

ALIENATION, DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL: A
COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL
REACTIONS TO RADICAL LABOR MOVEMENTS IN THE U.S.
AND CANADA

by

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates some factors involved in the genesis of political deviance by regarding established values and norms as major sources of deviant behavior.

Important kinds of political deviance in North American society are seen as emerging from a cleavage in perspective which originates in the different social backgrounds of elites and non-elite groups. 'Elites' are groups of individuals who hold positions at the apex of the various institutions, and who can appreciably influence the life chances of others. The term 'non-elite groups' refers to those groups of persons who have no such prerogative.

Existing standards of behavior are taken as a point of departure by regarding them as alienating conditions from the viewpoint of some non-elite members of society. Such non-elite estrangement from existing values and norms may result in protest which, in a given circumstance, officialdom may define as deviant conduct. In order to dissolve the challenge which this deviance signifies to commonly accepted standards the authorities may react to it by the enacting and/or application of rules. The types of devices the authorities will apply to control the deviant conduct depend upon the conditions they perceive as motivating it.

Two social conditions are here assumed to be frequent sources of alienation and, ultimately, deviance. One such condition has its

origin in the man-work relationship and can be described in terms of the orthodox Marxian notion of alienation from work. Another condition refers to the total disenchantment of a group of individuals with established values and norms.

These assumptions suggest the interrelation of the three major sociological concepts of alienation, deviance and social control in order to demonstrate that the phenomena represented by them manifest themselves in a temporal sequence that is integral to the process of becoming deviant.

This theoretical outline guided the sociological interpretation of historical materials that encompass some of the activities engaged in by radical labor movements in North America during the post-World War I and II periods. Documents from Labor, business and government sources were introduced as the data.

The study confirms an often-made assumption that political deviance and possibly other forms of deviance emanate from a cleavage in perspective that arises from the different social experiences common to elites and non-elite groups. Where such cleavage is appreciable, the authorities frequently perceive Labor's conduct as motivated by a Communist conspiracy that aims at the replacement of existing standards with the objectives of the "co-operative commonwealth". Where this cleavage is less pronounced, the authorities perceive some groups of individuals as disaffected from the work role.

A comparison of the U.S. and Canadian perspectives of the events examined generally reveals only minor differences between the U.S. and Canadian Labor Movements. These differences are here regarded as resulting from the evolution of the North American Trade Union Movement itself. No important differences are found to exist between the perspectives of these incidents by the U.S. and Canadian authorities in the two historical periods examined.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The study of political deviance has, it seems, had a somewhat chequered history in sociology. Sociologists have leveled considerable attention upon the examination of aberrant behavior, but it would appear that political non-conformity has, in the literature, not received the attention it deserves.

Writers, such as Horton and Leslie (1965),¹ for example, have devised a classificatory system, which includes offenders that would bear a resemblance to the political deviant. This scheme embraces persons, who have become known as offenders as a result of unjust enforcement, or because their offense represented a pretext for action against them as holders of unpopular political views. While Vold (1965)² and Merton (1966)³ as well as Clinard and Quinney (1967)⁴ include in their classification of criminals the political deviant, Dinitz, Dynes and Clarke (1969),⁵ in their comprehensive study of stigmatization and societal reaction to deviance, devote but scant attention to the problems of the political deviant. Clinard and Quinney (1967),⁶ for example, have openly criticized sociologists for having neglected the study of the political deviant in favor of the aberrant.⁷ Matza (1969),⁸ too, notes that insufficient attention

has been paid by sociologists to the role of state authority as a major source of deviance.

It would thus appear that, apart from attempts at classifying the political deviant as a "type" and finding causal explanations for the deviant conduct, in this manner making it accessible to the aims of correction, there is a paucity of studies in the literature, which actually attempt to analyse activities perceived as being deviant in the political sphere. Some explorative research with this goal in mind would therefore seem to be timely.

In order to accomplish this objective, an attempt will be made in this study to bring together and interrelate three major sociological concepts, namely, alienation, deviance and social control, which are considered as being useful in analysing some phenomena that are generally perceived as forms of political deviance.

