General Outline:

This course examines the Canadian Left in 20th Century Canada. More specifically, it looks to the theories, people, institutions, and events that shaped leftism in this country.

Grade Distributions

As an upper-year seminar, this class requires the production of high quality writing and research. In light of this, there will be no exams or tests. Rather, your grade will be determined as follows:

- Weekly Class participation: 15%
- Individual Class Presentations: 15%
- Short Essay on Perception of Leftism: 5%
- Major Essay Proposal: 15%
- Major Essay Historiography: 15%
- Major Essay: 35%

Assignments which are late will be subjected to a 2% per day penalty, including weekends and holidays. After 10 days, the project will be assessed a zero.

Assignment Descriptions

Oral Assignments:

Weekly class participation: While the biggest aspect here is coming to class, completing the readings, and being a regular participant in discussions, every week I will ask you to submit two or three questions via email that relate to the week and/or readings. I will compile these questions so we can discuss them. **Ideally, have the questions to me by 6 pm the day before class. If you don’t have them by then, bring them to class and be ready to discuss them.**

Individual Class Presentations:

A. **Primary source ‘show and tell’** Once each term, you will be required to find a primary source that is related to the week in question. **This assignment is available for every week there are readings, with the exception of week two.**
You are then to make a short (no more than 10 minute) presentation that does the following:

1. Inform the class why that item was chosen and how it was found.
2. Speak of the item’s significance to the readings, week, and course.
3. What the process of finding the item taught you about the work historians do.
4. The historical benefits and drawbacks of this item, and the medium in which it is found.
5. You should also expect a couple questions from me and your fellow students.

Many things can be classified as primary sources. You may consider the following:

- Newspaper/magazine articles from the period in question.
- Government documents (this may include speeches from the House of Commons, reports on policies, press releases, or laws/constitutional documents)
- Institutional documents (Many institutions like unions and political parties keep files. These include meeting minutes, convention proceedings, policy statements, pamphlets, and more)
- Audio-visual files (the library and many websites have audio and visual files that recount historical events; this includes recordings from the events themselves, but also news reports, and recollections from those involved)
- Pictures
- Autobiographies
- Posters
- Manifestos
- Pamphlets
- Advertisements
- Correspondence
- Diaries and journals
- Political manifestos
- Other artefacts (architecture, heirlooms, tools, household and everyday items)
- If you find anything that you think doesn’t fit this list, speak to me; it may be more applicable than you think!

While finding primary sources can be difficult at times, below are just a few examples:

- Much like books and journals, you can find primary documents if you search the library’s QCAT or Summon systems. While the library website has tutorials to help in this regard, I am free to help if you need it.
- Newspapers are available digitally and on microforms. Stauffer Library has an impressive collection in the basement. In addition to major daily newspapers, there are also papers of political parties and unions. Start here (http://library.queensu.ca/research/guide/news-resources) for more info. **Speak to me about specific collections like those dealing with labour; they can be hard to find, and aren’t always catalogued online!**
- Many historians have edited collections of primary sources which can be used. See for example, Colin McKay *For a Working-Class Culture in Canada: A Selection of Colin McKay’s Writings on Sociology and Political Economy, 1897-1939*. Edited by Ian McKay. St. John’s: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1996.
In the basement of Stauffer Library are government collections. They are organized by provincial/federal government. ([http://library.queensu.ca/webdoc/](http://library.queensu.ca/webdoc/)) is a good place to start. Links to staff contact is also available there; they are an invaluable resource.

The Queen’s University Archives has a multitude of sources that can be used. Some collections require access permission from the donators, but many files are open. The archivists will also help you every step of the way, although be sure to start the process early, because it can take time to access files and find what you need. Start your search at ([http://db.archives.queensu.ca/dbtw-wpd/fondsdb/query-fonds.html](http://db.archives.queensu.ca/dbtw-wpd/fondsdb/query-fonds.html))

Audio-visual files can be found across the internet, but two excellent examples are the digital archives of the CBC and Radio-Canada (the latter contains mostly French items) the links are [http://www.cbc.ca/archives/](http://www.cbc.ca/archives/) and [http://archives.radio-canada.ca/](http://archives.radio-canada.ca/)

Artefacts may be something that you have in your or your family’s possession. You may also find things at museums, and could take a picture of it. You may even find an applicable historical plaque, statue or monument while walking down the street!

