sent out after it
> was too late to be of any use, by the loose and
> inaccurate acknowledgements and records kept of
> membership moneys, and of [People's Weekly]
> subscriptions, by the inaccurate and, as it
> turned out, untrustworthy accounts given of
> election possibilities, the Provincial Office has

> in my opinion largely forfeited the confidence of
> the members. I am sure that their loyalty to the
> CCF is unimpaired, but I fear that it will take a
> long time to restore the confidence in their
> leaders which is necessary for the success of the
> movement.[10]

According to Irvine, the decision to terminate the organizers, the close the Provincial Office and to cease local organizational activity was made unilaterally without authority.[11] The party failed in the post-1945 period to present itself organizationally and functionally as a credible political party, and that provincial and col... leaders "had better look steadily at our mistakes and rectify them in the days to come, if we are to make the CCF in Alberta the instrument it ought to be."[12]

In an effort to rectify the situation, Irvine restructured the leadership within the party. Nellie Peterson relinquished the Presidency to Robert Carlyle to become Provincial Secretary (a position she held until 1961). New faces were added to the executive: Harold Bronson (an University of Alberta graduate and party organizer in northern Alberta), Roy Jamha (trade union leader), John Liss and John Liebe. Long-standing local party workers such as Sig Lefsrud (Viking) and Joseph Sykes (Calgary) joined the new activists. A rejuvenated Co-operative Commonwealth Youth Movement (CCYM), led by Carol Weenas, was promoted by Irvine, as was the Women's Section of the party. Gone were the old UFA leaders such as Ernie Cook and Henry Young. Irvine noted to David Lewis that the

Alberta party had to concentrate "all available effort in encouraging the young people who are with us to make the appeal for their generation".[13] Roper eventually had to acknowledge that during the five years between 1945 and 1949 organizational work in Alberta had dete riorated. He could not forget that "when Bill [Irvine] left us we had more than three times as many members as we now have and the best organization we ever had."[14]

Despite Irvine's organizational campaigns and drives throughout selected areas of Alberta during 1950 and 1951, party membership and electoral support for the Alberta CCF continued to decline, although not at the same rate as in the late 1940s. These indicators of party strengths (or lack thereof) caused the party to undergo social conflicts and system contradictions. The result of these tensions, involving party supporters, sympathizers, members and leaders, was continued decline in membership and electoral support. It was a vicious circle that tore apart the Alberta CCF i the 1950s.

The Alberta Farmer-Labour Party saw their popular support in provincial elections dwindle from 19.1% in 1948 to 4.3% in 1959.[15] Over a 10-year period party electoral support decreased 77.4%[16] In every sec of the province the electoral support for the Alberta CCF declined over the period. The rate of decline was less in urban than in rural areas, and greatest where the party had hinged its

fundamental support - northern and central Alberta. In the south, CCF support had dwindled from 22% in 1944, 11% in 1948 to 2% in 1952 and 1955 and 1% in 1959. This was largely due to the insufficiency of party organization in the region and the failure to nominate candidates.[17] The party strategically placed most of its resources in central and northern Alberta.

Party membership declined at a steady rate between 1948 and 1959. Between 1949 and 1959, membership in the Alberta CCF decreased from 3 329 to 1 110. Party membership actually increased in 1954 and 1955 due to the influences of Irvine's organizational methods and the provincial election campaign of 1955 and 1959.[18] While the membership loss was discouraging, examination of the statistics reveals that most of the losses occurred during the 1946-1949 period.[19] The membership dropped 74% (a loss of almost 10 000 members, in four years. After 1950, the party lost only 2 219 members. Thus, the Alberta CCF was able to retain the hard-core membership of the party, but it lost individuals who had joined the party at the height of its popularity between 1942 and 1945.

The importance of party membership was highlighted by the adoption of a paid membership fee and the keeping of adequate records by provincial and national offices in 1947. For David Lewis, membership reports became a weather-vane to determine the success or failure of the

party at specific times. However, the membership approach
to party-building was adapted in Alberta by Irvine
connecting local organizational techniques with education
and information. Irvine emphasized providing party members
with educational material and literature to extend their
knowledge of socialism and to keep them involved in the
cause. The membership, because of this strategy, became
more cadre-based than mass-based.

The ramifications of the membership and electoral
decline during the 1950s took their toll on the party
membership and leadership. Sectors within the Alberta CCF
began questioning where the party was headed and whether
current organizational strategies were appropriate.
Questioning of party-building approaches led to questioning
party policy, accelerating the divisions between the left
and right wings of the Alberta CCF and causing social
conflict and structural dysfunction.

The return of Irvine to Alberta also coincided with
the renewal of protracted struggle between the left and
right within the party. According to the leftists, the
setbacks of 1948 and 1949 were proof to some within the CCF
of the disastrous results of recent right-wing shifts of
the party. It was necessary to transform the party into
"an aggressive fighting force promulgating a new society
and economic doctrine with vigour and persistence."[20] The
attempts of federal and provincial leaders, such as David

Lewis, Angus MacInnis, Roper and M.J. Coldwell, to lead the party to the right to placate elements within Canadian society who would never accept socialism would result in complete oblivion for the party.[21] The traditionalist argument that election defeats were suffered because of the cold war was rejected as defeatist by leftists who argued that organizational deficiencies had to be blamed. By August 1950, the debate on party policies and organizational tactics resulted in the formation of "Socialist Fellowship" in British Columbia.[22] Colin Cameron and Rod Young's socialist faction within the British Columbia CCF was eventually disciplined and expelled by the party, but not before attracting sympathy and support from other provincial CCF groupings.

At the end of the 1940s, criticism of the CCF's foreign policy began creeping into the party press, alarming provincial and federal leaders. Roper's concerns over articles in the People's Weekly by Walter Mentz and Jack Griffin attacking the foreign policy of the CCF National Council convinced the 1948 provincial annual convention in Calgary to adopt two general policy resolutions, one guiding the provincial leadership in policy formulation, the other restricting the editorial comments in the People's Weekly. In both cases, CCF speakers and writers were requested to "bring constantly to the attention of the public" conceptions supporting

"democratic co-operative socialism" and opposing monopoly capitalism and communism.[23] Moreover, the editorial policy stipulated that the purpose of the Alberta CCF press was to "interpret and give publicity to the program and philosophy of the CCF". No material could be published in the People's Weekly in letters to the editor or contributions, "in conflict with this purpose."[24] The provincial leadership, consisting of Roper, Jack Cook and Jack King, was increasingly concerned about the image being projected by the Alberta CCF through the People's Weekly in the midst of hostility towards the Soviet Union, communism and socialism.[25]

The beginning of the Korean War in 1950, the debate over t   .lission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, and the issue of collective security provided fertile ground for leftists within the CCF to attack the moderates within the national and provincial leadership. While Coldwell and Lewis believed that important international issues had to be discussed by the party's rank and file, they were more concerned about attacks by Mentz in the party press.[26] The National Executive wanted firmer control by the Alberta leadership over editorial comments, and the Provincial Executive assumed the powers of editorial board of the People's Weekly.[27]

The Alberta CCF Executive, controlled by the left, was

not prepared, however, to act as censor in the manner that Lorne Ingle desired. By 1951, the national party leadership had become dissatisfied with the lack of control exerted on the editorial policy. Although a resolution was passed by the Provincial Board authorizing the Provincial Executive to undertake some form of censorship, leniency was practiced. On the one hand, the National Council noted that only by "the fullest possible discussion can the democratic process be made fully effective.. [for] the well being and the progress" of the CCF".[28] Walter Mentz, on the other hand, disagreed with the CCF foreign policy and felt that he "should be free to express his views with a view to influencing those who are now enshrouded in darkness."[29]

The national party leadership was concerned that, with the "Socialist Fellowship" crisis becoming worse in British Columbia, the Alberta party would not accept restrictions. Under subtle pressure from the National Executive, the Provincial Board approved the editorial guidelines adopted by the National Council and previous provincial conventions on 7 April 1951.[30] Statements and correspondence from national leaders made it clear to the Provincial Board that the national leadership was not going to tolerate deviation. According to Lorne Ingle,

> It is one thing to have freedom of discussion through the policy-making channels of the CCF, i.e. local clubs, constituency, provincial and national conventions, and quite another to have

> what amounts to anarchy in presenting the CCF
> viewpoint to the public through the columns of
> publicly-circulated CCF papers and through the
> statements of CCF spokesmen on the platform.[31]

The editorial policy adopted by the National Executive

provided that provincial councils and executives were

responsible for taking necessary measures to ensure that

the editorial policy in CCF provincial papers "express

national and provincial policy." Coldwell and Ingle

reserved the right to bring to the attention of the

provincial convention failures of the provincial leaders to

observe the policy.[32] Ingle warned Roper and the Alberta

CCF leadership that the National Executive

> will simply not tolerate the development in
> Alberta of any situation comparable to that which
> arose in B.C. Action should have been taken
> there promptly to deal with dissidents instead of
> letting the matter drag on until it has sapped
> nearly all the strength out of the
> organization.[33]

Discussion over the CCF foreign policy continued

unabated in the press throughout 1951 and 1952. To defuse

any rank and file dissent, the Provincial Executive

approved the formation of a provincial foreign affairs

committee to solicit opinions from the membership and to

prepare a report for the 1951 provincial convention.[34] The

committee was slanted towards the left, and the report

delivered to the Provincial Council in November testified

to that ideological orientation.[35] Committee member John

Liebe submitted to the Provincial Board in March 1951

suggestions for the "reorientation of the CCF program on

international affairs". He noted that

> the present stand of the CCF on foreign affairs
> can not be reconciled with the Regina Manifesto.
> Unqualified support of the Marshall Plan, the
> European recovery program and the Atlantic Act
> [NATO] amounts to neglect of an international
> socialist program. Our program on foreign
> affairs needs reorientation; it must be brought
> into line with our ideals in the domestic
> field.[36]

Discussion of the party's foreign policy had to be carried out within local discussion and study groups, and in "our party press to educate our membership so it will endorse ... a program on international affairs that applies our ideals to the international scene."[37] Other members of the committee had the same concerns as Liebe that free discussions had to be held within the press.[38]

In the discussion relating to the foreign policy committee's recommendations, Roper believed that he was losing editorial control of the People's Weekly. Although the Provincial Board had gone on record as endorsing the national editorial policy, Irvine had promised Liebe total access to the People's Weekly for discussion of foreign policy.[39] Given this situation, after the adoption of the foreign affairs report at the 1951 convention, Roper began making plans for the cessation of the People's Weekly. At a meeting of the Provincial Executive in October 1952, the party press was terminated and incorporated into The Commonwealth, published in Saskatoon.[40] Although financial problems were said to be the reason for the dissolution of

the _People's Weekly_, the failure of Roper to assert editorial control over the press was the underlying motivation.

The debate over CCF foreign policy, which Roper believed should never have affected the Alberta CCF, became increasingly personalized in the early 1950s. For Roper and Ingle, Walter Mentz and Irvine represented the fundamental obstacles to normalized relations within the party. Mentz was described as "openly advocating a fellow-travellerish [sic] line" doing his best to "undermine CCF foreign policy and giving aid and comfort to the willy-minded [sic] fellow travellers we unfortunately have in our midst."[41] Mentz believed that Roper, Ingle and the rest of the national party leadership, were "toadying to U.S. capitalism."[42] Roper had no illusions as to the left-wing viewpoints of Irvine and Mentz. After dealing with them on a day-to-day level, he counselled the National Council to be prepared to take immediate action "when the Communist-line began [sic] to manifest itself in articles by Bill and Walter."[43] The Alberta leftists were, according to Lorne Ingle, "skating on thin ice."[44]

The internal debate on foreign policy between the establishment and the leftists affected the organizational and structurational parameters of the Alberta CCF. Lorne Ingle observed that the policy debate was not part of the "general decline" of the CCF nationally.[45] The

difficulties of the Alberta CCF were not due to Alberta's

unique political climate, but rather to the

> pessimistic outlook which Bill [Irvine] and
> Nellie [Peterson] have at the moment and which is
> due perhaps chiefly to the international
> situation.... it must surely reflect itself in
> the work they do. I don't know how they can
> stimulate organization, bring in membership, sell
> subscriptions or arouse any enthusiasm in what I
> judge to be their present mood.[46]

Ingle believed that the Alberta CCF was "a bit ingrown" and

needed fresh organizational blood from elsewhere.[47] The

leftists' obsession with international affairs was having a

negative impact on organization. Ingle cited Peterson as

noting that the "people of Alberta were simply not

interested in provincial or national issues because they

were so perturbed at international events."[48] Roper

understood, however, that while the leftists' preoccupation

with international issues had resulted in pessimism,

> the cold, blunt fact is that nearly everybody,
> including very many C.C.F. supporters, are
> satisfied with the present government. There is
> not the slightest chance of any gain and our
> people know it. So they can't be roused to put
> any effort into the movement.[49]

On the other hand, there were justifiable criticisms

of the way the party establishment had denied open

discussion of party policy, both at provincial and federal

conventions and in the party press. Bronson, then

organizer in the Jasper-Edson region, warned party leaders

that "unless there are marked changes in trend within the

CCF" he would not stand for nomination.[50] He accused the

party leadership of abandoning "original democratic practice to the extent that there is misuse of influence and position, as per old-line party techniques, to steamroller leadership opinions into policy and strategy."[51] This process had resulted in a modification of CCF program, organization and presentation in a manner

> to pander to existing capitalistic-minded public opinion rather than to educate the public to our own basic philosophy. Under pressure, lip-service only is paid to the Regina Manifesto. In actual practice, a CCF government elected today in Edmonton or Ottawa would be a repeat of Brownlee or Ramsay MacDonald.[52]

The Party in Crisis, 1956-1961: Structurational Contradiction

The crisis that brought together the social conflict between the leftists and rightists within the Alberta CCF and the system contradiction between the cadre and mass conceptions of party-building was sparked by the visit by Irvine and four other leaders (Harold Bronson, Floyd Johnson, Otto Wobick and B.C. Tanner) of the Alberta CCF to the Soviet Union in July-August 1956.[53] The trip, made without National CCF approval, was significant because of the repercussions of several controversial comments that Irvine made inside the Soviet Union, and which were used against the CCF in Canada. The national CCF forced the right-wing leadership within the Alberta CCF, headed by Roper and Ivor Dent to discipline the Irvine and the leftists. The controversy over Irvine's statements and the

struggle to remove him from power as party president almost resulted in the withdrawal of a significant minority of CCF leaders and members from the party. Had that split occurred organizationally and structurally, the Alberta CCF would have been permanently destroyed, and the chances for a rejuvenated Alberta NDP dashed.

The visit to the Soviet Union by the five leaders in July 1956 was recognized by national CCF leaders as having serious ramifications. The group would be regarded by the Canadian press and the Soviet authorities as an official delegation of the Alberta CCF to the Soviet Union. Before the trip commenced, Roper managed to obtain from Irvine a guarantee that the group would say or do nothing to jeopardize the party.[54]

The purpose of the visit was to determine the chances of world war, to investigate the possibilities for increased trade and compare and analyze the different political systems.[55] The tour was not "a pilgrimage to Moscow" but rather an opportunity to investigate and compare the state of society and government of "capitalist-democratic" western Europe, "socialist-democratic" Scandinavia and communist Eastern Europe.[56] Bronson, noted that it was the duty of responsible officials of a political party to "know the facts."[57] This implied that Bronson and Irvine intended to act in their capacity as executive officers of the Alberta CCF.

Once in the Soviet Union, the Alberta group was given first-class treatment by Ukrainian and Russian officials. Meetings were arranged with local trade unionists, city leaders and Communist Party officials. Throughout the visit, the Soviet press saw the group as social-democratic party leaders. In Kiev and Moscow, Irvine made statements that were transcribed by TASS and published in _Pravda_ and _Ivestiia_.[58] While visiting the opening of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, Irvine noted that the Soviet legislature was "a remarkable example of democracy in action."[59] The item was translated for the _Moscow Daily News_, picked up by Reuters in London, rerouted to Canadian Press in Toronto and published in Canadian newspapers.[60] The appearance of Irvine's statement on the "democratic nature" of the Soviet legislature "matched by few Parliaments in other democratic countries" stunned CCF leaders. Coldwell, in a press release, denied that Irvine had made the statements.[61] While other comments were reported in the Soviet Press by Irvine and Bronson, according to the national party leaders the damage had already been done.[62]

David Lewis and Lorne Ingle sought to have Irvine investigated by the National Council and disciplinary action taken.[63] This was difficult because Irvine was a respected elder in the party and had considerable rank and file support in western Canada.[64] A purge of the Alberta party, contemplated by Ingle, would have resulted in a

"major schism" leading to the destruction of the Alberta party.[65] Ingle finally recommended that Irvine be removed as Provincial President and organizer by the provincial leadership.[66]

In Alberta, a significant minority within the party leadership, including Jack Leavens, Edmonton CCF Secretary, and Ivor Dent, Provincial Treasurer, agitated for Irvine's resignation.[67] A special meeting of the Provincial Board was called to handle the leadership crisis as quickly and quietly.[68] A personal meeting between Roper and Irvine to resolve the crisis at the beginning of September only intensified the crisis. The personal and political relationship between the two provincial leaders came to an abrupt end with neither Irvine nor Roper attempting to back down from their stated positions.[69]

Despite continued pressures from the National Council to intervene in the crisis to submit Irvine and Bronson to party discipline, Roper continued to uphold provincial autonomy.[70] Throughout, Lorne Ingle did not let Roper question the motives of the national party leadership. The crucial issue was "whether or not the Board is prepared to have the officers of the CCF in this province make use of the facilities of the movement as a medium for the dissemination of pro-Soviet information." A statement to this effect was prepared for adoption by the Provincial Board. Any official or member who disagreed with it would

be asked to resign from the Alberta CCF. As with the "Socialist Fellowship", Lorne Ingle and Roper were preparing the groundwork for mass expulsion from the Alberta party.[71]

On the other side, Irvine and Bronson were unprepared to back down in the face of organizational pressure from the provincial leader and the National Council. In a letter to Norman Finnemore, Irvine noted that

> ... there does not appear to be any valid reason why anyone should have taken objection to our visiting Russia. Indeed, we should have been sent as a C.C.F. delegation. But it seems as if our leaders, in particular, have soaked up American propaganda like sponges and when one impinges on their prejudices they ooze poison like a Dulles.
> You may be interested to know that we are all on trial before the provincial board which meets on November 10th. This was inspired by Mr. Roper, who I believe is acting under the urgings of Coldwell and Lorne Ingle. So we are prepared for western-style liquidation.[72]

On 10 November 1956, the Provincial Board met to discuss Roper's request for disciplinary action against Irvine.[73] After protracted debate, the Board decided not to continue with the charges against Irvine. Irvine remained as President with no disciplinary action taken against him. The meeting was "somewhat inconclusive" and the emotional factor was a dominating feature, as Roper feared.[74] It was clear from the statements delivered at the Board meeting and from the results that Irvine, Bronson and Peterson had scored a victory over the National Executive.

