

# ABSTRACTS / RÉSUMÉS

## “Legal Gentlemen Appointed by the Federal Government”: the Canadian State, the Citizens’ Committee of 1000, and Winnipeg’s Seditious Conspiracy Trials of 1919-1920

Tom Mitchell

IN THE FALL AND WINTER of 1919-1920, in response to vigorous lobbying by A.J. Andrews and others on behalf of the Citizens’ Committee of 1000, the Canadian state, through Orders in Council in 1919 and 1920, became the paymaster for a private prosecution of the Winnipeg strike leadership charged at the end of the strike with seditious conspiracy. The prosecution was initiated under provisions of the Criminal Code that allowed for prosecutions by private citizens or organizations, subject to the consent of the Attorney General of Manitoba. The federal government paid Alfred J. Andrews and his associates in the Citizens’ Committee fees for services rendered during the strike, when, as leading figures in the Committee, they led the campaign against Winnipeg’s working-class revolt. The Department of Justice also paid \$12,332.00 to the Winnipeg based McDonald Detective Agency for work associated with the prosecution. This federal largesse allowed Andrews to secure two juries almost certainly tainted by pre-trial investigations ordered by Andrews. The unity of purpose forged by Winnipeg’s business elite and the federal state illuminates the tendency of the liberal state and capital to forge a common front against perceived threats to the status quo in moments of *extremis*.

À AUTOMNE ET L’HIVER de 1919 à 1920, en réponse à la pression politique vigoureuse de A.J. Andrews et d’autres personnes mandatées par le Comité des

citoyens de 1000, l'État canadien devint financièrement responsable par des arrêtés en conseil de la poursuite judiciaire privée contre les principaux grévistes de Winnipeg qui étaient inculpés de complot séditionnaire à la fin de la grève. La poursuite judiciaire avait été entamée selon les dispositions du Code criminel qui permettait les poursuites par les citoyens ou les organismes privés, à la condition de recevoir l'approbation procureur général du Manitoba. Le gouvernement fédéral avait payé des honoraires à Alfred J. Andrews et ses associés du Comité des citoyens pour les services rendus durant la grève, même si en tant que membres constituants du Comité, ils avaient dirigé la campagne contre la révolte de la classe ouvrière de Winnipeg. Le ministère de la Justice avait aussi payé 12 332 \$ à l'agence d'investigation McDonald basée à Winnipeg pour le travail lié à la poursuite judiciaire. Cet appui du fédéral avait permis à Andrews d'obtenir deux jurys presque certainement contaminés par les enquêtes commandées par Andrews avant le procès. L'objectif commun établi par l'élite commerciale de Winnipeg et le gouvernement fédéral met en lumière la tendance de l'État libéral et du Capital de forger un front commun contre les menaces au statu quo perçues dans des moments de crise sociale.

## “We No Longer Respect the Law”: The Tilco Strike, Labour Injunctions, and the State

Joan Sangster

IN 1967 A STRIKE of marginalized women workers in small-town Ontario became a cause célèbre for the Ontario and national labour movements due to the employers' use of an *ex parte* injunction to break the strike, and the trade union movement's subsequent legal challenge to that injunction. This article explores the initial Tilco strike in Peterborough, the ensuing attempts by the labour movement to support the striking local of the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA), the criminal trials of those arrested for disobeying the injunction, and the Ontario Royal Commission on Labour Disputes which followed, chaired by Justice Ivan Rand. These events serve as a useful window through which to view labour-capital relations in this period, particularly the way in which the “Fordist” accord was profoundly gendered.

Tilco also reveals a labour movement strengthened by post-World War II industrial legality, but challenged from its own margins by dissatisfaction of the rank and file with that same industrial legality. Finally, Tilco and the ensuing battle over injunctions highlights interpretive debates in Canadian working-class history concerning the state, the legal regulation of labour, and the potential malleability of state institutions in the face of pressures for reform.