**B. End of Term Presentations:** For the last week each term, you will be asked to prepare a presentation which articulates your written projects. In other words, your presentation should attempt the same goals as its written counterpart. The first term presentation will be on your major essay proposal, while your second term presentation will cover the major essay itself. You should also be prepared to answer some questions about your work, and be prepared to ask them to others.

As noted above, all of these oral presentation components will be folded into 30% of your grade. The weekly participation and attendance will be 15%, while your show and tell and end of term projects will be the other 15%.

**Written Assignments:**

**Short Essay on Perceptions of Leftism: (DUE October 10th, 2014)**

This will be your first written assignment of the class, a warm up essay of sorts.

The purpose of the assignment is to explore your own perceptions, The Political Compass Test, and how the first few weeks of the class have complimented and clashed with them. The essay will be assessed on the quality of writing, clarity of expression, level of self-reflection, and effectiveness in answering questions asked. Because the essay will be due shortly after our early seminars, you will be expected to engage with the theories and definitions explored, but outside research is not required.

The essay should be five pages long, and answer four key questions:

1. How would have you defined leftism before this assignment and our earlier readings? Has your definition changed?
2. Do you feel that this course’s definition of leftism is a fair or accurate one? Expand upon your answer here, and if you disagree with it, offer potential alternatives.
3. What has the Political Compass Test taught you about ideological spectrums, your own beliefs, and contemporary Canadian beliefs? Does it have a historical purpose?
4. Methodologically, can you see any ways in which the test may have severe limitations? Is ideology something truly ‘graph-able’?

The political compass website is located at the following:
Test: http://www.politicalcompass.org/test
Canada Results 2011: http://www.politicalcompass.org/canada2011
Canada 2005: http://www.politicalcompass.org/canada2005
USA 2012: http://www.politicalcompass.org/uselection2012
International Leaders and a bit of info on the test: http://www.politicalcompass.org/analysis2

To get the full effect, be sure to not only look at how the site has plotted major political leaders and parties, but take the test yourself. You are not required to share your results, but analyzing them is important; perhaps they will surprise you! You may also consider doing the test before you look at the results of major parties and politicians; it may help you from second-guessing yourself!

Major Essay Proposal: (DUE November 28th, 2014) This 8-10 page assignment is intended to get you thinking about your major essay. It will allow us to determine if you are facing any significant difficulties, and how to rectify them, hopefully avoiding major struggles in the second term.

In addition to picking a topic, you should also explore the types of primary sources you want to look at, the scholars you plan to read, the theories you plan to converse with, what you expect to find, and any significant logistical issues your topic may present (lack of primary sources, restricted files, lack of existing literature on the topic, etc…) Also include a brief preliminary timeline: not only will this help me judge the feasibility of your project, it will also give you something to go back to, making sure you keep the pace you’ve set.

In terms of core requirements, heed the following:

- In addition to articulating a topic, you must concisely demonstrate its significance as a historical project.
- While often difficult to hypothesize about potential conclusions, do your best to describe your general argument based on what you feel your research will reveal.
- You should note at least one significant primary source base that you will use, why it was chosen, and what you expect it to yield.
- If there are any barriers to accessing your primary sources, you should articulate this, and also look into the process of removing them. If a project has too many barriers, it may be best to modify it.
- While a diligent and detailed plan is essential, unforeseen circumstances happen to the best of historians. In this regard, you should think about potential variables that might happen in the course of your research; should they occur, you should have contingencies. For example, you may have excellent sources that take more time to analyze than previously thought; knowing this early will allow you to complete your essay by perhaps narrowing your timeframe or scope.
I will have your proposals graded and commented upon by the time we return for the winter 2014 term, giving plenty of time to start research or make necessary adjustments.