Immediately after the Provincial Board meeting, a number of young party leaders, who had supported Roper in his efforts, met at the Corona Hotel in Edmonton to plan an open revolt. Headed by Provincial Treasurer Ivor Dent, the group included a number of leaders within the party such as Bert Ryan, John Liss and Jack Leavens.[75] The group requested that their party membership be transferred from the Alberta CCF to a another provincial body. Dent felt that to

> remain with this party in the province of Alberta would be tantamount to endorsing the action of our provincial triumvirate (Irvine, Bronson, Peterson) and the leadership given can only result in continued defeat at the provincial polls. I have a strong desire to remain in the C.C.F. but when a group of "leaders" of a political movement proceed to perform a series of actions deliberately designed to split off the majority of the present members and to replace them with a non-thinking rabble whose thoughts (if any) follow the "party line", then it is time to reassess one's personal position and to take steps to correct it.[76]

A new political party was needed in Alberta that was interested in "getting votes and not in trying to place party members in political cold storage." The present party leadership had no conception of the methods required to win political support. Dent suggested that the actions of the current leadership were tantamount to destroying the CCF in Alberta and that the situation was desperate enough to suggest either a constitutional split or the establishment of a new party.[77] Dent believed that his group could bring into existence "in a very short time" a

faction that would be a more "potent political force (than the present organization)."[78]

The National Executive, although they strongly disagreed with decision of the Provincial Board to exonerate Irvine, understood that Dent's actions were "not the way to handle the matter." There could not be two rival CCF organizations in any province.[79]

The leadership crisis of 1956 affected political and organizational work throughout the party. Until the situation in Edmonton was resolved, little work could be done at various party levels. Party members themselves were not unaffected by the crisis. Both the National and Provincial Offices began receiving letters from CCF members and supporters in Alberta expressing their concerns about the crisis. John Milner, an old CCF member in Edmonton, wrote Coldwell a long "anguished" letter in November about the situation. He noted that the "virus of pro-Communism that has destroyed the CCF in Alberta" was working in other provinces and would "annul any effort of those who support democracy to remove pro-Communist infiltration."[80] According to John Milner, the crisis in Alberta had been accumulating for 17 years ever since 1939. The party's leadership had changed drastically with moderates being replaced arbitrarily by those ideologically aligned with Irvine and Peterson. The provincial leaders

> by ordinary political trickery have established
> themselves in a position of direction and control

from which only a complete exposure can remove them.[81]

He cited cases where the Alberta leftists attempted to extend their power base in expectation of a purge by taking over local leadership positions.[82] Other members of the party sided with Irvine and his attempts to bring to the fore debate on party policy and organization.

The repercussions of the crisis began to affect Irvine mentally and he slipped quietly into the background. The national leadership was still concerned about the activities of Peterson and Bronson. In December 1956, Lorne Ingle held a private meeting with them about the party crisis. Their statements on the internal crisis shocked the National Secretary:

> I had almost to pinch myself to be sure that what
> I was hearing was real, that it was coming from
> prominent C.C.F.'ers [sic] and that this was
> really Peterson in front of me. Nellie and
> Harold did a better job of excusing the Russian
> brutality in Hungary than anything I have read in
> the Commie [sic] press or have heard coming from
> Moscow. They referred to the refugees as rats
> who were really fascists, had started the
> fighting and were now running away instead of
> facing the music. They spoke with scorn of the
> Social Democrats who had been maltreated behind
> the iron curtain, who had plotted with fascist
> elements and who got what was coming to them. At
> one point Nellie, in discussing the coming
> federal election spoke of the good prospects in
> Vegreville and said "There are a thousand
> communist votes in that riding which we cannot
> afford to offend".[83]

The national leadership was also concerned by the extent to which prominent Alberta CCF leaders had deviated from the social democratic path. To settle the crisis definitely

and to keep the Alberta CCF from sliding into oblivion, the
National Secretary urged the right-wing dissidents "to move
in, to take greater responsibility and a much more active
role, and clean up the situation themselves."[84] He singled
out a number of individuals as future leaders of the party:
Ivor Dent, Robert Wright, Neil Reimer and Bert Ryan.[85]
Elmer Roper himself, after losing his seat in the 1955
provincial election, withdrew paving the way for young
leaders.

Roper's withdrawal from the leadership left a vacuum
that was soon filled by more neutral and moderate people.
The threat by the dissidents to set up a rival CCF
organization evaporated. The National Executive never
sanctioned this independent approach to internal party
crisis. Their solution was simpler and neater. Beginning
at the leadership level and extending downward through the
ranks, the leftists would be replaced by younger moderates.
Irvine was chosen to be Honorary President of the Party, a
titular position. Peterson and Bronson were slowly edged
out by the upwardly mobile Neil Reimer and Ivor Dent.
Provincial leadership on an interim basis was provided by
Stanley Ruzychi and Floyd Johnson. The party would be
rejuvenated by an influx of new urbanized leaders with a
distinct trade union background. The group that threatened
to split away from the CCF and set up a rival organization
in Alberta took over the leadership in the period leading

to the inauguration of the Alberta New Democratic Party in 1962. Moreover, towards the end of the 1950s the new party movement in Alberta included a number of individuals that became prominent leaders in the party. Included in this group were labour leaders such as Henry Tomnaschuck, Roy Jamha, Ivor Dent, Howard Mitchell, Jim Russell, Jack Hampson and Neil Reimer, and young student leaders such as Keith Wright, Edward Chudyk and Grant Notley.

The Alberta CCF, faced with electoral and membership decline throughout the 1950s, an increasingly hostile population susceptible to media influences concerning communism and socialism, the resurgence of the Liberal Party, and a divisive internal debate over foreign policy, organizational strategies and conceptions of the party, underwent a structurational dysfunction. The party disintegrated.

Chapter VI

Conclusion: Towards an Historical Ontology of
Political Parties: The Case of the
CCF in Alberta

The examination of the Alberta Co-operative

Commonwealth Federation from its inception in 1932 through

to its collapse in the late 1950s centres around an

understanding of this political party as a social

institution, structured and restructured through the

determined and persistent involvement of individuals and

groups of individuals. It is clear, however, that any

discussion of the CCF in Alberta must include reference to

the other great social institution of the 1930s – the

Social Credit League of Alberta. The three significant

works on this phenomenon are C.B. Macpherson's Democracy in

Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System (1953), John

Irving's The Social Credit Movement in Alberta (1959) and

David Laycock's Populism and Democratic Thought in the

Canadian Prairies, 1910-1945 (1990). Closely associated

with the first two works is Seymour Lipset's Agrarian

Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in

Saskatchewan (1950). All four works present a dominant

interpretation in Canadian historical tradition – Social

Credit and the CCF are populist social movements instead of

political parties.

Within the CCF historiographical tradition, Walter

Young and Leo Zakuta presents the Co-operative Commonwealth

Federation as a social movement in the throes of becoming a political party.[1] Only Dean McHenry sees the CCF as it really was, from an institutional perspective - a political party.[2] The difficulties of following the "protest becalmed" tradition has been examined elsewhere.[3] The populist movement tradition in historical and political writing is one that is fundamentally North American in origin. It rests upon several assumptions about the dangers of party politics and organization. It makes a basic assumption that movements are good and parties are bad. Even when movements become institutionalized, organizationally and functionally, as political parties, as in the case of the CCF, there appears to be an unquestioned understanding of the oligarchical nature of political parties in terms of organizational and institutional frameworks, functions and operations. Certainly political parties are structured and functions differently than social movements, but the definitions applied to each category may obscure more similarities than differences. Walter Young's definition of a political party as an organization committed primarily to winning elections in order to control the government as opposed to a social movement which is a group effort to inaugurate changes in thought, behaviour and social relationships, suggests an preordained theoretical bias.[4] Moreover, even when concepts and analogies are employed that suggests that a

political party exists, historians tend to stamp these organizational, functional and structural factors as essential to the development of a social movement. In John Irving's Social Credit Movement in Alberta, great detail is given on the strategies and tactics utilized in the path to political action and power. Analysis of the modern political party clearly suggests that the elements which made up Social Credit in the 1930s were those of any modern political party. Yet, Irving, Laycock and Macpherson continue to regard Social Credit as a social movement. Laycock suggests that the anti-party conception was instrumental in the formation of both Social Credit (plebiscitarian populism) and the CCF (social democratic populism).[5] But with the latter a contradiction appears between what the CCF was supposed to be and what it was - a political party. Even Laycock admits that the CCF "was a party that 'dared not speak its name' in its early years on the prairies."[6] He goes on to reiterate CCF documents that the "new movement's federated character" was a logical extension of previous agrarian and labour organizations, but "not a political party such as the two traditional parties."[7] Citing electoral and strategic attempts to forge united fronts with Social Credit, Communists and other political groupings, Laycock concludes that "no self-respecting party would have engaged in such political follies, temporary as they were."[8] It is quite possible

that Laycock misinterprets the original conceptualization of the CCF - it would not be a political party like the Liberals or Conservatives, but it would be a **new** type of political party. Following William Irvine's conceptualizations of a group government, the Alberta CCF was intended to become not an unitary political party but a group party.[9] Even Laycock acknowledges that there was a widespread recognition of the "need for a party as a political instrument of social change."[10]

Alternative hypotheses surrounding the emergence of the CCF and Social Credit in the 1930s require a theoretical reorientation in looking at documentary evidence and ordering it in a manner that will reflect upon the social forms, institutions, functions and structures which existed within those two political entities. A reexamination of sociological concepts such as organizational institutionalization, structure, functions and evolution needs to be conducted. Moreover, a shift in perspectives, from the macro to the micro level of analysis, from the collective to the individual, and from the centre to the periphery of an organization may reveal insights in to whether or not Social Credit or the CCF were what they were supposed to be.

The Alberta CCF was a social system composed of individual actors and actresses who were cognizant and aware of political and social realities. Collectively

these "actors and actresses" formed the basis of party structures and functions, through which the party operated as a social unit in an external environment. The study of the CCF involved the study of conditions governing the continuity, change or dissolution of the party as a social system. As a social system, the CCF had to be studied in terms of the relationships between individuals and groups of individuals.

The Alberta CCF was historically continuous as a social unit. It was the result of the reproduction of specific social relations between individuals and groups of individuals throughout the 1920s. The structure, functions, programme, policies, bureaucratically defined positions and tasks, rules and regulations, and day-to-day mechanics of party building were the result of previous productions of social relations within a political framework. The individuals who were the party came with specific conceptualizations of what the Alberta CCF was supposed to be, how it should function within an external environment, and how it should be reproduced organizationally and structurally. By the 1950s, when these preconceived conceptualizations failed to be reproduced as expected social conflicts developed between sets of individuals. This led to a structurational dysfunction - a contradiction between two or more sets of social reproductions. On the one hand were those within

the Alberta CCF who saw the party as a fabianistic-
socialist enterprise linking grass-roots cadres together.
On the other hand were those who saw the party as a mass
membership vehicle for political power. Both had different
conceptualizations of the opposite group. Elmer Roper,
Ivor Dent and Grant Notley saw the Alberta radicals as the
"7th Street Bridge Clique".[11] To Notley, the leftists had
given up on political activity and had become a debating
society.[12] The leftists wanted to construct an ideal
socialist political party. In shifting policy and
organizational parameters, national and provincial leaders
were accused of sacrificing the CCF to petty political
considerations. Ultimately the Alberta CCF contained
inherent contradictions, inherited from previous
structurations of the UFA and CLP, that caused significant
social crisis and system dysfunction in the late 1940s and
1950s. It was a party divided within itself.

The Alberta Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was a
failure, not from a political point of view, but from a
structural and organizational perspective. The
circumstances which permitted the party's structuration and
development throughout the early 1930s was not unique,
compared with other democratic socialist parties, but the
circumstances surrounding its continued structuration in
the latter 1930s, 1940s and 1950s led to disunity and
contradiction within the party. This ultimately led to the

political isolation and insignificance of the party in the external political and electoral environment. It is a contention of this thesis that, given a completely different structuration process - one more solidifying - the Alberta CCF, as a party of the left, could have challenged more directly the hegemony of Social Credit in the 1940s and 1950s. In the final analysis, the "rise and fall" of the Alberta CCF between 1932 and 1962 had little to do with the political orientation of Albertans, or the historical assumption that parties of the left could not survive in such a right-wing populist province. There is fundamentally no difference between Alberta and Saskatchewan in terms of political culture. However the structuration process of the Saskatchewan CCF was substantially different than that of its Alberta counterpart.

The situation which allowed for the formation of the Alberta CCF in the early 1930s, before the ascension of Social Credit, benefitted the developmental and structuration process of the party. It was an organic and structural union of several political parties and forces, each with different developmental histories, leadership and aligned membership. Slowly, but surely, the structuration process provided for the "weaning" away of old organizational attachments from the UFA, CLP and DLP towards the CCF. At a certain point, it was expected, the

CCF would replace the existing progressive parties as the united front party of the left in Alberta. However, by 1935 this process had become stuck by specific structurational deficiencies present in the UFA. Faced with double loyalties, some CCF leaders such as Norman Priestley and Henry Garland, prevented the ongoing process to continue by refusing to sanction the formation of alternative membership bodies in addition to the established affiliates. Progressive leaders within the CLP, such as Mary Crawford and Walter Mentz, understood that the process had to continue and thus promoted the development of a General Membership Section within the CLP. It was this section which ultimately became the CCF Clubs section after 1935. By the federal and provincial elections of 1935 the structuration process had been halted because of the untenable relationship between Social Credit and the UFA. The failure of UFA, CCF and CLP leaders to truly estimate the power and momentum of Social Credit damaged the organizational and structural potential of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Alberta.

The political dynamics in Alberta between 1935 and 1952 indicated that the Alberta CCF could have developed into a much fuller and potentially more powerful political opposition party to Social Credit. The failure of the CCF to do so hinged more on its organizational and structural deficiencies than on its politics. Despite the

establishment of a clubs section in 1935, the
structurational deficiencies which appeared before the
elections continued to plagued the party. Only with the
removal of the UFA in 1939 and the amalgamation with the
CLP in 1942 was the party able to come into its own,
structurally, organizationally and politically. The
process which led up to the creation of the Alberta Farmer-
Labour Party (Alberta CCF) bears more crucial examination.
It is significant that, although there was a high level of
leadership integration between the UFA, CLP and CCF, there
was a low social integration at the membership level.
Thus, while the structuration process resulted in systems
integration (UFA and CLP into the CCF), social integration
was minimal. If UFA and CLP members were following their
leaders into the CCF, where were they going? Voting
patterns seem to suggest that there was a high level of
voting instability in terms of party identification between
1935 and 1952. It was not uncommon for many Albertans to
vote for Social Credit in 1935, shift allegiance to the
Independents in 1940, then to CCF in 1944 and finally to
the Liberals in 1952. Perhaps it was not so much one of
political identification as organizational satisfaction and
awareness that made voters shift their electoral allegiance
from one party to another. This assumption, which remains
to be analyzed, makes the Alberta political environment
more volatile than previously believed.

The pressures on the leadership and membership of the Alberta CCF between 1942 and 1945 were intense from an organizational and structural point of view. The sudden attractiveness of the party increased membership from 4,000 to 12,000 in two years with little organizational preparedness. More significantly, the reluctance of the party to consummate an electoral alliance with the Labour Progressive Party in 1944-45 meant that significant left-wing support migrated to Social Credit. The loss of strong leadership, such as William Irvine and Chester Ronning, left the Alberta CCF in the hands of leaders with strong UFA connections. Elmer Roper, preoccupied with a printing business and a legislative career, could not put his efforts into continued organizational and structural work. Thus the party decayed between 1945 and 1949, lost three-quarters of its membership and organizationally dwindled to a centralized party office with outreach concerns extending no more than one hundred miles beyond Edmonton. The return of William Irvine in 1949 sparked renewed interest in organizational development, but the decay suffered in the late 1940s could not be reversed. The party divided into two sections, each of which blamed the other for the structurational decline. The development of the New Party had to begin with a clean break from the older party and with a newer structurational process.

This thesis understands that the marxist conception

that political parties, like other political and social
institutions, are the product of social, political and
intellectual life based fundamentally and foundationally on
the relations of production, has remained the predominant
ontological hindrance to the study of political parties as
social units. To fulfil the ontological premise,
historical and political scientists have denigrated the
role of individuals and primary social relations within
political parties to a macroscopic analysis of party and
electoral systems.

Analyses of political parties of the left tend to
emphasize structure and functions as if they were two
independent variables operating in a common system. Such
analysis does allow for cross-party comparisons and
examinations of party systems in a given space and time,
but hardly does justice to the basic conceptualization of
the political party as a conglomerate of interests,
realities and beliefs.