EN 1967, UNE GRÈVE de travailleuses marginales dans une petite ville de l'Ontario était devenue une cause célèbre pour les mouvements ouvriers ontariens et canadiens en raison de l'injonction demandée ex parte par l'employeur pour briser la grève, ainsi que pour la contestation judiciaire subséquente du mouvement syndical à l'égard de cette injonction. Cet article permet d'analyser la grève initiale à la Tilco à Peterborough, les essais consécutifs du mouvement ouvrier pour appuyer la section locale du Syndicat des travailleurs amalgamés du vêtement et du textile, les procès criminels des personnes arrêtées pour la désobéissance à l'injonction, ainsi que la Commission royale sur les conflits industriels qui a suivi, de l'Ontario, présidée par le juge Ivan Rand. Ces événements servent de fenêtres par lesquelles on peut clairement voir les relations entre la main-d'œuvre et le capital dans cette période, en particulier, la façon dont l'accord « fordiste » était profondément sexiste. La grève à la Tilco révèle aussi un mouvement syndical renforcé par la légalité industrielle après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, mais contesté à sa périphérie en raison de l'insatisfaction de la base syndicale avec cette légalité industrielle. Finalement, la grève à la Tilco et la bataille subséquente provoquée par les injonctions soulignent les débats interprétatifs dans l'histoire canadienne de la classe ouvrière concernant le rôle de l'État, le cadre juridique des relations ouvrières et la malléabilité des institutions de l'État face à des pressions pour des réformes.

## Between Nationalism and Continentalism: State Auto Industry Policy and the Canadian UAW, 1960-1970

Dimitry Anastakis

IN THE TURBULENT 1960s Canadians debated foreign control of the Canadian economy and Canada's relations with the United States. The Canadian section of the United Auto Workers (UAW) also struggled with these questions as it faced a number of government policies designed to bolster the auto industry and solve balance of payments difficulties, culminating in the 1965 Canada-United States Automotive Products Trade Agreement (auto pact). The auto pact rationalized the Canadian Big Three (General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler) production into their parent corporations and by 1970 the Canadian industry was fully integrated into a continental system of North American automobile manufacturing. The Canadian UAW played an ineffectual role in shaping this transformation, one which rekindled and exacerbated conflict within the membership and between militant locals and the union's leadership. Nonetheless, by the end of the decade, the union had become a strong advocate of the new continental auto regime, a reflection of the increased employment and production resulting from the changes. The essay explains the issues the union faced in this period and some of the long-term consequences which the continentalization of the auto industry had on the union.

DANS LA PERIODE MOUVEMENTÉE ANNÉES 60 les Canadiens avaient débattu du contrôle étranger de l'économie canadienne et des relations du Canada avec les États-Unis. La section canadienne du Syndicat des travailleurs unis de l'automobile s'était aussi heurtée à ces difficultés en faisant face à de nombreuses politiques gouvernementales conçues pour soutenir l'industrie automobile et résoudre les problèmes relatifs à la balance des paiements, aboutissant à l'Accord canado-américain conclu en 1965 sur les produits automobiles (pacte de l'automobile). Ce pacte de l'automobile avait rationalisé la production des trois grands fabricants automobiles canadiens (General Motors, Ford et Chrysler) dans leurs corporations mères et en 1970, l'industrie canadienne était entièrement intégrée dans un système continental de fabrication automobile en Amérique du Nord. Le syndicat canadien des travailleurs unis de l'automobile avait joué un rôle inefficace dans la réalisation de cette transformation, laquelle avait rallumé et exacerbé le conflit parmi les membres et entre les sections locales militantes et les dirigeants du syndicat. Toutefois, à la fin de la décennie, le syndicat était devenu le

porte-parole clé du nouveau régime automobile continental, une reflet de l'augmentation de l'emploi et de la production par suite des changements. L'article explique les enjeux auxquels faisait face le syndicat dans cette période et certains des effets à long terme que la continentalisation de l'industrie automobile avait produit sur le syndicat.

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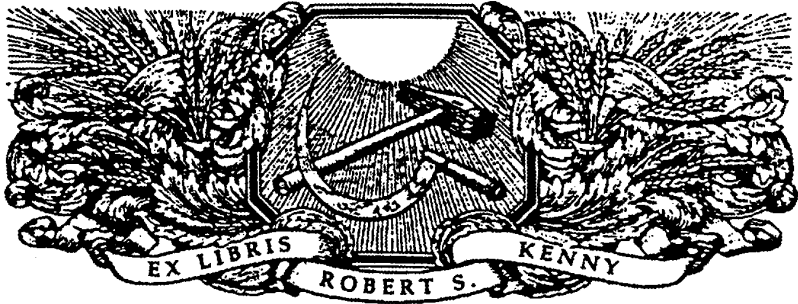
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