**Major Essay Historiography: (DUE January 30th 2015)** This will be the last written assignment before the final essay. Like the proposal, it is designed to compliment your final project. It will be around 10 pages in length, centred around a key question arising out of your proposal. While your proposal asked you to outline your secondary sources, this assignment requires you to engage more closely with them.

It is essential that you centre this project on a question that is both core to your final essay and builds upon lessons from the class. A couple good examples of questions may be as follows:

1. If your topic analyzes Medicare, you may want to ask how historians have examined ideology and the adoption of it. Was Medicare something primarily leftist in nature, or more liberal-democratic? Was its implementation due more towards the political pressure of leftists, or because of pragmatic and technical concerns by federal Liberal governments?
2. If your topic looks at Pierre Trudeau, you may want to look at how scholars chart his ideological views. Do they see him as a socialist? A liberal? How do they look at his core policies? Do they differentiate between before and after he became a politician?
3. If writing on the labour movement, you may want to consider how it has fared in being inclusive. On this line, you may look at how women, immigrants, visible minorities, or “unskilled workers” have been treated by unions according to historians. Have historians painted a positive picture, a negative one, or a nuanced one? Have newer historians changed their positions when compared to older ones?

It is always best to keep in mind that historians write, live, and learn within historical contexts. When looking at their work, read not only what they write explicitly, but consider when and where their works are written. How historians of the 1970s looked at something may not be how they do today; further, Francophone scholars may have a different lens than Anglophones.

**Major Essay: (DUE April 10th, 2015)** As the previous two assignments have prepared you for it, you should begin writing this essay with not only a topic, but with sources, timelines, logistics, and theories. It should be between 20 and 25 pages, be rigorously cited, clearly written, and show mastery of the topic at hand. As long as the project is well thought out and feasible, you can write on nearly anything associated with the 20th century Canadian left in some way.

Like the other assignments, you will be graded on the general quality of writing, research, structure, and incorporation of key theories. In addition to these factors, however, your grade will also factor in growth over the course of the proposal and historiography. Specifically, there should be evidence that key problems identified in the first two assignments were addressed and that the sophistication of your analysis has deepened.

**Readings**

In general terms, I will try my best to ensure sources are available in multiple formats. A good chunk of the readings are digitally available and all those not available digitally will be put on 3-
hour reserve at Stauffer Library. In this class, you won’t have to purchase books or course packs. I would recommend, however, that you give yourself a bit of time to do the readings, as there may be short waits for the reserve copy. In a good amount of cases, however, the library will have more than one copy, so you may use the reserve copy, or the regular one(s).

**Week One September 12th, 2013: Introduction**
- No required readings. Come to class considering what you want to learn and how you would define leftism.
- We will discuss the syllabus, and I will give a general class overview.
- We may also, time permitting, take a quick walk over to the library so I can show you around some of the primary source locations.

**Week Two September 19th, 2014: an Overview and theory of the Canadian Left**

**Week Three September 26th, 2014: 1919 Winnipeg General Strike and the Post War Labour Revolt**

**Week Four: October 3rd, 2014: Workers Between the Wars Part I: Reds, Unions, and Their Allies**
- Laurel MacDowell, *Renegade Lawyer The Life of J. L. Cohen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002) Chapters 2,4
Week Five: October 10th, 2014: Workers Between the Wars Part II: Solidarity for All?

Week Six: October 17th, 2014: A Radical Christianity in Canada?

Week Seven: October 24th, 2014: A Working-Class Christianity in English Canada?