This thesis has raised a number of ontological
questions and concerns regarding the history of the Alberta
CCF that must be discussed. Primarily, an ontological
conception of the structural and functional elements of the
party ascribes a distinct priority to a given set of
structural factors or properties which are deemed to be of
fundamental importance in these institutions. Structures
and positions are more important than the individuals who

inhabit them. Despite the fact that these structures, functions and instituti   ithin the organization of the political party may exhibit a certain degree of historical variation over time, the conceptual priorities focusing attention on them serve as a theoretical restraint upon this analysis. The CCF has been seen fundamentally within the historical literature as an institution possessing the same set of structures and functional forms as other political parties, but not necessarily in the same space or time. This makes it easier for all political parties to be examined in relationship to each other as in a system. This approach seriously limits the perspectives.

The second problem emanating from an ontological definition of political parties leads to an ordering of factors which are considered generically fundamental to the evolution of these institutions. The accepted definition of political parties separates it from other forms of social organizations and institutions which either precede or follow political parties in an evolutionary framework (i.e. movements and super-parties). This allows observers to consciously or subconsciously rank political parties in terms of their state or stage of evolutionary growth. Described as a historical approach, this analysis suggests an ontological premise attached to the study of political parties. In the case of the CCF this historiographical tradition emphasizes the "protest becalmed" approach in

which the CCF evolves from a political movement to a political party. Acceptance of this interpretation, or even consideration of the methodology limits the comprehensiveness of the party.

Structurational theory accepts that political parties, conceptualized as societies, may be examined in terms of their differentiation. Every political party is distinct in terms of its structure, functional arrangements and organization. These factors change significantly over time and space, thereby making comparisons more difficult. An acceptance of these factors as historically valid tends to develop the basis for a theory of institutional alignment in any and all political parties. Hierarchical or evolutionary ranking is an empirical problem that defaces many studies of political parties.

The examination of political parties, such as the Alberta CCF, as social institutions, from a structural and functional point-of-view is historical in that one tends to look backwards at any point in that institution's history. This, connected with an historical consciousness of technological progress and evolution, observes that the party has been changed, transformed, evolved, or progressed. This perspective is illusionary since certain subconscious assumptions have been made about the direction and extent of change over time. Observing the structural properties of a political party from a position in the past

looking forward (i.e. examining the CCF of the 1950s from a 1920s vantage-point) will demonstrate discontinuities in societal and organizational forms. Some structural and functional elements may appear in the future or past organizations as familiar to the observer, but these act as bench-marks or psychological terms of reference in order to guarantee an historical orientation.

The fundamental ontological premise of structurational theory applied to political parties is the respect for the human potential to generate historically specific variations in the institutions of social life. There will be disagreements about the nature of human conduct within historically defined organizations, such as political parties, but such debates must remain rooted in an analysis of social life.

Political parties are not rigid institutional organizations which impose their functions and structures upon leaders, activists, members and supporters. Analysis of this kind leads to a denunciation of the individual and rejection of any contributing social aspects as a role within the organization. It leads moreover to an artificial and stigmatized examination of how political parties interact with each other within a political-party-electoral system, thus treating individual political parties as organic units, evolving structurally and functionally over time, independent of social influences.

It is far easier, at an empirical and epistemological
level, to make certain assumptions about how political
parties, such as the Alberta CCF, operate within a macro-
system (i.e. Alberta political culture) than it is to
examine the motivations, roles and participation-
interaction (consciously or unconsciously) of individuals
within political parties.

The study of a political party, such as the Alberta
CCF, as an social unit of study involves a clear
reorientation of research strategies. Assumptions and
presumptions about parties at the outset of research must
be submerged by an understanding of social life at the
basic level within the organization. Connection between
mutual knowledge (and assumptions) and consensus beliefs
must be examined together with an understanding of the role
played by social scientific knowledge in promoting new
points of view.

An examination of the interests of social actors
(acknowledged or unacknowledged) must be considered. A
study of discourse would reveal insights into the workings
of political parties that would have been untouched by
traditional methods of analysis. The application of
critical theory to the study of political parties and
activities remains untried. Political parties were and are
one of the mechanisms through which social change could be
effected. The party represents, within social theory, both

the organizational vehicle of the dialogue for social

change, and the dialogue itself. The party is not an

organization of reality, constructed through the ordering

of social agents, but rather the social product of social

agents who, through their praxis, construct the party as an

expression of their social reality in circumstances

inherited and reproduced from the past. The party, its

institutional forms, structure, functions and modes of

social production and reproduction - structuration - is

nothing more than a localized production of social life.

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CHAPTER I

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4. This is particula y the case with Leo Zakuta, "A Protest Movement Becalmed: A Study of Change in the C.C.F." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1962.

5. See for example, Wilfred Douglas Costain, "Party Competition and the Development of the Canadian Party System, 1908-1972", Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1979; Richard Gregory Johnston, "Party Alignment and Realignment in Canada, 1911-1965", Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1976; Charles Schuetz, "The Party System - The Fundamental Institution of Canadian Democracy", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1961; and Conrad Winn, "Spatial Models of Party Systems: An Examination of the Canadian Case", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972.

6. Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis. Volume 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 61.

7. This is one of two dominant traditions in CCF-NDP historiography. The second is the "protest movement becalmed" tradition.

8. Countering Michels' and Duverger's arguments are the interpretations of Robert McKenzie, Joseph Schumpeter and notably Anthony Downs. Robert T. McKenzie, British Political Parties: The Distribution of Power Within the Conservative and Labour Parties (London: Heinemann, 1963); Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (New York: Harper, 1950); and Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy (New York: Harper, 1957). McKenzie perceives that the political party is primarily responsive to the electorate. Within the larger framework of political culture and competition, the internal workings of a political party are ignored.

9. David E. Apter, "A Comparative Method for the Study of Politics", American Journal of Sociology 64 (November 1958): 221-237.

10. Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society: Framework for Political Enquiry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 169-171.

11. Ibid.

12. Fred Warren Riggs, Administrative Reform and Political Responsiveness: A Theory of Dynamic Balancing (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1970), p. 580.

13. Kenneth Janda, A Conceptual Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Political Parties (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1970), p. 83.

14. Ibid.

15. For example see Geoffrey Pridham, Political Parties and Coalitional Behaviour in Italy (London: Routledge, 1988). The major theorists in the field are Giovanni Sartori [Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis Vol. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1976)] and Angelo Panebianco, Political Parties Organization and Power (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

16. This has also been accepted by Anthony Giddens in his structurational approach.

17. Panebianco, Political Parties: Organization and Power, p. xii.

18. See Feliks Gross, The Revolutionary Party: Essays in the Sociology of Politics (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974).

19. Charles Perrow, Complex Organizations, A Critical Essay (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1986), p. 14.

20. Robert Michels, Political Parties, pp. 400-403.

21. Panebianco, Political Parties: Organization and Power, p. xiii.

22. Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.

23. See Stein Rokkan's Citizens, Elections, Parties. Approaches to the Study of the Processes of Development (Oslo: Universitesforlaget, 1970) for a discussion of studying political parties in isolation. Questions have been raised as to the extent of political modernization in Alberta during the 1930s. The literature on this question has not convinced the author that the province was sufficiently modern politically to deal effectively with untraditional multiple parties.

24. William Crotty, "A Perspective for the Comparative Analysis of Political Parties", Comparative Political Studies 3 (1970): 281. See also Crotty's "The Party Organization and Its Activities" in Approaches to the Study of Party Organization edited by William J. Crotty (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968), pp. 247-306.

25. S. Eldersveld's Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago: McNally, 1964) is typical of this kind of research. Eldersveld rejected Michels' theory of oligarchical control by stressing a diffuse power structure at different levels of command in a party.

26. Some sociographic research has been done on Alberta political parties. See for example Owen Anderson, "The Alberta Social Credit Party: An Empirical Analysis of Membership Characteristics, Participation and Opinion", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972; Frederick Hulmes, "The Senior Executive and the Fifteenth Alberta Legislature: A Study in the Social and Political Background of Membership" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1970.

27. According to Michels, the state bureaucracy is "representative" and receptive to the needs of its people if there is some correspondence between the social origin

of the bureaucrats and the social composition of the
clients.

28. This, according to Panebianco and Sartori, is the
principal cause of intra-party conflict.

29. Panebianco, <u>Political Parties: Organization and Power</u>,
p. 4.

30. This is a considerable teleological problem with the
historical literature of political parties, especially the
CCF and NDP. Party histories, successes or failures, are
interpreted through party objectives. Subsequent actions
and organizational maneuvers are interpreted through this
narrow vision.

31. Histories of socialist and labour parties tend to fall
within this teleological trap. See for example K. L.
Shell, <u>The Transformation of Austrian Socialism</u> (New York:
State University of New York, 1962).

32. Feliks Gross, <u>The Revolutionary Party</u>, p. 75.

33. Some studies of political parties tend to overemphasize
political ideology to the exclusion of all other variables.
Cold war studies of communist parties tended to fall into
this category. Unfortunately, this trend is also
noticeable among new left studies of socialist and
communist parties. See for example Norman Penner's works:
<u>The Canadian Left, A Critical Analysis</u> (Scarborough:
Prentice-Hall, 1977) and <u>Canadian Communism: The Stalin
Years and Beyond</u> (Toronto: Methuen, 1988). A very recent
example of this kind of ideologically motivated analysis is
Paul Le Blanc, <u>Lenin and the Revolutionary Party</u> (Atlantic
Highlands: Humanities Press International, 1990). Various
studies have been written about the historiography of
Communist Parties, especially after the creation of the
History Group within the Communist Party of Great Britain.
See Perry Anderson, "Communist Party History", in <u>People's
History and Socialist Theory</u> edited by Raphael Samuel
(London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 145-156;
Michael E. Brown, "Issues in the Historiography of
Communism: Part One", <u>Socialism and Democracy</u> 4
(Spring/Summer 1987): 7-38; Michael E. Brown, "Issues in
the Historiography of Communism: Part Two: Some Principles
of Critical Analysis", <u>Socialism and Democracy</u> 5
(Fall/Winter 1987): 1-34.

34. The trend existing in the late 1960s held that parties formulated policies in order to win elections, rather than win elections in order to implement policies. This tended to divide political parties into ideologically motivated organizations and power-motivated organizations. See A. Downs, _An Economic Theory of Democracy_ (New York: Harper and Row, 1967); James Schlesinger, "The Primary Goals of Political Parties: A Clarification of Positive Theory", _American Political Science Review_ 69 (1975): 840-849; and David Robertson, _A Theory of Party Competition_ (London: Wiley, 1976).

35. Robert Michels, "Some Reflections on the Sociological Character of Political Parties", _American Political Science Review_ 21 (1927), pp. 753-71. This analogy applies most appropriately to political parties on the left.

36. There is a dichotomy between these two views of political parties. On the one hand, electoral victory was a means to the realization of ideological goals; on the other, ideology is a means to electoral victory.

37. An organization, according to Janda, is "a set of people who interact in pursuit of a common goal, displaying division of labour and role differentiation in their interactions." Janda, _Conceptual Framework_, p. 20. According to Anthony Giddens, an organization is a "large group of individuals, involving a definite set of authority relations." Anthony Giddens, _Sociology_ (London: Polity Press, 1989), p. 727.

38. S. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay", _World Politics_ 17 (April 1965), p. 394.

39. This is the general definition applied by most functional sociologists including Talcott Parsons in _The Structure of Social Action_ (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937), and Peter Blau, _The Dynamics of Bureaucracy_ (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955). The definition of "institution" comes from Blau's later work - _The Structure of Organizations_ by Peter M. Blau and Richard Schoenherr (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 187.

40. Richard Münch, "Parsonian Theory Today: In Search of a New Synthesis" in _Social Theory Today_ edited by Anthony Giddens and Jonathan H. Turner (London: Polity Press, 1987), p. 137.

41. Ibid., p. 133. Functionalists and structuralists differ as to the need for a quasi-theory explaining relationships between purposes, actions and the overall structure.

42. Münch, "Parsonian Theory Today: In Search of a New Synthesis", p. 133.

43. Ira J. Cohen, <u>Structuration Theory: Anthony Giddens and the Constitution of Social Life</u> (New York: Macmillan, 1989), p. 24. See Anthony Giddens, <u>New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies</u> (London: Hutchinson, 1976), pp. 110-113; Anthony Giddens, <u>The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration</u> (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1984), pp. 6-13.

44. Myron Johnson, "The Failure of the CCF in Alberta: An Accident of History?" M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1974.

45. Bruce Monkhouse, "The Alberta New Democratic Party: Survival Without Success" M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1983.

46. Alvin Finkel, "Obscure Origins: The Confused Early History of the Alberta CCF", in <u>Building the Cooperative Commonwealth: Essays on the Democratic Socialist Tradition in Canada</u>, edited by J. William Brennan (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1984), pp. 99-122; "The Rise and Fall of the Labour Party in Alberta, 1917-1942", <u>Labour/Le Travail</u> 16 (Fall 1985): 61-96. Olenka Melnyk, "Dreaming a New Jerusalem in the Land of Social Credit: The Struggles of the CCF in Alberta", in <u>Socialism and Democracy in Alberta: Essays in Honour of Grant Notley</u>, edited by Larry Pratt (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1986), pp. 40-56. Larry Pratt, "Grant Notley: Politics as a Calling", in <u>Socialism and Democracy in Alberta</u>, pp. 1-39. Robin Hunter, "Social Democracy in Alberta From the CCF to the NDP", in <u>Socialism and Democracy in Alberta</u>, pp. 57-87. Frederick C. Engelmann, "Grant Notley and Democracy in Alberta", in <u>Socialism and Democracy in Alberta</u>, pp. 172-185.

47. An introduction to the historiography of the CCF and NDP in Canada can be obtained from Alan Whitehorn's "An Analysis of the Historiography of the CCF-NDP: The Protest Movement Becalmed Tradition", in <u>Building the Co-operative Commonwealth: Essays on the Democratic Socialist Tradition in Canada</u>, pp. 1-24.

48. Dean E. McHenry, <u>The Third Force in Canada: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation 1932-1948</u> (Toronto: Oxford University press, 1950); Frederick C. Engelmann, "The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada: A Study of Membership Participation in Party Policy Maki g", Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1954; Leo Zakuta, <u>A Protest Movement Becalmed: A Study of Change in the CCF</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1964); Ivan Avakumovic, <u>Socialism in Canada</u> (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978); and Walter Young, <u>The Anatomy of A Party: The National CCF, 1932-61</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).

49. According to Clarence Fines, "At our founding convention in Calgary in 1932, we had expected and hoped for more enthusiastic leadership and support from Alberta. At that time the UFA government was in power there and the majority of federal members from Alberta, known as the "ginger group," were UFA members. It appeared certain that Alberta would be the centre from which the CCF would spread to the rest of Canada." Clarence Fines, <u>Impossible Dream</u> (Regina: Saskatchewan Archives Board, nd.) cited in Olenka Melnyk, "Dreaming a New Jerusalem", p. 42.

50. The basic work on Irvine is, of course, Anthony Mardiros' <u>William Irvine: The Life of a Prairie Radical</u> (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1979). See also John Hart, "William Irvine and Radical Politics in Canada" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Guelph, 1972; Mary M. Smith, "The Ideological Relationship Between the United Farmers of Alberta and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation" M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1967; Peter D. Smith, "The United Farmers of Alberta and the Ginger Group: Independent Political Action" M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1973; Leif Stolee, "Parliamentary Career of William Irvine, 1922-1935", M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969.

51. See the studies sponsored by the Social Sciences Research Council under the collective title: "Social Credit in Alberta: Its Background and Development" published between 1950 and 1959 by the University of Toronto Press.

52. Myron Johnson, "The Failure of the CCF in Alberta: An Accident of History?", pp. 136-143.

53. Ibid., p. 138. Emphasis mine.

54. Ibid., p. 139.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., p. 113.

57. Ibid., p. 118. See Bob Hesketh, "The Abolition of Preferential Voting in Alberta" <u>Prairie Forum</u> 12:1 (Spring 1987), pp. 123-145.

58. Johnson, "The Failure of the CCF in Alberta: An Accident of History", p. 120. The Saskatchewan CCF also tempered its "socialism" in its provincial platform in 1936, whereas as late as 1942, the Alberta CCF still maintained "socialization of land" as a policy. Johnson avoids discussing the British Columbia CCF where the party was much more radical than in Alberta.

59. Ibid., p. 127.

60. Monkhouse, "Alberta New Democratic Party", pp. 1-2.

61. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

62. Ibid., p. 4.

63. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

64. Ibid., p. 5.

65. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

66. Ibid., p. 19. Emphasis mine. An important element underscored by both Johnson and Monkhouse is not what the CCF and Social Credit were, but what they appeared to be from the viewpoint of the Alberta electorate.

67. Ibid., p. 26. Emphasis mine.

68. Ibid., p. 27.

69. Ibid., p. 31.

70. Ibid., p. 33.

71. Ibid.

72. See David Elliott, "William Aberhart: Right or Left?", in <u>The Dirty Thirties in Prairie Canada. 11th Western Canada Studies Conference</u> edited by R.D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd., 1973), pp. 11-31; Larry Hannant, "The Calgary Working Class and the Social Credit Movement in Alberta, 1932-35", <u>Labour/Le Travail</u> 16 (Fall 1985): 97-116; and Alvin Finkel, "Alberta

Social Credit Reappraised: The Radical Character of the Early Social Credit Movement", <u>Prairie Forum</u> 11:1 (Spring 1986): 69-86; Alvin Finkel, "Populism and the Proletariat: Social Credit and the Alberta Working Class", <u>Studies in Political Economy</u> 13 (Spring 1984): 109-136.

73. The components of the Alberta CCF in 1933 were the United Farmers of Alberta, the Dominion Labour Party (DLP) and the Canadian Labour Party (CLP). Lethbridge and Calgary sections of the DLP merged into the CLP by 1935, and the Canadian Labour Party instituted a General Membership Section in 1933. The latter became the Clubs Section of the Alberta CCF in 1936.

74. CCF Provincial Office to Margaret Telford, CCF National Office, 4 November 1944. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, Box 5, f. 42.

75. See David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, <u>Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart</u> (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987), pp. 250-265.

76. Finkel, "Alberta Social Credit Reappraised: The Radical Character of the Early Social Credit Movement", p. 81.

77. For a social examination of the membership of the League, see Owen Anderson, "The Alberta Social Credit Party: An Empirical Analysis of Membership, Characteristics, Participation and Opinion" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972).

78. Finkel, "Obscure Origins: The Confused Early History of the Alberta CCF", in <u>"Building the Co-operative Commonwealth"</u>, pp. 99-122.

79. Alvin Finkel, "The Rise and Fall of the Labour Party in Alberta, 1917-42", <u>Labour/Le Travail</u> 16 (Fall 1985): 61-96.

80. Finkel, "Obscure Origins", p. 99.

81. Ibid., p. 99.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., p. 104.

84. Ibid., p. 109.

85. Ibid., p. 109.

86. Ibid., p. 110.

87. Ibid., p. 111.

88. The combined left-wing vote (CCF and LPP) could have succeeded in four constituencies.

89. Finkel, "Obscure Origins", p. 115.

90. Ibid., p. 115.

91. Finkel, "Rise and Fall of the Labour Party", p. 91.

92. Ibid., p. 92.

93. Ibid., p. 94.

94. Olenka Melnyk, "Dreaming a New Jerusalem", p. 43.

95. Ibid., p. 43.

96. Ibid., p. 44.

97. Ibid., p. 49.

98. Ibid., p. 52.

99. Ibid., p. 53.

100. Robin Hunter, "Social Democracy in Alberta: From the CCF to the NDP", p. 57.

101. John Richards and Larry Pratt, Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979).

102. Ibid., pp. 107-8; Hunter, "Social Democracy in Alberta", p. 58.

103. Ibid., p. 59-61.

104. Ibid., p. 59.

105. Larry Pratt, "Grant Notley: Politics as a Calling", pp. 3-9.

106. See T. C. Pocklington, "Intraparty Democracy and the Alberta NDP" in Socialism and Democracy in Alberta, pp. 146-171; and Gurston Dacks, "From Consensus to Competition: Social Democracy and Political Culture in Alberta" in

Socialism and Democracy in Alberta, pp. 186-204.

107. Frederick Engelmann, "Grant Notley and Democracy in Alberta" in Socialism and Democracy in Alberta, pp. 172-186.

108. Ibid., pp. 178-9.

109. The terms "micro" and "macro" are taken from sociology. The debates between macro and micro levels of analysis and sociological approaches are important to the discussions in this thesis. See Collins, Theoretical Sociology for more information on these approaches.

110. The definition of "society" obtained from Anthony Giddens denotes it as a "group of people who live in a particular territory, are subject to a common system of political authority, and are aware of having a distinct identity from other groups around them." Anthony Giddens, Sociology (New York: Polity Press, 1989), p. 732. Moreover, according to Immanuel Wallerstein, human beings are "organized in entities we may call societies, which constitute the fundamental social frameworks within which human life is lived." Immanuel Wallerstein, "World-Systems Analysis" in Social Theory Today (1987), p. 315. Use of the term involves considerable conceptual problems because of its restrictiveness and concreteness. Today, however, social and marxist theories have redefined the term to imply the basic social entities within which social life is conducted.

111. Structuration theory has been summarized by Cohen, Structuration Theory (1989).

112. Giddens, Constitution of Society, p. 2.

113. Ibid., p. 3.

114. Anthony Giddens, Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis (London: Macmillan, 1979), pp. 56-8.

115. Giddens, Constitution of Society, p. 16.

116. Ibid., p. 25.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER II

1. W.N. Smith, "The Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the UFA", The U.F.A. February 1, 1933, p. 6.

2. The idea of group government was an early extension of the reproduction of farmer-labour political co-operation. According to William Irvine in The Farmers in Politics (1920), "When the representatives of the various industrial groups meet around one common government table, each with his, or her, responsibility, both to the group and to the nation as a whole, cooperation will open the door to a new era of Canadian liberty." Quotation from Alvin Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 19.

3. A good example is the refusal of the UFA government in 1926, led by John E. Brownlee, to incorporate into the cabinet a member of the Labour group in the legislature. However, relationships between the UFA caucus and the Labour caucus extended beyond institutional practices, such as those instituted in 1921.

4. For a summary of these events, see Martin Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour 1890-1930 (Kingston: Industrial Relations Centre, 1968), pp. 83-87. See also the Calgary Herald December 14 to 17, 1907.

5. Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 89.

6. Calgary Herald December 14, 1907.

7. Calgary Albertan December 16, 1907.

8. Calgary Herald, December 17, 1907. According to F.G. Kiyit of Cooking Lake, "the adoption of the platform under the name [Socialist Party of Alberta] would be too destructive among the farmers. They have been educated to look upon socialism as something akin to anarchy." Ibid., December 16, 1907.

9. The history of labour in Alberta, especially the labour parties, has been outlined in Warren Caragata's Alberta Labour: A Heritage Untold (Toronto: Methuen, 1979); Alvin Finkel, "The Rise and Fall of the Labour Party in Alberta, 1917-42", Labour/Le Travail 16 (Fall 1985): 61-96; Henry C. Klassen, " The Bond of Brotherhood and Calgary Workingmen"

in *Frontier Calgary: Town, City and Region 1875-1914* edited
by Anthony W. Rasporich and Henry C. Klassen (Calgary:
University of Calgary Press, 1975), pp. 267-271; and
Elizabeth A. Taraska, "The Calgary Craft Union Movement"
(M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1972).

10. See Ronald Grantham, "Some Aspects of the Socialist
Movement in British Columbia, 1898-1933" (M.A. thesis,
University of British Columbia, 1942), p. 20.

11. See the *Western Clarion*, May 1913, p. 2.

12. The crucial shift of allegiance from the Socialist
Party to the Liberal Party was spearheaded by Clem Stubbs,
President of District 18 of the United Mine Workers of
America. This was an attempt to nominate a labour
representative to the legislature in order to counteract
the "strength of the Socialist sentiments amongst the
miners of the Lethbridge District." *Western Clarion* April
18, 1913. Other labour leaders followed suit and this
development was acknowledged by the Trades and Labour
Council in Edmonton.

13. Robin, *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour*, pp. 188-9.

14. Proceedings of the Alberta Federation of Labour
Convention, 1919. PAA. Alf Farmilo Papers.

15. *Alberta Labour News*, January 24, 1920.

16. Ibid., January 8, 1921.

17. Ibid., January 22, 1921.

18. Ibid., April 2, 1921.

19. Several factors can be noted here for the eventual
breakdown of institutionalized farmer-labour co-operation:
the refusal of the UFA to appoint a member of the labour
legislative caucus in 1926 to the cabinet, the UFA
hesitancy to associate with the CLP/DLP in the wake of
internal faction fighting among labour parties, the
influence of the Communist Party upon both the CLP and the
UFA, a series of bombings in Edmonton against two justices
in 1926 and its security implications, and the continued
antipathy of Henry Wise Wood towards increased farmer-
labour co-operation at the governmental or organizational
level.

20. Structural contradiction within this social system
implied inconsistencies in the institutional alignments of
the systems. These contradictions are structural as the
inconsistencies are conceived as chronically reproduced
properties of societies. According to Giddens,
contradiction involves the disjunction of structural
principles of system organization. He separated two forms
of contradictions that occur within social systems: primary
contradictions (those which enter into the constitution of
societal totalities), and secondary contradictions (those
which are dependent upon or brought into being by primary
contradictions). See Giddens, Constitution of Society, pp.
193-199.

21. Constitution of the Independent Labour Party. [1919]
PAA. Ernest Brown Papers 74/173.

22. In preparation for the 1921 provincial election, the
ILP invited the DLP and the UFA to submerge their
differences in an united front for electoral purposes.
Both the united front appeal and the compromise at sharing
a joint-electoral slate was rejected by the Dominion Labour
Party, citing traditional craft unionist arguments against
farmer-labour co-operation. See S.A.G. Barnes to the
Executive Committee of the Independent Labour Party, June
23, 1921. PAA Ernest Brown Papers PAA 74/173. The
compromise rejected by the DLP was designed to put the two
labour parties on equal footing. "Independent Labour
Party's Appeal to All Labour for Support" [June 1921].
Ernest Brown Papers PAA 74/173.

23. "Constitution of the Alberta Section of the Canadian
Labour Party", Alberta Labour News November 26, 1921.

24. The interpretation contradicts that of Alvin Finkel who
contended that the constitutional change "meant little more
than a name change for the province's only labour party of
consequence, the Dominion Labour Party." See Finkel, "Rise
and Fall of the Labour Party in Alberta", p. 74. Crucial
to the understanding of political history in Alberta, and
to the CCF in particular, is the fact that there was a
primary contradiction between radicals and socialists on
the one hand, and labourists in the DLP/CLP on the other.
When these two elements were incorporated into the CCF, the
contradictions continued to be reproduced.

25. The Dominion Labour Party in Calgary reversed its
decision and affiliated with the CLP in June 1924. Alberta
Labour News April 26, 1924; April 2, 1924. Nevertheless,
the divisions persisted throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

One chapter each in Calgary and Lethbridge continued to
call itself the Dominion Labour Party. An understanding of
the fundamental contradiction between the various elements
within the ΣLP and CLP is important when considering what
internal contradictions hampered the structural
reproduction of the CCF in the 1940s and 1950s.

26. <u>Alberta Labour News</u>, November 4, 1922; June 30, 1923.

27. Labour leaders echoed the words of the TLC leader Tom
Moore who stated in Edmonton in September 1926 that "the
Labour Political Party is in no way representative of
organized labour in Canada. The officials of this party
cannot speak for labour; they are extremists and little
importance is attached to their utterances." <u>Alberta
Labour News</u> September 20, 1926; March 29, 1924; March 6,
1925; March 28, 1928; November 9, 16, 1929. See the
resolution of the Executive Committee dealing with the
relationship of the Communist to the CLP in <u>Alberta Labour
News</u> November 9, 1929. Amendr, it 1 to the CLP constitution.
<u>Alberta Labour News</u> November 16, 1929.

28. Elmer Roper, "Parting of the Ways", <u>Alberta Labour News</u>
November 16, 1929, p. 4.

29. It was, in a sense, contradictory, for Roper to talk
about constructing an "united front" party which would
include farmers, labourists and socialists, when he was at
the forefront of expelling communist party members from the
CLP.

30. "Walter Mentz in Radio Talk Presents Labor's Plans for
a Co-op. Commonwealth", <u>Alberta Labour News</u>, January 23,
1932, pp. 1, 3-4; "Common Ground" by Margaret Donnelly,
Ibid., January 23, 1932, p. 4; "The U.F.A. Opportunity",
Ibid., p. 4. "The Third Party", Ibid., March 5, 1932, p.
4; "A New Organization", Ibid., May 7, 1932, p. 4.

31. Minutes of the 1931 Western Conference of Labour
Political Parties. PAA. Alf Farmilo Papers. Groups
represented at this conference from Alberta included the
Dominion Labour Party of Lethbridge, the Canadian Labour
Party (Alberta section), Edmonton Labour Party, Trades and
Labour Councils of Edmonton and Calgary, the Dominion
Labour Party of Calgary, and the Alberta Federation of
Labour.

32. Norman Priestley and Edward Swindlehurst, <u>Furrows,
Faith and Fellowship</u> (Edmonton: Co-op Press, 1967), p. 108.

33. The parliamentary decision by James S. Woodsworth and ten other Progressive and Labour MPs in May to form a "Canadian Commonwealth Party" merely intensified the attempt to forge a new organization.

34. "Goal of the U.F.A. movement defined by Annual Convention" The U.F.A. 1 February 1932, p. 8.

35. Economic Conference [proceedings], Labour Temple, Calgary, Alta., August 1, 1932. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

36. Ibid.

37. Cited in McHenry, Third Force in Canada, pp. 25-26.

38. From Alberta were the United Farmers of Alberta, the Canadian Labour Party (Alberta section) and the Dominion Labour Party. The Socialist Party of Canada came from British Columbia. The United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan), Independent Labour Party and Co-operative Labour Party came from Saskatchewan. The Independent Labour Party represented Manitoba.

39. This was especially true of those who came from a "Non-Partisan" party background, such as William Irvine.

40. The composition of the provisional National Council of the CCF in 1932 consisted of representatives of the various organizations: George Williams (UFC), John Queen (ILP), J R Mosher (CBRE), Mrs George Latham (CLP), Angus MacInnis (ILP). J.S. Woodsworth (LSR), Norman Priestley (UFA), William Irvine (UFA) and Louise Lucas (UFC). Some individuals, such as William Irvine (UFA/CLP) and James Woodsworth (LSR/PP) spoke for more than one organization The ILP, UFA and UFC were represented by two members each, while the CLP and LSR were represented by one member each. Neither the DLP or the Co-operative Labour Party received any representation.

41. We have defined the transition period as that which existed between the founding convention in Calgary in 1932 and the decision in 1935 to establish a clubs section.

42. Archibald Key, "Creating a National Federation", Alberta Democrat 9 (Summer 1982), p. 8. [A Reprint of the Canadian Forum 1932 article]. Gardiner's statement is strange in that it was made at the convention shortly after the UFA agreed to help form the CCF. He was the first to make a public pronouncement warning of the dangers of

submerging individual founding identities into the new
organization.

43. <u>Alberta Labour News</u>, August 5, 1932; <u>Edmonton Journal</u>
August 8, 1932, p. 5.

44. <u>Alberta Labour News</u>, August 5, 1932.

45. <u>Alberta Labour News</u>, August 5, 1932.

46. <u>Edmonton Journal</u> August 5, 1932.

47. See M. Smith, "The Ideological Relationship Between the
United Farmers of Alberta and the Co-operative Commonwealth
Federation" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1967).

48. <u>Edmonton Journal</u> August 8, 1932, p. 5; August 15, 1932,
pp. 1, 13.

49. Roper was president of the Edmonton Central Council of
the Canadian Labour Party. <u>Alberta Labour News</u> October 29,
1932, p. 2.

50. "The Economic Position of the White Collar Wage Earner
and His Relations to the Labour Movement." <u>Alberta Labour
News</u> January 9, 1932, pp. 1, 3-4.

51. Ibid., October 29, 1932, p. 2.

52. Ibid., p. 2.

53. <u>Alberta Labour News</u> November 5, 1932, p. 10.

54. Mentz, Crawford and Alexander were three of the most
significant Labour Party leaders in Edmonton who enjoyed
sizeable popularity largely through their columns in the
<u>Alberta Labour News</u> and later in the <u>People's Week</u>, the
organ of the CCF. Mentz was an electrician union leader,
Crawford was a public school board teacher and member of
the Alberta Teachers Association (ATA) executive, and
William Hardy Alexander was a professor of Classics and
History at the University of Alberta.

55. Alvin Finkel's contention that the CLP did not respond
to the growing ranks of the unemployed movement in Edmonton
and Calgary is essentially correct. However, it must be
emphasized that the "Membership-At-Large branch" of the CLP
was designed to be a separate entity from the normal rank
and file unionists belonging to the CLP. Finkel's argument
that "the Labour Party appeared more interested in pushing

the Communists and the national unions out of the party than in attracting new elements to the party, particularly the unemployed" bears some reexamination, especially in light of the creation of the new section. See Finkel, "Rise and Fall of the Labour Party in Alberta, 1917-42", Labour/Le Travail 16 (Fall 1985), pp. 84-85.

56. According to the report of the educational committee, the Membership-at-Large section of the CLP was responsible for arranging speakers, providing books and other resource materials for study, and organizing the educational activities throughout Edmonton on a geographical-political basis. The resolution called for the Canadian Labour Party to give serious consideration to meet growing demand from outlying rural areas. Alberta Labour News December 24, 1932, p. 1.

57. Alberta Labour News, December 12, 1932, p. 1.

58. Alberta Labour News January 9, 1932, p. 3-4.

59. In an editorial in the Alberta Labour News Roper stated that "while there may be some doubt as to the permanence of the C.C.F. in its present form, it is readily conceded that the Federation idea is the only method by which the more or less loose ends of radical political thought in Canada could had been gathered together in anything like cohesive form." Alberta Labour News, January 7, 1933, p. 4.

60. Alberta Labour News November 26, 1932, p. 4.

61. Ibid., January 7, 1933, p. 3.

62. Ibid., December 12, 1932, p. 2.

63. Ibid., November 19, 1932, p. 4.

64. Ibid., December 3, 1932, p. 4. Mentz wrote in the column under the his pen-name "DeBunker."

65. Ibid.

66. The Camrose by-election was the first indication for both the government and the UFA organization of grass-roots support for the CCF. It was, firstly, a safe UFA seat, having sent a UFA representative to the Legislature since 1921 and also deep in the federal constituency of Wetaskiwin, belonging to Progressive-UFA MP William Irvine. In the 1930 federal election, the UFA won the seat by a comfortable 1,051 vote margin with 60.1% of the votes as

opposed to the Liberals' 39.9%. In the 1932 by-election
UFA proportion of the votes decreased to 45.1% with the
entry of a Conservative candidate. The Liberals obtained
35.3% while the Conservative candidate received 19.6%
This may suggest a degree of voter resentment of UFA
government with respect to the economic depression. One
quarter of expected UFA votes shifted to the Conservatives
combined with 51% of the Liberal votes.

67. "New Times Demand New Measures and New Men ...",
Alberta Labour News, November 5, 1932, p. 2.