Week Eight: October 31st, 2014: Socialist Economics, the Great Depression, and the prospects of Canadian Leftism
- Colin McKay, *For a Working-Class Culture in Canada: A selection of Colin McKay’s Writings on Sociology and political Economy, 1897-1939*. Edited by Ian McKay, (Canadian Committee on Labour History/Acadiensis Press, 1996) 277-338

- David Lewis and Frank Scott, *Make This Your Canada: A Review of CCF History and Policy* (Toronto: Central Canada Publishing Company, 1943) (On reserve) *Chapters 3 and 4*

**Week Nine: November 7th, 2014: The rise of the CCF Contextualized.**


**Week Ten: November 14th, 2014: The Cold War and its Effects on the Labour and the CCF**

- Winnipeg Declaration, 1956 http://www.socialisthistory.ca/Docs/CCF/Winnipeg.htm
- Irving Abella, *Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973) (On reserve) *Chapters 5 and 11*

**Week Eleven: November 21st, 2014: Liberalism and Socialism in Pre-1960s Quebec.**

- Christo Aivalis, “In the Name of Liberalism: Pierre Trudeau, Organized Labour, and the Canadian Social Democratic Left, 1949-1959,” *Canadian Historical Review* (Summer/Fall 2013) http://muse.jhu.edu.proxy.queensu.ca/journals/canadian_historical_review/v094/94.2.aivalis.html

**Week Twelve: November 28**th, 2014: Class Presentations on Proposals

**SECOND TERM**

**Week Thirteen: January 9**th 2015: Liberal Conceptions and the ‘Grande Noiceur’ Challenged


**Week Fourteen: January 16**th, 2015: Beyond Liberal Feminism? Radical Canadian Women


**Week Fifteen: January 23**rd, 2015 Native Peoples and the Left.


• David Bedford, *Marxism and the Aboriginal Question: The Tragedy of Progress*. http://www2.bradonu.ca/library/CJNS/14.1/bedford.pdf (This link seems to work only when pasted into your browser’s address field)

Bryan Palmer, Canada’s 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009) Chapter 10

Week Sixteen: January 30th, 2015: Postwar women and the implications of feminism, work, and class.


-  Pierre Vallieres, White Niggers of America, trans. Joan Pinkham (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971 Foreword, Intro, Chapter 1 (on reserve)


Week Nine: February 20th, 2015: Reading Week

Week Twenty: February 27th, 2015: Party Disunity: The NDP and the Waffle
- Manifesto for an Independent, socialist Canada, 1969
  http://www.socialisthistory.ca/Docs/Waffle/WaffleManifesto.htm
  http://spe.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/spe/article/view/13635/10514
  http://spe.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/spe/article/view/13636/10517
  http://spe.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/spe/article/view/13062/9952
  http://spe.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/spe/article/view/13637/10518
  http://utpjournals.metapress.com.proxy.queensu.ca/content/c4k212050w56l223/?p=52f0c77abd014b2aa5c51f8fbc16552a&pi=3

Week Twenty-one: March 6th, 2015: The Elephant Lurking Below: Left Responses to America’s Economic Influence and the question of socialism.
  http://spe.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/spe/article/view/5231/2138
  http://spe.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/spe/article/view/12997
- Murray Smith, “The National Question: Political Economy and the Canadian Working Class: Marxism or Nationalist Reformism?” *Labour/Le Travail* 46 (Fall 2000), 343-68.

Week Twenty-two: March 13th, 2015: Trudeau’s Assault on Canadian Workers
- Leo Panitch and Donald Swartz, *The assault on trade union freedoms: from wage controls to social contract* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 2003) *Intro, Chapters 2 and 3* (on reserve; older versions of the book are different, but most suffice in this case)

**Week Twenty-three: March 20th, 2015 The Liberal Limitations of the Charter, and the labour left response.**
- Leo Panitch and Donald Swartz, *The assault on trade union freedoms: Chapter 4* (On Reserve)

**Week Twenty-four: March 27th, 2015 End of Term Presentations**

**Week Twenty-Five: April 3rd, 2015 No Class. Take this extra time to complete Final Essay**

*Due April 10th, 2015.*