68. Elmer Roper to J.S. Woodsworth, January 14, 1933; C.L.
Gibbs to Norman Priestly, February 6, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1
CCF Papers, Vol. 74 f. 6; Norman Priestley to Elmer Roper,
February 3, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV CCF Papers, Vol. 74 f.6.
"Alberta and the CCF" (editorial) Alberta Labour News
January 7, 1933, p. 4; "The Labor Party and the CCF",
Alberta Labour News December 31, 1932. p. 4. The Edmonton
Central Council of the CLP unanimously endorsed the
resolution from the Executive Committee approving of the
affiliation of the CLP with the CCF. Alberta Labour News
December 31, 1932, p. 1. The Edmonton Trades and Labour
Council agreed on December 19, 1932 to approve the
affiliation. Alberta Labour News December 24, 1932, p. 1.
For the UFA, the UFA Executive reported to the Board
meeting on January 14, 1933 of the action taken in Calgary
on August 1, 1932, The affiliation was officially approved
by the UFA Board. However, questions were still raised by
UFA Board members at the January 16th and 23rd meetings
regarding the role of Norman Priestley within both
organizations. At the meeting of January 24th, formal
application was made of the affiliation of the UFA to the
CCF. GAIA UFA Papers, Minutes of the Board Meetings and
Executive Meetings of the United Farmers of Alberta.

69. The Dominion Labour Party, with its one branch in
Lethbridge, dissolved in January 1933. Minutes of the CCF
Council Meeting, January 24-26, 1933. GAIA Norman Smith
Papers. It could be argued that the CLP used the CCF in
order to construct an "all-Albertan" Labour Party, thus
incorporating the various independent Labour Parties into
the Canadian Labour Party.

70. Representing the United Farmers of Alberta were Norman
Priestley, Mrs. R. Price, Jack Sutherland, George Church,
H.B. Macleod, and Norman Smith. Representing the Canadian
Labour Party were Fred White, Andrew Smeaton and Elmer
Roper. It should be noted that neither Alf Farmilo nor
Carl Berg, both executive members of the CLP and AFL

attended the meeting. Minutes of the Joint Executives of the CLP and UFA, February 18, 1933. NAC 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 75, f. 2.

71. Norman Priestley to National Council, February 2, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1, CCF Papers Vol. 5, f. 2. Roper won over Fred White and Andrew Smeaton. This might have fueled some resentment in labour circles in Calgary as both White and Smeaton were DLP leaders, whereas Priestley was the UFA leader there. Taking into account later problems of unity within the Calgary organization of the CCF it could be noted that it was the CLP-DLP who initiated the CCF in Calgary.

72. This was another reproduction of a social process, one that had been followed during the 1920s when the UFA and CLP worked together to co-ordinate electoral campaigns in rural-urban constituencies (federal/provincial).

73. Young, <u>Anatomy of a Party</u>, p. 142.

74. Form Letter sent out to all Provincial Councils from Norman Priestley, January 1933. GAIA. Norman Smith Papers.

75. Ibid. One of the reasons why the CCF National Council was so adamant about maintaining strict control over what groups could become affiliates to the CCF was that they wanted to avoid the "independent" label sometimes used by unofficial party candidates. Thus from 1932 there has never been independent-CCF or independent-NDP candidates. A second more crucial reason was that the National Council could guard against communist or trotskyist groups becoming affiliated with the CCF as it had with the Canadian Labour Party in the 1920s.

76. Minutes of the Meeting of the Joint Executives of the CLP (Alberta Section) and the UFA, February 18, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1. CCF Papers. Vol. 5, f. 3.

77. Minutes of Meeting of Joint Executives of the Canadian Labour Party (Alberta Section) and the United Farmers of Alberta, Saturday, February 18, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1. CCF Papers. Vol. 5, f. 3.

78. "The Plan of CCF Organization for the Province of Alberta." This was adopted at the meeting of the joint executives of the Canadian Labour Party (Alberta Section) and the United Farmers of Alberta, February 18, 1933. NAC MG.28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5. f. 3.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

81. The UFA had clubs in urban areas such as Edmonton and Calgary and the CLP had a membership-at-large section, created at the beginning of 1932 under the leadership of Mary Crawford.

82. Towards the middle of 1933 it became apparent that both organizations had negative aspects which repulsed progressive individuals and groups. For the UFA, it was the organization's association with the now unpopular government; for the CLP, the repercussions of the hunger march and the response of the Labour Party leaders (Carl Berg and Edmonton Mayor Dan Knox).

83. This policy was instituted in section 4 of the CCF tentative constitution providing that the "name or initials of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation" should not be used. Elsie Wright to Norman Priestley, June 19, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 Vol.5. Norman Priestley to Elsie Wright, June 24, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5. This preoccupation with the name and initials of the CCF was result of experiences with the Canadian Labour Party and its rivals, the Independent Labour Party, Dominion Labour Party and Federated Labour Party.

84. Minutes of the Provincial Council, September 23, 1933. NAC MG 27.III.D7 Norman Priestley Papers.

85. Ibid.

86. Norman Priestley to Robert Skinner, May 5, 1933; Norman Priestley to D. M. LeBourdais, Secretary of Ontario Association of CCF Clubs, November 8, 1933; George Williams to Norman Priestley, November 22, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5, f. 3.

87. The rumours were essentially true. In March 1933 the Provincial Council officially endorsed a group of one hundred University of Alberta students who had formed a local Economic Reconstruction Association club. They were subsequently given affiliate status within the CCF. Johnson, "Failure of the CCF in Alberta", p. 97; The Story of the Alberta CCF 1932 to 1948 and 1948 Provincial Convention Program (Edmonton: Commercial Printers, 1948), p. 4. GAIA M1722. Alberta CCF Papers, f. 2. R.A. Cooke (Lethbridge ERA) to Norman F. Priestley, June 15, 1933; R.A. Cooke to J. Gaule, Secretary C.C.A., Calgary, June 19, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

88. R.A. Cooke to J. Gaule, Secretary C.C.A., Calgary, June 19, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

89. R.A. Cooke to Norman F. Priestley, June 15, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

90. R.A. Cooke to J. Gaule, Secretary C.C.A., Calgary, June 19, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. R.A. Cooke to Norman Priestley, June 15, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

95. Norman Priestley to J. Gaule, June 24, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

96. Norman Priestley to R.A. Cooke, June 24, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

97. Norman Priestley to Secretaries of all CCF Affiliation Applicants. May 23, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5, f. 2. The Provincial Council in Ontario authorized the establishment of a CCF clubs section in March 1933 without waiting for the National Council to make a decision.

98. Emphasis mine. CCF National Constitution 1933, cited in Young, Anatomy of a Party, pp. 141-142.

99. McHenry, Third Force in Canada, p. 29.

100. Alberta Provincial Council C.C.F. Provisions for Groups Other than Farmer or Labor in Alberta. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5. Present at the September 23rd meeting of the Provincial Council were: Robert Gardiner, Norman Priestley, Mrs. Price, Jack Sutherland, H.H. MacLeod, George Church and Norman Smith representing the U.F.A., and C.L. Gibbs, Chris Pattinson, Andrew Smeaton, Elmer Roper and James Watson representing the C.L.P. Watson substituted for White as representative of the Calgary Central Council of the C.L.P.

101. Alberta Provincial Council C.C.F. Provisions for Groups Other than Farmer or Labor in Alberta. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5. Local groups and clubs which made up the ERA had to take the name "Economic

Reconstruction Association Local No. -- " permitting a
clause stipulating that it was "affiliated with the CCF".

102. Norman F. Priestley to Secretaries, Provincial
Council. October 6, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol.
5.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Minutes of Meeting of the Alberta Council of the Co-
operative Commonwealth Federation Held in the Offices of
the U.F.A., Lougheed Building, Calgary on Saturday,
September 23 [1933]. NAC MG 27.III.D7 Norman Priestley
Papers.

106. Two applications were received by January 1934
regarding affiliation to the E.R.A. A Calgary branch with
fifty-three members was constituted as ERA Calgary Local
No. 1, while the Edmonton local of forty-four members
became E.R.A. Edmonton Local No. 2. Minutes of the Alberta
Provincial Council, January 11, 1934. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF
Papers, Vol. 75, f. 2.

107. Minutes of the CCF National Council, July 14, 1934.
NAC 27.III.D Norman Priestley Papers, f. 7.

108. Second Annual Report of Norman Priestley, Secretary-
Treasurer, July 15, 1934. NAC MG 27.III.D Norman Priestley
Papers, f. 7.

109. Second Annual Report of Norman Priestley, Secretary-
Treasurer, July 15, 1934. NAC MG 27.III.D, Norman Priestley
Papers, f. 7.

110. The Workers United Council in Calgary would not
abandon their name and their affiliation to the ERA was
denied. C.H. Carter to Norman Priestley, July 11, 1933.
NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

111. Norman Priestley to Robert Gardiner and Provisional
Council, December 12, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers,
Vol. 5.

112. Norman Priestley to Provisional Council, December 20,
1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

113. Norman Priestley to Robert Gardiner, December 12,
1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5.

114. Resolution re Dual or Multiple Membership. NAC
MG.28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 5. Dual or multiple voting or
membership resulted in "a disturbance for the balance of
influence proper to each adherent, and a consequent
tendency to disturbance of the goodwill existing between
affiliates."

115. Alvin Finkel, "The Rise and Fall of the Labour Party
in Alberta, 1917-42", Labour/Le Travail 16 (Fall 1985): 61-
96; and Larry Hannant, "The Calgary Working Class and the
Social Credit Movement in Alberta, 1932-35", Ibid., pp. 97-
116.

116. For the minutes of the Calgary CCF Committee, see GAIA
M1157 Norman Smith Papers, f. 108. One obvious
consolidation factor was the results of the provincial by-
election on 19 January 1933 when the Independent candidate
(N. Hindsley) defeated a group of three left wing
candidates to win a seat in the Legislature. The official
labour candidate, running on a CCF-Labour-UFA ticket was
Aemilia Turner who obtained 38% of the votes. Opposing her
was R.A. Parkyn of the Independent Labour Party. Parkyn
had been the Independent Labour MLA for Calgary between
1926 and 1930 before being persuaded to step aside in the
interests of left-wing unity in favour of Fred White. He
obtained 7% of the votes with the communist picking up 2%.
A united front of labour, farmer and communists would have
been enough to win the by-election. The repercussions of
this fact for the ILP probably forced them to reconsider
their orientation to the CCF and participate in Aemilia
Turner's 1934 campaign.

117. Minutes of the CCF Committee, January 25, 1933. GAIA
M1157 Norman Smith Papers, f. 108.

118. Minutes of the meeting of CCF Educational Committee,
February 10, 1933. GAIA M1157 Norman Smith Papers, f. 108.

119. Minutes of the Meeting of CCF Educational Committee,
March 1, 1933. GAIA M1157 Norman Smith Papers, f. 108.

120. Minutes of Meeting of CCF Educational Committee for
Calgary, November 29, 1933. GAIA M1157 Norman Smith
Papers, f. 107.

121. Aylmer Liesemer was one of the organizers of the
Calgary Labour Club, and John Gaule one of the leaders of
the defunct CCA.

122. The involvement of both the Calgary Labour Club and the Central Council of Unemployed Organizations in the CCF Educational Committee, contrary to the dictates of the CCF Provincial Council, was an indication of the contradictions between the two forms of structurations.

123. Story of the Alberta CCF, pp. 4-5.

124. As in the case of Edmonton and Calgary.

125. Minutes of the Meeting of the Alberta Council of the CCF, September 23, 1933. NAC MG 27.III.D7 Norman Priestley Papers.

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. Elmer Roper to J.S. Woodsworth, January 14, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 6.

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid.

131. Norman Priestley to Elmer Roper, February 3, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 6.

132. Conversely it could be argued that social integration between UFA members and supporters and Social Credit increased throughout 1934 and 1935.

133. J.H. Coldwell to N.F.Priestley, October 7, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers Vol. 103.

134. Christian Opp to Norman Priestley, November 7, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

135. Norman Priestley to Christian Opp, December 14, 1933. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

136. Norman Priestley to W.M. Parmenter, April 18, 1934; W.M. Parmenter to Priestley, March 26, 1934. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

137. Norman Priestley to W.M. Parmenter, April 18, 1934. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

138. Frank Phillimore to Norman Priestley, October 2, 1934. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

139. Norman Priestley to Frank Phillimore, October 17, 1934. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

140. Ibid.

141. Norman Priestley to George Johnson and George MacLachlan (UFA MLA), January 8, 1935. GAIA M1187 Norman Smith Papers, f. 9.

142. Ibid.

143. Duncan B. Fraser to M. J. Coldwell, June 19, 1935. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 5.

144. Jack King to Duncan Fraser, June 21, 1935. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 5.

145. Sidney H. Old to M.J. Coldwell, September 2, 1935. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 182.

146. The Commonwealth (Regina), 30 August 1935.

147. The CLP in 1935 lost 83% of its support in Edmonton as compared to 69% in Calgary. Cross-voting analysis suggests that in 67% of CLP support in Edmonton went to the Social Credit candidates while in Calgary 55% went to Social Credit. It is also crucial to examine who were the CLP's candidates. In Calgary the CLP ran Fred White, A.J.E. Liesemer and W.G. Southern. Only White represented the leadership of the party. In Edmonton, however, Labour candidates included James East, J.W. Findlay, Carl Berg, S.S. Bowcott, Alf Farmilo and Sidney Parsons. It is interesting that the CPC candidate - Jan Lakeman - received three times as many votes as Labour leaders Berg and Farmilo combined. This may appear to be more of a vote against traditional CLP leaders than against the party itself.

148. Charles Keeley to M. J. Coldwell, August 27, 1935. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 182.

149. Norman Priestley to M. J. Coldwell, September 2, 1935. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 6.

150. Hopkins noted that Aberhart's provincial victory had frozen federal CCF rural campaign contributions. The failure of the CCF to form an alliance with Social Credit was cited as a reason. W.F. Hopkins to M.J. Coldwell, September 21, 1935. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 182.

151. M.J.Coldwell to Elmer Roper, October 18, 1935. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 6.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER III

1. Relationships between the Alberta CCF and ordinary members and leaders of the founding sections existed on a theoretical basis only. At the federal level this relationship became institutionalized. At the provincial level, the CCF, as an institution, did not exist in terms of personal or social relationships. Giddens pointed out that in any political process, a relationship had to be established between an individual and an institution or organization that can be measured in terms of social interaction and identification. Evidently, structural constraints denied the development of social relationships that took place outside the parameters of the founding organizations. Even with the creation of the ERA as the third-force of the CCF in Alberta, rank and file members could not symbolically relate themselves to the CCF.

2. "A Building Job" Alberta Labor News September 7, 1935, p. 4.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Alberta Labour News September 7, 1935, p. 1.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 1.

9. Alberta Labour News September 14, 1935, p. 1.

10. Alberta Labour News September 7, 1935.

11. Ibid.

12. Norman Priestley, Furrows, Faith and Fellowship, pp. 124-125.

13. Ibid., pp. 125-127.

14. People's Weekly February 15, 1936, p. 8.

15. Ibid., April 11, 1936, p. 2.

16. Ibid., June 13, 1936, p. 5.

17. Ibid., March 28, 1936, p. 2.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., May 9, 1936, p. 3.

20. Ibid., July 18, 1936.

21. Ibid., July 10, 1936.

22. Confidential Report, E.J. Garland - UFA Convention [1937]. NAC MG.28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 1.

23. Ibid. For information on the People's League and Unity League see Finkel, Social Credit Phenomenon, pp. 67-68; Harold Schultz, "A Second Term: 1940", Alberta Historical Review 10 (Winter 1962); and Meir Serfaty, "Structure and Organization of Political Parties in Alberta, 1935-1971", Ph.D. dissertation, Carleton University, 1977.

24. The options were to: (a) abandon politics and revert to a pure economic group; (b) return to the status of an economic group taking political action independent of any other group or party; (c) remain affiliated with the CCF; or (d) support a Unity Movement in Alberta. Confidential Report, E.J. Garland - U.F.A. Convention [1937]. NAC MG.28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 1.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Statement of William Irvine to the UFA Convention [1937] in Confidential Report, E.J. Garland - U.F.A. Convention [1937]. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 1.

28. Ibid. Of the convention delegates only 7% supported the People's League as an alternative to the UFA. 74% supported the CCF either as a federal or provincial party, and 19% desired an independent perspective. On the final ballot 46% of the UFA delegates supported the provincial CCF while 54% supported the federal CCF.

29. Confidential Report, E.J. Garland - U.F.A. Convention [1937]. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 1.

30.30. Ibid.

31. Resolutions of the 1937 UFA Convention, in Confidential Report by E.J. Garland - UFA Convention. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 1.

32. Ibid.

33. Confidential Report, E.J. Garland - U.F.A. Convention
[1937]. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 1.

34. Ibid.

35. Mary Crawford to J.S. Woodsworth, January 23, 1937.
NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 73, file.3.

36. David Lewis to the Secretary of the UFA, august 18,
1937. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 6.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. According to CCF figures, by 1937 the Clubs section
consisted of 1500 members - roughly 21% of the total UFA
membership at the time. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Alberta CCF leaders believed that the Social
legislation had to be disallowed. Yet they also perceived
that such action would involve federal interference in
provincial affairs, which they also opposed.

42. E.J. Garland to David Lewis, June 6, 1937. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 95, file 3.

43. Ibid.

44. Report of E.J. Garland to National Executive,
1937. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 95, file 3.

45. Ibid.

46. Resolution passed by the National Council of the CCF at
the Meeting in Edmonton, Sat. July 30, 1938. NAC MG
28.IV.1, Vol. 76, file 6.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Elmer Roper to David Lewis, November 22, 1938. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, file 1.

50. Edward J. Garland to J.S. Woodsworth, January 5, 1939.
NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 85, file 3.

51. Norman F. Priestley to David Lewis, January 31, 1939. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 6.

52. The UFA Executive in 1939 contained four individuals who supported the CCF: Norman Priestley, Robert Gardiner, Jack Sutherland and Henry Spencer. The anti-CCF executives included George Church, UFWA president Marie Berger and Secretary Ellen Birch. Among the sixteen directors of the UFA, the CCF could only count on the support of six individuals including Wes H. Scott and Carl Colvin.

53. "Future Policy" Resolution of the United Farmers of Alberta Board, January 1939. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 6.

54. Ibid.

55. David Lewis to Norman Priestley, February 9, 1939. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76 file 6.

56. Ibid.

57. Press interview with M.J. Coldwell, National Party Chairman, CCF [January 1939]. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, file 6.

58. Ibid.

59. CCF-Labour Support in ur'' . areas (Calgary, Edmonton and Lethbridge) had decreased between 1930 and 1935 from 24.9% to 8.9% (64% decrease), but increased slightly from 8.9% to 9.9% between 1935 and 1940 (11.2% increase). Liberal and Conservative support coalesced into the Independent group coupled with 14% from Social Credit.

60. People's Weekly November 26, 1938. See Finkel, "The Rise and Fall of the Labour Party in Alberta", pp. 92-3.

61. The Alberta CCF did not run candidates in Lethbridge or Medicine Hat at the federal level. Provincially, fifteen southern constituencies and one northern constituency (Peace River) did not have CCF candidates.

62. George Bevington of the UFA Ginger Group had run for the CCF in the 1935 federal election but shifted to the independents in 1940.

63. In Calgary, ILP candidate Duncan Mitchell obtained 251 votes. In Edmonton, communist candidate John MacPherson and Independent Progressive candidates S.A.G. Barnes and J.H. Green split the left-wing vote.

64. <u>Calgary Albertan</u> March 2, 1940.

65. <u>Calgary Albertan</u> March 5, 1940, p. 12; March 8, 1940, p. 14; March 9, 1940, p. 7.

66. <u>Calgary Albertan</u> March 14, 1940, p. 4.

67. Elmer Roper to David Lewis, October 24, 1941. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. William Irvine to David Lewis, November 3, 1941. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

72. Minutes of Meeting of Alberta Provincial Council of the C.C.F., Red Deer, November 1, 1941. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Elmer Roper to David Lewis, November 3, 1941. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

78. William Irvine to David Lewis, November 3, 1941. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

79. Ibid.

80. Emphasis is William Irvine's.

81. Ibid.

82. William Irvine to David Lewis, November 3, 1941. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

83. Ibid.

84. Mary Crawford to David Lewis, November 13, 1941. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3. Mary Crawford was, at this time, Treasurer of the Alberta General Membership Section of the CCF and Vice President of the CLP.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. National Executive Decision on Alberta Situation
[November 1941] NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.
Emphasis is David Lewis.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. National Executive Decision on Alberta Situation
[November 1941] NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.
Emphasis is David Lewis.

91. David Lewis to Elmer Roper, November 20, 1941. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

92. David Lewis to William Irvine, November 20, 1941. NAC
MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

93. William Irvine to David Lewis, December 1, 1941. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

94. Ibid.

95. Elmer Roper to David Lewis, January 26, 1942. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3.

96. Ibid.

97. The relative organizational and social strengths
between UFA members and their leaders is questionable.
Members did not follow their leaders blindly into remaining
loyal to the UFA (in 1935), supporting the CCF after 1935
or supporting the Independents.

98. Major CLP leaders included Berg, Farmilo, White,
Smeaton and Barnes. Minor leaders included those who came
from the socialist or left tradition instead of the
labourist tradition. They included Crawford, Mentz,
Turner, Smith and Alexander. Elmer Roper is an interesting
case as a transitional leader. He was always part of the
leadership group within the CLP throughout the 1920s, but
his desire to remain a leader allowed him to make a
transitional jump from the CLP to the CCF.

99. "Change in CCF Organization. CCF Clubs will be
formed", Alberta Labour News September 7, 1935, pp. 1-2.

100. See C.B. Macpherson, <u>Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System</u>, pp. 62-66 for a discussion of the internal organization of the UFA.

101. Compare, for example, the "Constitution of the CCF Clubs in Alberta" (1936) with two later constitutions - "Constitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, Alberta General Membership Section" (1939) and "Constitution of the CCF (Alberta Section), 1944. These are all located in NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 7.

102. Constitution of the CCF Clubs in Alberta (1936), NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 7.

103. Ibid., section 2. This clause has become the standard "no other party" restriction for CCF and NDP membership. At the time, it is uncertain whether membership in the CCF Clubs and the CLP or the UFA constituted an infringement of this rule. A large number c. provincial CCF leaders held dual or triple membership. In later years, this rule has become extended not only to members but also to supporters of other political parties.

104. Ibid., section 3(1).

105. Ibid., section 3(2).

106. Ibid., section 3(4),(6).

107. Ibid., section 4(1,2,3,4). According to Macpherson, each UFA local elected its own executive and sent delegates to the annual provincial convention on the principle of one representative for each ten members. The entry of the UFA into electoral activity necessitated the reorganization of the UFA along provincial and federal constituency boundaries. See Macpherson, <u>Democracy in Alberta</u>, pp. 66-69.

108. Constitution of the CCF Clubs in Alberta (1936), section 5(1). NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 7.

109. Ibid., section 5(1); 6(1),(2); 9(1),(2).

110. Constitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, Alberta General Membership Section (1939). NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 7.

111. Ibid., article 9.

112. Ibid., article 6(2), article 7(5), article 10(3).

113. This process was reflected in the allocation of membership fees: out of every $1.00 fee, $.40 went to the provincial constituency association and $.60 went to the central office. Of the latter, the National office received $.10. Constitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, Alberta General Membership Section (1939), Article 4 (1). NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74 f. 7.

114. Ibid., Article 5 (1). This form of organization was necessary in Edmonton and Calgary where the Labour party, trade unions and municipal parties existed to complicate the political process.

115. Ibid., Article 5 (2,3). The executive consisted of the president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer and nine other individuals, at least two of whom had to be women.

116. Ibid., Article 4 (1). Two delegates from each poll organization of less than ten members, and one delegate from each additional ten members could represent the local at the constituency convention.

117. Ibid., Article 6(3).

118. Ibid., Article 10 (1). Given the relative proximity between federal and provincial elections in Alberta throughout the period, it can be seen that this provision was the only mechanism possible for effectively co-ordinating federal campaigns. Similarly, the reproduction of this process at the local level ensured a high level of social integration among several provincial constituencies that made up the federal constituency.

119. Ibid., Article 7 (3).

120. The composition of the provincial and federal associations and executive was practically the same. This has been verified by an examination of the federal constituency of Peace River and its provincial components (Peace River, Grouard, Grande Prairie and Spirit River).

121. Ibid., Articles 10 (section 7a).

122. This was the famous "united front" clause that prohibited united front electoral activities on the part of the CCF in federal and provincial politics. This provision was, however, never taken seriously in municipal areas because of the multiplicity of political parties and groupings.

123. For a discussion of the CCF clubs from a national perspective see Zakuta's <u>A Protest Movement Becalmed</u> pp. 46-7.

124. This was the situation of the Cherhill CCF Club. Originally an UFA club, it had refused to be converted into a Social Credit local and had transformed itself into a CCF club. The persistence of CCF clubs and locals throughout Alberta in the latter half of the 1930s and 1940s testified to the remaining strengths of the UFA. Interview with Harold E. Bronson, December 12, 1987. According to the <u>Report of the Second National Convention of the CCF</u> (1934) there were 11000 individuals in Alberta belonging to UFA, CLP and ERA locals and clubs in Alberta. The question that remains to be researched specifically is how many of these locals were converted into Social Credit locals how many died out or became CCF locals. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 10.

125. Constitution of the CCF Clubs in Alberta (1936), section 1(2). NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 7.

126. Constitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. Alberta General Membership Section (1939). NAC MG 28.IV.1 Vol. 74, f. 7.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER IV

1. Constitution of the CCF (Alberta Section), 1944, Article X(1). GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 293.

2. The provincial office was set up in 1939 on an interim basis and permanently organized in 1942. Moreover, the position of provincial organizer was attached to the Provincial Secretary during most of the early 1940s before being separated into two positions in 1944. Two observers sat on the Provincial Executive appointed by the Board to reflect continued political, local and regional input into organizational decision-making.

3. For example, Warwick Kelloway for southern Alberta, and I.V. Macklin for northern Alberta.

4. For example, William Irvine from Wetaskiwin-Camrose area, Sig Lefsrud from the Viking-Tofield area, Harold Bronson from Cherchill (Pembina) area, Nellie Peterson from Lac Ste. Anne.

5. Constitution of the CCF (Alberta Section), 1944, Article V (1). GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 293.

6. This can be demonstrated by examining the Peace River federal constituency (and corresponding provincial constituencies) where the federal and provincial constituency organizations existed only on paper, except when needed by the provincial leadership, and real social and political activity was conducted at the local poll level. This is contrary to established organizational procedures, but in the case of the CCF, it reproduced significant social practices that had existed under the UFA.

7. This will be seen in the correspondence between the federal and provincial sections over the Calgary crises of 1939 and 1946-47, and the William Irvine affair in 1956.

8. Constitution of the CCF (Alberta Section), 1944, Article XVII, Section 2. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 293.

9. The definitions of **cadre party** and **mass membership party** are derived from Feliks Gross, <u>The Revolutionary Party: Essays in the Sociology of Politics</u> (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), pp. 87-108. Using the Jacobin analysis of party typology, Gross notes the basic differences between a **mass party** and a **vanguardist** (or

cadre) party. The mass party consists of, in expanded concentric circles, a central committee, provincial or local committees, and the general membership of the party. The party was structured vertically (either federalistic or centralistic) and horizontally (through geography). The mass party appeals to a large audience or electorate. It is an open party accepting as new members those who simply agreed with the program or ideology. The cadre (or vanguardist) party, on the other hand, consists of a small central committee who make decisions, surrounded by party activists, whose profession is politics and party activities. Ordinary members and sympathizers formed the outer concentric rings. Their function is to give activists and the central committee financial and political support. A political party can become either a mass or cadre party, and one can be transformed into the other through the addition or elimination of bureaucratic discipline through the formation of cadre units.

10. See appendix for electoral summaries and analysis.

11. John J. Barr, <u>The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta</u> (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 121.

12. William Irvine to David Lewis, June 27, 1944. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 75, f. 5.

13. The constitutional rules stipulating at least six months' membership before being able to vote at nominating conventions were replaced by emergency provisions providing for five days' membership prior to nominations. William Irvine to CCF Members, St. Albert, July 8, 1944. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 125.

14. Reported in <u>Calgary Herald</u> 8 July 1944, p. 3.

15. See GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 125.

16. Provincial Secretary to Candidates, July 10, 1944. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 125.

17. The entire CCF provincial election campaign was decentralized in four cities (Edmonton, Calgary, Grande Prairie and Lethbridge) where local organizers handled literature, radio broadcasting and campaign arrangements for their specific region. Irvine to candidates, July 11, 1944. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 125.

18. Clifford Lee to David Lewis, July 19, 1944. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 75, f. 5.

19. William Irvine to David Lewis, July 11, 1944. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 125.

20. "There really is nothing I would like better, but as I think I may already informed you I simply must stick to the campaign in Quebec. I happen to know something about the province and also speak French. Most of our other people will be helping in Alberta, and Frank Scott and I will have to give our attention to Quebec." David Lewis to William Irvine, July 17, 1944. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 42.

21. David Lewis to Clifford Lee, July 17, 1944 NAC MG 28.IV. CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3. "I am sorry that your election crosses with two others and therefore reduces the likelihood of any considerable financial assistance from Eastern Canada."

22. Elmer Roper to David Lewis, July 14, 1944. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 75, f. 5.

23. The Labour Progressive Party (LPP) was formerly the Communist Party of Canada.

24. David Lewis to Clifford Lee, July 17, 1944. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 3. David Lewis to Elmer Roper, July 1 1944. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103, 1944 Provincial Election file.

25. Clifford Lee to David Lewis, July 10, 1944. NAC MG 28.IV.I CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 4.

26. "I don't think I am being too optimistic in saying that a win here is a distinct possibility. There has been in parts a dramatic change of sentiment. With a real live campaign it could put us over...." Ibid.

27. William Irvine to David Lewis, July 18, 1944. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol 74, f. 5.

28. In response to a request from Irvine for another national figure to make a tour of Alberta, such as Jacques Casgrain, the National Secretary stated that "the problem we are faced here is to divide our forces to the greatest advantage between the three provinces which now are in the throes of elections." David Lewis to William Irvine, July 24, 1944. GAIA f. 42. Sandy Nicholson also requested unsuccessfully to have Casgrain come to Alberta. He argued that his visit might "decide four seats." Sandy Nicholson to David Lewis, cable, July 11, 1944. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 5.

29. Lorne Ingle to Margaret Telford, July 28, 1944. GAIA
M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 42. Lorne Ingle was leased to
the Provincial Office by the National Office for the
duration of the campaign to assist in the organizational tasks.

30. "Notes for Candidates and Speakers", GAIA M1722 Alberta
CCF Papers, f. 125. The party used the comments of Solon
E. Low who noted that "It was not possible to achieve
Social Credit in a single province; that Social Credit
could only be achieved on the national field." Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. See appendix for electoral information.

33. Elmer Roper in Edmonton and Aylmer Liesemer in Calgary.

34. Edmonton and Calgary were multiple-member ridings.

35. St. Paul, Grouard, Willingdon, Vermilion, Redwater and
Drumheller. In Drumheller, Redwater and Vermilion, the LPP
candidates received more votes than the CCF candidates.

36. These constituencies were St. Paul, Vegreville and
Willingdon. Seventy-four percent of LPP supporters plumped
(failed to register a 2nd choice on their ballots). Of
those who did register a second choice, in St. Paul there
was an almost even split between the Social Credit and CCF
candidates. In the two Ukrainian constituencies
(Vegreville and Willingdon) only 9% supported the Social
Credit candidate while 17% supported the CCF. However, if
a suitable political arrangement had been made between the
CCF and the LPP in 1944, as was made between the CCF and
the Liberals in 1955, then the CCF would have picked up
three more constituencies. In any case, the CCF won
Willingdon in 1952 (under Nick Dushenski) and Vegreville in
1955 (under Stanley Ruzycki), possibly with LPP support.

37. These constituencies are Lethbridge, Okotoks-High River
and Pincher Creek-Crowsnest. In these three constituencies
between 55% and 79% of CCF voters plumped. Of those who
did register a choice, 23% supported the Social Credit
candidate while 9% supported the Independents. It is clear
that many rural CCF supporters still regarded Social Credit
more favorably than the Liberals, Conservatives or Independents.

38. CCF Post-Election Radio Address, by J.E. Cook, November
24, 1944. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 256.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. "Let's Face the Facts" by Lorne Ingle.   [November 1944]
NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 75, f. 5.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.   Emphasis is Ingle's.

49. According to party membership files and correspondence
between the Provincial and National offices, party
membership had increased from 2 500 in 1942 to 6 000 in
1943 to 12 000 in 1944.   Over the two-year period,
membership had increased 380%   See William Irvine to David
Lewis, June 28, 1944. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 42.
The party budget had increased from $4 200 in 1942, $9 000
in 1943 to $65 000 in 1944.   See "Summary of Alberta CCF",
Provincial Office to Margaret Telford, November 4, 1944.
GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 42.   The youth movement
of the Alberta CCF grew from 20 members and 2 clubs in 1943
to 207 members in 11 clubs in 1944.

50. Ibid.

51. See Table 3 in the appendix for electoral statistics of
the 1945 federal general election in Alberta.

52. Calgary East, Camrose, Jasper-Edson, Peace River and
Wetaskiwin.   Camrose scored the highest with 25.9%.

53. Elmer Roper to David Lewis, March 9, 1945.   NAC MG
28.IV.1. CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

54. David Lewis to Elmer Roper, March 25, 1945.   NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

55. "Story of the CCF", p. 8-9.   GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF
Papers, f. 42.   Convention minutes do not exist for the
1944 convention.

56. Jack King to J.P. Griffin, January 15, 1946.   GAIA
M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 141.

57. Jack King to Hardy Wear, Vermilion, January 19, 1946.
GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 141.

58. Ibid.; Jack King to C.O. Berger, Stony Plain, October
11, 1946. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 142.

59. Leadership of the Alberta CCF in 1944/45 and 1945/46:

	1944/45	1945/46
President:	Harry D. Ainlay	Jack E. Cook
Vice President:	Nellie Peterson	Nellie Peterson
Prov. Leader	Elmer Roper	Elmer Roper
Prov. Secretary	William Irvine	Jack King
Prov. Organizer	William Irvine	----------
Prov. Treasurer	Clifford Lee	Clifford Lee
Prov. Board	Henry Spencer	Jack Sykes
Prov. Board	Sig Lefsrud	Sig Lefsrud
Prov. Board	Jack Cook	Mrs. M. Wobick

Source: Minutes of the Provincial Board, 1944-1946. GAIA
M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 118.

60. Information on the Calgary crisis of 1938-1939 can be
obtained from the National Archives of Canada, MG 28.IV.1
CCF Papers, Volume 74, f. 1 and Volume 76, f. 5.

61. This was detailed in the last chapter on the relations
between the CCF and CLP over reunification in 1942. Three
years earlier, in 1939, such unification would have been
impossible.

62. See the correspondence between Elmer Roper, Edward
Garland and David Lewis on this: E.J. Garland to David
Lewis, January 1938; Elmer Roper to David Lewis, February
11, 1939. NAC MG.28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 5. Freda
Garland to Elmer Roper, June 6, 1939; E.J. Garland to Elmer
Roper, May 4, 1939; Elmer Roper to David Lewis, May 12,
1939; Fred White to Elmer Roper, May 14, 1939; David Lewis
to Elmer Roper, May 15, 1939; Elmer Roper to David Lewis,
May 23, 1939; Freda Garland to Elmer Roper, June 6, 1939;
Elmer Roper to David Lewis, June 7, 1939; David Lewis to
Elmer Roper, June 8, 1939. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol.
74, f. 1. For insights into the interpretations and
viewpoints of the dissidents within the Calgary CCF see the
following correspondence: Ralph Wootton to Elmer Roper,
February, 1939; Elmer Roper to Ralph Wootton, February 11,
1939; Mrs. M. Turfuss to Freda Garland, May 4, 1939; Ralph
Wootton to the National and Provincial Councils, May 6,
1939; William Irvine to Ralph Wootton, May 8, 1939; Ralph
Wootton to William Irvine, May 11, 1939; Albert Lindley to
Elmer Roper, May 29, 1939; Elmer Roper to Albert Lindley,
May 30, 1939; H.W. Dalton to Elmer Roper, May 26, 1939.
NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 1. For a more

partisan examination of the crisis see the July 1939 issue of <u>Socialist Action</u> (the English organ of the Socialist Workers League, the Canadian section of the Fourth "trotskyist" International) located at the Department of Labour Library in Ottawa.

63. For information regarding municipal politics in Alberta see Jack Masson, <u>Alberta's Local Government and Politics</u> (Edmont   'ica Press, 1985), chapter 10.

64. Se   articles in <u>Calgary Herald</u> 27 September 1945, p. 1; 3 October 1945, p. 11; 6 October 1945, p. 4; 11 October 1945, p. 20; 19 October 1945, p. 11. According to G.M. Brown, the Civic Reform Association was intended to represent the "progressive or leftist element in the city", <u>Calgary Herald</u> 19 October 1945, p. 11.

65. See the articles in <u>Calgary Herald</u> and <u>Albertan</u> 22 September 1946; <u>Calgary Herald</u> 3 October 1946, p. 11; 18 October 1946, p. 11.

66. Robert Alderman, George Ellinson, Aylmer Liesemer and Mayor James C. Watson, who were on either the Provincial Board or Executive, supported continued CCF presence within the CRA.

67. "CCF'er Charges Corrupt Practices", <u>Calgary Herald</u> 15 October 1946, p. 11.

68. Documents relating to the internal crisis can be found in the GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 285.

69. Norman Smith to Ernie Cook, October 20, 1946. GAIA A663 Norman Smith Papers, f. 17.

70. Norman Smith to Ernie Cook, October 30, 1946. GAIA Norman Smith Papers, f. 17.

71. See the Minutes of the Provincial Board meeting, October 19-20, 1946. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 75, f. 2; letter from the Provincial Executive to Calgary CCF members, June 6, 1947. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 112. For the involvement of the federal party, see Isabel MacMillan to Lorne Ingle, October 31, 1946; Lorne Ingle to Isabel MacMillan, November 5, 1946; Isabel MacMillan to Lorne Ingle, November 22, 1946. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 182. Nothing was printed in the <u>People's Weekly</u> about the crisis.

72. Jack Cook to Calgary CCF Members, December 9, 1946. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 285. It was the task of the CCF rank and file in Calgary to undertake the

"practical application of CCF principles to ensure the growth of the CCF movement" as interpreted by the provincial leadership.

73. The nomination and election were strictly controlled by the Provincial Council. Accordingly, only CCF members who were on record up to and including 8 February 1946 were allowed to vote. All individuals provided membership after this date, and any executive member of the Calgary CCF between 1945 and 1946, were stripped of their party membership. All nominations had to be submitted to Provincial Secretary Jack King for approval, and the Provincial Board "reserved the right ... to eliminate from nomination any person who, through his past activities, might be considered strongly partisan to one side or another in the dispute which brought about the present situation." Provincial Board Summary of Events in Calgary, May 1947. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 285. Altogether, about 148 members were expelled from the party in Calgary.

74. Of the twelve, only H.F. Coulter had been extensively involved in the Calgary CCF before 1946. The rest were brought in from provincial constituencies surrounding Calgary. Ibid.; Press Statement by J.E. Cook and J. King (April 20, 1947); Jack King to CCF Members, June 6, 1947. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 285.

75. For example, in the 1948 provincial election, P.N.R. Morrison ran as a labour candidate collecting slightly less than half of the available CCF votes and a thousand votes more than A.J.E. Liesemer. After the 1948 election, the Calgary CCF membership substantially declined as members and supporters drifted to Social Credit, the communists or the political parties of the centre-right (Liberal and Progressive Conservative Parties).

76. Elmer Roper to David Lewis, January 7, 1947. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

77. David Lewis to Elmer Roper, January 21, 1947. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103.

78. Ibid.

79. Jack King to M.W. Svekla, Willingdon, July 24, 1946. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 144.

80. Jack King to Lorne Ingle, October 15, 1946. NAC MG 28.IV.1. CCF Papers, Vol. 73, f. 3.

81. Jack King to David Lewis, June 25, 1947. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 74, f. 2.; Jack King to Lorne Ingle, May 13, 1947. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 73, f. 3.

82. J.E. Cook to David Lewis, October 25, 1948. GAIA Alberta M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 1.

83. Lorne Ingle to David Lewis, July 21, 1948. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 75, f. 5.

84. Stewart Wright (Hughenden) to Ernie Cook, September 16, 1948. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 165; Anne Peters (Lethbridge) to Ernie Cook, October 17, 1948. GAIA Alberta M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 153.

85. Provincial Secretary to secretaries of provincial constituency associations, June 1947. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 130.

86. Report of the National Secretary to the CCF National Council, January 29-30, 1949. GAIA Alberta M1722 CCF Papers, f. 1. Official membership figures were first authoritatively collected for 1947.

87. See Tables 4 and 5 in the appendix for electoral statistics on the provincial general election of 1948. Table 5 is a comparative table of the 1944 and 1948 electoral results.

88. A.M. Nicholson to J.E. Cook, December 3, 194J. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 1.

89. Membership statistics for the Alberta CCF between 1941 and 1946 can only be estimated because no firm statistics were maintained before 1947. Estimates are based upon the reports of the Provincial Secretary prior to 1947 to the convention and National Secretary, and local estimates. Further reports are based upon membership and financial reports filed with the provincial secretary and treasurer. The same situation occurred at the national level where party membership dropped to 29 829 in 1947 from 88 216 in 1945 (a decrease of 66%). Over a one year period from 1947 to 1948 national party membership increased 30% to 38,782 before dropping to a low of 20,238 in 1950. Membership statistics are based upon the reports of the National Secretary to the National Convention, 1938-1960. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 12-21. Membership information was also obtained from financial statements prepared by the National Treasurer included an account of membership fees by province. See NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 8. Membership files are contained in NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers

Vols. 119-120 for the 1946 to 1951 periods.

90. The CCF were second in Lac Ste. Anne, Redwater and St. Paul; the Liberals placed second in Beaver River, Grouard, Pincher Creek-Crowsnest and Vermilion.

91. In ridings where a second count was needed and the CCF came in third, 81% of all CCF supporters plumped their votes. For those who signified a choice, 62% supported Social Credit instead of the Liberals. For Liberal supporters in CCF-second place ridings, only 58% plumped. Eighty-two percent of Liberal supporters indicated that their second choice was to go to Social Credit rather than to the CCF. If there was any consideration of an electoral arrangement between the CCF and the Liberals in 1948, it was not accepted by members and supporters of both parties.

92. Jack King to Jack Griffin, August 18, 1948. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 148. This letter was repeated verbatim in a letter Griffin wrote to Elmer Roper on August 21, 1948 and later reported in a letter to William Irvine in March 1950.

93. Jack King to Jack Griffin, August 18, 1948. GAIA Alberta M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 148.

94. Jack Griffin to Elmer Roper, August 21, 1948. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 148.

95. Ibid.

96. Elmer Roper to Jack Griffin, August 28, 1948. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 148.

97. Jack Griffin to William Irvine, March 17, 1950. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 143. This letter was designed to acquaint Irvine with the state of party organization at the local level during his absence from Alberta.

98. See, for example, the letter of Mrs. R.A. Price of Medicine Hat to Nellie Peterson, November 20, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 156.

99. Ibid.

100. Ernie Cook to William Hankin, September 10, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 219.

101. Ernie Cook to Jack Griffin, October 4, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 156.

102. Ernie Cook to Mrs. S. Buckland (Parkland), March 30, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 147.

103. Ernie Cook to Stewart Wright, October 26, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 154.

104. Ernie Cook to John Lloyd, March 28, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 147.

105. Ernie Cook to John G. Inglis, December 28, 1948. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 147.

106. Organizational revenues decreased from $12,285.44 in 1947/48 to $8,160.95 in 1949/1950 (a drop of 34%). Membership revenue decreased 70% over the same period. The slack was picked up by an organizational drive among remaining members and supporters. Provincial Office expenditures decreased 63% from $3,792 to $1,387. Organization and publicity expenses were kept to a minimum in the 1949/1950 period (at a mere 7% decrease) thus digging the party out a deficit situation. See Revenues and Expenditures of the Alberta CCF, 1947-1950. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, ff. 118, 276.

107. Elmer Roper's Recommendations for Future Organization to the Provincial Board, Minutes of the meeting of the Provincial Board, July 9, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 118.

108. David Lewis, in March 1949, noticed with alarm the declining membership within the Alberta party. The 70% decrease in membership renewals could not be taken lightly. "The Alberta situation worries me even more, because I understood that a membership drive has been undertaken, although I appreciate the fact that there was bound to be a pretty serious let down after the result of the last provincial election." David Lewis to John H. King, March 4, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 43. See also Nellie Peterson's response to David Lewis, March 18, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 43.

109. Elmer Roper's Recommendations for Future Organization to the Provincial Board, Minutes of the meeting of the Provincial Board, July 9, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 118.

110. Ibid.

111. An examination of the correspondence of several provincial constituencies in the Peace River federal constituency (Peace River, Grouard, Spirit River, Grande Prairie and Dunvegan) revealed that the structuration

process, inherited from the UFA during the 1930s, was
drastically altered between 1945 and 1949. The essential
elements of this transformation included the withdrawal of
paid organizing party personnel from the local areas, the
creation of core party leadership with minimal local
support in major urban centres within the region, and the
replication of provincial constituency leadership at the
federal constituency level. The result of this process was
discontinuous contact between the Provincial Office and the
local members, and increased organizational and
bureaucratic involvement with "self-styled" local leaders.
The decline in membership at the local level can not be
totally blamed on external factors, such as the cold war
and depoliticization but should reflect organizational and
structurational problems that existed within the party.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER V

1. Donald C. MacDonald to Elmer Roper, January 7, 1950. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 44. See also David Lewis to Alberta Provincial Executive, August 24, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 43; "Report of the Executive Subcommittee on Education" submitted to the CCF National Council, October 1, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 11.

2. Ibid.

3. Donald MacDonald to Nellie Peterson, November 15, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 44.

4. Elmer Roper's handwritten comments on letter from Donald C. MacDonald to Elmer Roper, December 13, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 44.

5. Nellie Peterson to Donald C. MacDonald, January 31, 1950. GAIA Alberta M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 44. Minutes of the Executive meeting held at Woodsworth House, Edmonton, January 14, 1950; April 8, 1950; September 12, 1950. GAIA Alberta M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 118.

6. Lorne Ingle to William Irvine, August 29, 1950. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 44.

7. William Irvine to David Lewis, March 13, 1950. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 73, f. 4. This letter was in response to David Lewis to William Irvine, March 7, 1950. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 44.

8. William Irvine to David Lewis, March 13, 1950. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 73, f. 4.

9. William Irvine to Lorne Ingle, April 11, 1950. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 44.

10. Jack Griffin to William Irvine, February 15, 1950. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 148. The same problems were experienced by Harold E. Bronson. See Harold Bronson to Jack King, September 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 166.

11. William Irvine to Jack Griffin, March 29 1950. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 148.

12. Jack Griffin to William Irvine, February 15, 1950. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 148.

13. William Irvine to David Lewis, March 13, 1950. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 73, f. 4.

14. Elmer Roper to David Lewis, October 13, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 155.

15. See table 6 in the appendix for a statistical review of the provincial general elections of 1952, 1955 and 1959.

16. Between 1944 and 1948 electoral support decreased 23.19%. Between 1948 and 1952 support decreased 26.6%, between 1952 and 1955, 41.1% and between 1955 and 1959, 47.5% It was a steadily increasing rate of decrease throughout the 1950s. See Table 7 in the appendix for a comparative analysis of the provincial elections between 1952 and 1959 in various sectors of the province.

17. In 1948 the CCF did not nominate candidates in ten ridings (out of sixteen) in southern Alberta. In 1952 the party did not run candidates in thirteen of sixteen ridings. In 1955 fourteen ridings out of sixteen did not have CCF candidates. In 1959 there was only one CCF candidate in southern Alberta - Acadia-Coronation.

18. Membership in the Alberta CCF:

Year	Members		Year	Members
1941	2,500	estimate	1951	1,826
1942	3,000	estimate	1952	1,772
1943	4,000	estimate	1953	1,452
1944	12,000	estimate	1954	1,671
1945	13,000	estimate	1955	1,889
1946	7,000	estimate	1956	1,392
1947	3,737		1957	1,029
1948	4,920		1958	1,009
1949	3,329		1959	1,110
1950	2,336			

Source: Membership files, GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers. Estimates are based upon the report of the Provincial Secretary in 1947. Other statistics were based upon membership reports and financial reports filed with the Provincial Secretary and Treasurer.

19. The membership statistics for Alberta appear to correlate with those of the national CCF. Between 1945 and 1950 the CCF lost almost 68,000 members (a 77% loss). Throughout the 1950s CCF membership fluctuated. There was an increase in membership between 1951 and 1953, and a further increase between 1955 and 1957. The final membership increase occurred in 1960 before the creation of

the NDP. 1950 was the lowest point in terms of CCF membership before the National Educational Programme took effect in 1951. Thereafter party membership hovered around 24,000. See Reports of the National Secretary to the National Convention, 1938 to 1960. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Volumes 12-21; Financial statements, NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 8.

20. Colin Cameron, "An Analysis of the Election Results", CCF News July 6, 1949, p. 3. Colin Cameron was provincial leader of the British Columbia CCF and prominent member of the "Socialist Fellowship" faction within the party. This article can be regarded as the opening salvo in the fight between the right and left within the CCF. The National Executive had Angus MacInnis respond immediately to Cameron's article - "The CCF and the Elections", CCF News July 20, 1949, p. 3. University of British Columbia Special Collections (UBCSC). Angus MacInnis Papers.

21. Ibid.

22. For information on "Socialist Fellowship" in British Columbia see the UBCSC Angus MacInnis Papers. See also Elaine Bernard, "The Rod Young Affair in the British Columbia Co-operative Commonwealth Federation" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1979).

23. Motion reproduced in the minutes of the Provincial Board, March 12, 1949. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 118. A policy committee was appointed to oversee the implementation of the resolution.

24. 1948 resolution copied in Isabel MacMillan to Lorne Ingle, June 20, 1950. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

25. For example, in April 1948, Jack King complained to David Lewis after noting an article in the Social Creditor describing an incident at Woodsworth House in Ottawa (Headquarters of the CCF) during which "The Red Flag" was sung. King urged more control over party activities and statements, whether official or not. Jack King to David Lewis, April 25, 1948. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 3.

26. For some of Walter Mentz's articles on "marxist" socialism, and the international situation, see his column in the People's Weekly, June 3, 1950; October 14, 1950; September 16, 1950; September 30, 1950; December 23, 1950; November 11, 1950; and October 28, 1950. Lorne Ingle was particularly incensed by Mentz's "tripe", acknowledging it as nothing more than "pure, unadulterated communist

propaganda." Lorne Ingle to Isabel MacMillan, June 9, 1950. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, vol. 76, f. 2. Lorne Ingle wrote an response to Mentz, to be published anonymously as a letter to the editor.

27. Isabel MacMillan to Lorne Ingle, June 20, 1950. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

28. Resolution of the National Council, copied in Isabel MacMillan to Lorne Ingle, April 12, 1951. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

29. Ibid.

30. Elmer Roper to Lorne Ingle, May 14, 1951. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2. Conflicting evidence suggests that Elmer Roper attempted to sway Provincial Board members with the idea that the National Council had actually disapproved of restrictions on free discussion. In reality, the National Council went on record as not approving the publication of material opposed to CCF policies by regular contributors, and disapproved of "free discussion."

31. Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, May 17, 1951. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

32. CCF Editorial Policy, attached to Ingle to Roper, May 17, 1951. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

33. Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, May 17, 1951. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

34. Appointed in November 1950 the committee consisted of Mary Crawford, Alex Calhoun, John Liebe, Les Harris, Harold Bronson and Norman P. Finnemore as chairman.

35. Report of the Alberta CCF Foreign Policy Committee, November 30, 1951. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 118. It called for the immediate Canadian and United Nations recognition of the People's Republic of China, agreement of the 38th Parallel as the border between North and South Korea, withdrawal of support from the government of South Korea, withdrawal of all United Nations troops from Korea, the return of Formosa to China, opposition to German rearmament, and support of NATO for economic and social reasons only.

36. Suggestions for the Reorientation of the CCF Program on International Affairs, submitted to the Alberta CCF Provincial Board by John P. Liebe, March 1951. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 16.

37. Ibid.

38. Norman Finnemore to Nellie Peterson, March 5, 1951;
Alex Calhoun to Nellie Peterson, March 5, 1951. GAIA M1722
Alberta CCF Papers, f. 16.

39. William Irvine to John Liebe, February 28, 1951. GAIA
M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 16.

40. Minutes of the Alberta Provincial Executive, October
11, 1952. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 119.

41. Lorne Ingle to Isabel MacMillan, June 9, 1950. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

42. Isabel MacMillan to Lorne Ingle, June 20, 1950. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

43. Elmer Roper to Lorne Ingle, May 14, 1951. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

44. Lorne Ingle to Isabel MacMillan, June 9, 1950. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

45. Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, October 2, 1951. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 76, f. 2.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Elmer Roper to Lorne Ingle, October 17, 1951. NAC MG
28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 103, 1951 file.

50. Harold E. Bronson to Chris Paterson, July 31, 1950.
Bronson papers, Saskatoon.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. The basic introduction to the episode remains Anthony
Mardiros, William Irvine: The Life of a Prairie Radical
(Toronto: James Lorimer, 1979), pp. 234-239. Mardiros'
source material was extremely limited and included the
William Irvine papers at the Provincial Archives of Alberta
and newspaper articles. The basic documentary sources can
now be found in the (National) CCF Papers at the National
Archives of Canada and the Alberta CCF Papers at the
Glenbow Alberta Institute Archives in Calgary. The latter

includes a previously closed file on William Irvine. A more academic source is John Hart, "William Irvine and Radical Politics in Canada" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Guelph, 1972), pp. 281-284), Irvine's own observations in <u>Live or Die with Russia</u> (Edmonton: 1958) should not be overlooked for they provides an explanation of why the trip was undertaken and with what effect.

54. Interview with Harold E. Bronson, December 4, 1987. This assurance was not recorded in the party's documents, but was reported by Jack Leavens, secretary of the Edmonton C.C.F. to the <u>Edmonton Journal</u>. "Moscow Visit Causes Split", <u>Edmonton Journal</u> August 4, 1956, p. 21.

55. <u>Edmonton Journal</u> June 30, 1956, p. 2.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. For copies of the TASS news reports see NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, v. 77 William Irvine File.

59. "Remarkable Example of Democracy" [Statement by Leader of Social-Democrats on Visit to USSR and Supreme Soviet], <u>Moscow Daily News</u> No. 58 (1956), p. 1.; "Remarkable Example of Democracy in Action" [Leader of Group of Canadian Social Democrats in Kiev Gives His Impression of What He has Seen] <u>Pravda</u> July 20, 1956, p. 6. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine File.

60. "CCF-er Praises Red Democracy", <u>Edmonton Journal</u> July 19, 1956, p. 6; "Executive of CCF Praises 'Democracy' in Red Parliament", <u>Ottawa Journal</u> July 19, 1956, p. 7.

61. "CCF Will Repudiate Irvine's Statement", <u>Ottawa Journal</u> July 20, 1956, p. 7; "To Query Irvine Pro-Red Quotes", <u>Edmonton Journal</u> July 20, 1956, p. 34.

62. "Soviet Communist Party Central Committee receives group of leaders of Alberta provincial organization of Canadian Social-Democratic Party", <u>Pravda</u> August 1, 1956, p. 1 and <u>Ivestiia</u> August 1, 1956, p. 2.; "Dinner at VOKS in honour of group of leaders of Alberta provincial organization of Canadian Social-Democratic Party", <u>Ivestiia</u> August 1, 1956, p. 4.; "We Arrived in the Soviet Union as Friends and We have Found Friendship Here", <u>Moscow Daily News</u> 62 (1956), p. 4; <u>Pravda</u> August 2, 1956, p. 4. The last item was transcribed, translated and provided to the members of the group. Bryon Tanner had a copy of it when he was interviewed by <u>The Lethbridge Herald</u> at the beginning of August, 1956. See "Local Man's Impressions of

Russia", The Lethbridge Herald August 11, 1956, pp. 9-10.

63. Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, August 9, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77. William Irvine File.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, August 9, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77. William Irvine File.

67. Jack Leavens to Lorne Ingle, August 22, 1956; Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, August 16, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine File.

68. Jack Leavens to Lorne Ingle, August 22, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine File. Interview with Harold E. Bronson, December 5, 1987.

69. Elmer Roper to Lorne Ingle, September 11, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1, CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine File.

70. Elmer Roper to Lorne Ingle, September 11, 1956; Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, September 14, 1956; Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, September 13, 1956; Roper to Lorne Ingle, September 18, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine File.

71. Elmer Roper to William Irvine, September 19, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1, v. 77 William Irvine File.   Elmer Roper to William Irvine, September 25, 1956. GAIA f. 285. NAC MG 28.IV.1 v. 6. Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, September 21, 1956. NAC MaG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine File.

72. William Irvine to Norman Finnemore, October 24, 1956. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 285. Closed Irvine file.

73 Minutes of the Alberta CCF Provincial Board, November 10, 1956. GAIA M1722 Alberta CCF Papers, f. 285. Closed Irvine File.

74. Elmer Roper to Lorne Ingle, November 13, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine File.

75. Ivor Dent to Lorne Ingle, November 11, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine File.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. Lorne Ingle to Ivor G. Dent, November 12, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine File.

80. John F. Milner to M.J. Coldwell, November 21, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine file.

81. Ibid.

82. He cited the case of Alfred Froebel who replaced moderate John Liss on the Provincial Board for Jasper-Edson. Froebel had gained notoriety by suggesting that it was better for the CCF Executive to go to the Soviet Union than to attend the National Convention in Winnipeg.

83. Ibid.

84. Lorne Ingle to Elmer Roper, December 17, 1956. NAC MG 28.IV.1 CCF Papers, Vol. 77, William Irvine file.

85. Ibid.

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2. Dean E. McHenry, <u>The Third Force in Canada: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, 1932-1948</u> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950).

3. Alan Whitehorn, "An Analysis of the Historiography of the CCF-NDP: The Protest Movement Becalmed Tradition" in Brennan, pp. 1-24.

4. Young, <u>Anatomy of a Party: the National CCF</u>, pp. 3-5.

5. David Laycock, <u>Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies</u>, pp. 140, 151-2, 207-208, 211-213.

6. Ibid, p. 152.

7. Ibid. Certainly the UFA and the CLP were political parties by 1932.

8. Ibid.

9. This conceptualization of what the author would call an "united front party" is supported theoretically and practically by Panebianco.

10. Ibid. Laycock's shift in terminology from "movement" to "party" throughout <u>Populism and Democratic Thought</u> is not conducive to his arguments that the CCF and Social Credit were populist movements.

11. This was the term given to Nellie Peterson, William Irvine and Harold Bronson by Grant Notley. See Larry Pratt, "Grant Notley: Politics as a Calling" in <u>Socialism and Democracy in Alberta: Essays in Honour of Grant Notley</u>, p. 9.

12. Ibid.

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Table 1

Alberta Provincial General Election
of March 1940

	Votes	Percent	Seats
Social Credit	132 507	42.90%	36
CCF	34 316	11.11%	0
Independent	131 172	42.47%	19
Labour	3 258	1.05%	1
Liberal	2 755	.89%	1
Other	4 856	1.57%	0
Total	308 864	100%	57

Popular Support (Percent) in Regions

	North	Central	South
Social Credit	44.79%	46.62%	46.39%
CCF	17.15%	16.77%	3.14%
Independent	29.37%	32.14%	49.17%
Other	8.69%	4.47%	1.30%

	Urban	Rural
Social Credit	35.25%	46.39%
CCF	8.69%	12.21%
Independent	54.29%	36.14%
Other	1.77%	5.26%

	Calgary	Edmonton
Social Credit	37.14%	32.67%
CCF	9.03%	9.75%
Independent	53.29%	54.25%
Other	.55%	3.33%

Source: Alberta Chief Electoral Officer. A Report on
   Alberta Elections, 1905-1982 (Edmonton: Chief Electoral
   Officer, 1983). Statistical calculations are those of
   the author.

Table 2

Alberta Provincial General Election
of August 1944

	Votes	Percent	Seats
Social Credit	146 367	51.88%	51
CCF	70 307	24.92%	2
Independents	47 239	16.75%	3
LPP	12 003	4.26%	0
Other	6 190	2.19%	1
Total	282 106	100%	57

Popular Support (Percent) in Regions

	North	Central	South
Social Credit	51.17%	57.57%	48.15%
CCF	26.31%	27.93%	21.63%
Independent	12.03%	9.68%	25.59%
LPP	6.32%	4.82%	2.28%
Other	4.17%	2.35%	

	Rural	Urban
Social Credit	55.92%	42.28%
CCF	26.04%	22.27%
Independent	12.26%	27.44%
LPP	4.45%	3.78%
Other	1.33%	4.23%

	Calgary	Edmonton
Social Credit	38.27%	49.88%
CCF	23.58%	20.75%
Independent	34.96%	18.24%
LPP	3.19%	4.44%
Other		9.34%

Source: Alberta Chief Electoral Officer. A Report on
    Alberta Elections, 1905-1982 (Edmonton: Chief Electoral
    Officer, 1983). Statistical calculations are those of the
    author.

Table 3

Federal General Election of 1945
Alberta Situation

	Votes	Percent	Seats
Conservative	58 077	18.69%	2
Liberal Party	67 662	21.77%	2
CCF	57 077	18.37%	0
LPP	14 137	4.55%	0
Social Credit	113 821	36.63%	13
Total	310 773	100% 17	

	North	Central	South
Conservative	8.69%	16.18%	18.86%
Liberal Party	27.31%	15.16%	19.51%
CCF	17.24%	20.77%	15.83%
LPP	8.26%	3.21%	4.11%
Social Credit	38.49%	44.82%	41.69%

	Urban	Rural
Conservative	27.25%	14.73%
Liberal Party	24.07%	0.71%
CCF	19.57%	7.81%
LPP	3.27%	4.18%
Social Credit	25.84%	41.62%

	Calgary	Edmonton
Conservative	34.86%	20.05%
Liberal Party	20.45%	27.49%
CCF	19.42%	19.71%
LPP	3.06%	3.46%
Social Credit	22.21%	29.29%

Source: Alberta Chief Electoral Officer A Report on
    Alberta Elections, 1905-1982 (Edmonton: Chief
    Electoral Officer, 1983). Statistical calculations
    are those of the author.

Table 4

Alberta Provincial General Election
of August 1948

	Votes	Percent	Seats
Social Credit	164 003	55.63%	51
CCF	56 387	19.14%	2
Independent	9 014	3.05%	1
LPP	1 372	.47%	0
Liberal	52 655	17.86%	2
Other	11,362	3.85%	1
TOTAL	294 793	100%	57

Popular Support (Percent) in Regions

	North	Central	South
Social Credit	53.01%	58.72%	53.74%
CCF	23.62%	24.73%	10.72%
Independent	.04%	------	4.03%
LPP	------	------	1.25%
Liberal	20.56%	14.25%	18.30%
Other	------	2.30%	11.96%

	Rural	Urban
Social Credit	57.37%	50.11%
CCF	20.69%	15.99%
Independent	1.71%	1.32%
LPP	.44%	.53%
Liberal	16.86%	19.87%
Other	2.93%	12.18%

	Calgary	Edmonton
Social Credit	46.10%	54.49%
CCF	11.87%	19.59%
Independent	15.90%	-----
LPP	1.45%	-----
Liberal	20.98%	20.02%
Other	3.66%	5.90%
TOTAL	35,532	46150

Source: Alberta Chief Electoral Officer. A Report on
    Alberta Elections, 1905-1982 (Edmonton: Chief
    Electoral Officer, 1983). Statistical calculations
    are those of the author.

Table 5

Differences between 1944 and 1948
Provincial General Elections

	1944 Prov. Elect.		1948 Prov. Elect.	
Social Credit	146 367	51.88%	164 003	55.63%
CCF	70 307	24.92%	56 387	19.14%
Independents	47 239	16.75%	9 014	3.05%
LPP	12 003	4.26%	1 372	.47%
Liberal	------	------	52 655	17.86%
Other	6 190	2.19%	11 362	3.85%
Total	282 106	100%	294 793	100%

	North		Central	
	1944	1948	1944	1948
Social Credit	51.17%	53.01%	57.57%	58.72%
CCF	26.31%	23.62%	27.93%	24.73%
Independent	12.03%	.04%	9.68%	------
LPP	6.32%	------	4.82%	------
Liberal	------	20.56%	------	14.25%
Other	4.17%	------	2.30%	------

	South	
	1944	1948
Social Credit	48.15%	53.74%
CCF	21.63%	10.72%
Independent	25.59%	4.03%
LPP	2.28%	1.25%
Liberal	------	18.30%
Other	2.35%	11.96%

	Rural		Urban	
	1944	1948	1944	1948
Social Credit	55.92%	57.37%	42.28%	50.11%
CCF	26.04%	20.69%	22.27%	15.99%
Independent	12.26%	1.32%	27.44%	1.32%
LPP	4.45%	.53%	3.78%	.53%
Liberal	------	16.86%	------	19.87%
Other	1.33%	2.93%	4.23%	12.18%

Source: Alberta Chief Electoral Officer. A Report on
Alberta Elections, 1905-1982 (Edmonton: Chief
Electoral Officer, 1983). Statistical calculations
are those of the author.

Table 5 (Continued)

Differences between 1944 and 1948
Provincial General Elections

| | Calgary | | Edmonton | |
	1944	1948	1944	1948
Social Credit	38.27%	46.10%	49.88%	54.49%
CCF	23.58%	11.87%	20.75%	19.59%
Independent	34.96%	15.90%	18.24%	------
LPP	3.19%	1.45%	4.44%	------
Liberal	------	20.98%	------	20.02%
Other	------	5.90%	9.34%	5.90%

Table 6

Provincial General Elections of
1952, 1955 and 1959

1952 Provincial General Election

	Votes	Percent	Candidates	Seats
Social Credit	167 789	56.24%	61	53
CCF	41 929	14.05%	41	2
Liberal	66 738	22.37%	55	3
Conservative	10 971	3.68%	12	2
Other	10 908	3.66%	14	1
TOTAL	298 335	100%		61

1955 Provincial General Election

	Votes	Percent	Candidates	Seats
Social Credit	175 553	46.42%	63	37
CCF	31 180	8.24%	38	2
Liberal	117 741	31.13%	53	15
Conservative	34 757	9.19%	26	3
Other	18 948	5.01%	23	4
TOTAL	378 179	100%		61

Source: Alberta Chief Electoral Officer. A Report on
    Alberta Elections 1905-1982 (Edmonton: Chief Electoral
    Officer, 1983). Statistical calculations are those of
    the author.

Table 6 (Continued)

1959 Provincial General Election

	Votes	Percent	Candidates	Seats
Social Credit	230 283	55.69%	64	61
CCF	17 899	4.33%	32	0
Liberal	57 408	13.88%	51	1
Conservative	98 730	23.88%	64	1
Other	9 196	2.22%	9	2
TOTAL	413 516	100%		65

Table 7

Comparative Analysis of CCF Electoral Support
For 1952, 1955 and 1959 Provincial General Elections

Northern Alberta

	1952	1955	1959
Social Credit	48.75%	46.35%	54.61%
CCF	20.00%	9.24%	3.20%
Liberal	28.62%	39.56%	21.34%
Conservative	-----	.88%	20.56%
Other	2.63%	3.97%	.29%

Central Alberta

	1952	1955	1959
Social Credit	57.15%	47.22%	55.98%
CCF	18.91%	14.68%	6.38%
Liberal	18.70%	26.57%	11.30%
Conservative	-----	9.53%	23.76%
Other	5.24%	2.00%	2.58%

Southern Alberta

	1952	1955	1959
Social Credit	71.75%	56.99%	66.28%
CCF	1.83%	2.08%	1.10%
Liberal	25.18%	28.73%	12.29%
Conservative	-----	1.71%	17.61%
Other	1.24%	10.49%	2.72%

Table 7 (Continued)

Comparative Analysis of CCF Electoral Support
For 1952, 1955 and 1959 Provincial General Elections

Urban Areas

	1952	1955	1959
Social Credit	52.94%	41.84%	52.89%
CCF	12.73%	6.89%	4.69%
Liberal	20.08%	32.53%	13.88%
Conservative	10.26%	17.46%	28.32%
Other	3.99%	1.28%	.22%

Rural Areas

	1952	1955	1959
Social Credit	58.14%	49.95%	58.20%
CCF	14.81%	9.29%	4.01%
Liberal	23.67%	31.92%	14.93%
Conservative	------	2.77%	19.91%
Other	3.38%	6.07%	2.95%

Calgary

	1952	1955	1959
Social Credit	54.88%	40.30%	54.61%
CCF	9.10%	4.21%	3.03%
Liberal	12.68%	27.76%	13.50%
Conservative	15.05%	26.06%	28.86%
Other	8.29%	1.67%	------

Edmonton

	1952	1955	1959
Social Credit	46.17%	39.13%	47.93%
CCF	18.86%	9.17%	7.01%
Liberal	24.35%	40.74%	15.48%
Conservative	9.03%	9.56%	28.08%
Other	1.59%	1.40%	.50%

Source: Alberta Chief Electoral Officer. A Report on Alberta Elections 1905-1982 (Edmonton: Chief Electoral Officer, 1983). Statistical calculations are those of the author.

Table 8

Comparative Table of CCF Support
1940 - 1959

	1940	1944	1948	1952	1955	1959
Province	11.11%	24.92%	19.14%	14.05%	8.24%	4.33%
North	17.15%	26.31%	23.62%	20.00%	9.24%	3.20%
Central	16.77%	27.93%	24.73%	18.91%	14.68%	6.38%
South	3.14%	21.63%	10.72%	1.83%	2.08%	1.10%
Urban	8.69%	23.27%	15.99%	12.73%	6.89%	4.69%
Rural	12.21%	26.01%	20.69%	14.81%	9.29%	4.01%
Calgary	9.03%	23.58%	11.87%	9.10%	4.21%	3.03%
Edmonton	9.75%	20.75%	19.59%	18.86%	9.17%	7.01%

Source: Alberta Chief Electoral Officer. A Report on
    Alberta Elections 1905-1982 (Edmonton: Chief Electoral
    Officer, 1983). Statistical calculations are those of
    the author.