Taking as a point of departure a system of guiding principles, or values in the society, a perspective capable of illustrating the interrelationships between these concepts and applying them to an analysis of leftist political activity may perhaps be gained by regarding alienation, deviance and social control as elements in an historical sequence of events. A temporal sequence, such as the following would appear to command some credence: (1) the dominant value structure of the society may impose a challenge, or even a threat to the ideals, or real desires of some other members of the society, who have little, or no part in its making. Uncommitted to

these goals, these members or groups of persons may suffer estrangement from them which may be experienced as a feeling of isolation, or exclusion. Among those members of the society who remain uncommitted, there may be some that are determined to protest values, which they perceive as being imposed from a few positions in authority. Other members may choose an attitude of resignation to these demands and conform outwardly, whereas still others may simply remain indifferent to them; (2) the makers and guardians of the value system (social control agents) determined to take no chance and possibly fearful of any protest their demands may instigate, generally attempt to forestall any conduct deviating from their wishes by devising rules that pre- or proscribe certain behaviors that are tantamount to potentially seditious action. These rules enforce conformity through the punishment of infractions. In this manner, those members of the society who are determined to protest a value system, which corresponds only minimally to their own ideals and desires, are now unable to communicate them to positions higher up in the hierarchy, or to do so effectively. This inability to communicate at all, or to communicate effectively may be experienced by a group of persons as a feeling of being powerless in that it would seem to reinforce a conviction that it was excluded from the making of decisions, which the value structure legitimizes; (3) once a rule has been instituted, those members of the society who maintain their desire to protest are now rendered potentially deviant in the manner described.

conduct as deviant via the authority of the state. In North America, such authority is exercised chiefly by the various levels of government (Federal, Provincial, state - or municipal).

The close linkage between the extent to which non-elite groups may perceive themselves as being alienated from the official value system and the official reactions to the protest (deviance) that may result from such estrangement has already been implied in the "ideal sequence". These interrelationships will be elaborated in subsequent sections.

As examples of protest against official principles in which estranged non-elite groups in the society may engage and which may be perceived by the social control agents as deviant conduct, this thesis seeks to examine two major types of such conduct, or major forms of political deviance. These forms of deviance are here regarded as emanating from the cleavage in perspective which arises from the different social experiences common to elite groups in positions of authority and non-elite members of the society.

Basically, two social conditions are envisioned as generating estrangement in some non-elite groups, in this manner inducing them to protest the official value premises. One such condition has seemingly given some impetus to the Communist Movement and originates in the man-work relationship. It is perhaps best described in terms of the orthodox Marxian notion, namely that alienation is fostered

in the work situation when work is perceived by a group of persons as hard labor which benefits only the employer. This, Marx held, leads to a feeling of moral debasement, "dehumanizes" the individual and eventually invokes a loss of the sense of self. Moreover, such perspective of work intensifies the sense of estrangement man may experience from the products of his labor. In its ultimate form, it may result in a general disenchantment with the whole of society.

The effect of this condition, namely creating a sense of estrangement, seems to begin with disaffecting individuals from what they do in the society until they recognize the futility of laboring within a value framework which ordains behavior that, on the mundane level, proves to be intolerable.

Another condition refers to a general disenchantment with the major value premises of the society, such that all actions which conform to these premises are no longer acceptable as legitimate modes of behavior. The total estrangement which these broadly leveled attacks on the existing value structure create has the purpose of gradually infiltrating the everyday activities of social life, and ultimately replacing the existing general values of the society with "alternative" goals.

These two alienating conditions may, from a theoretical point of view, be described in terms of the components of social action illustrated by Parsons and Shils (1951),¹⁰ Scott (1963)¹¹

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and Smelser (1962). From the present perspective, these action components could be regarded as outlining the two major sequences in which alienation seems to proceed, culminating in the two forms of political deviance envisioned here.

Smelser and Scott, for example, maintain that social action in the society whatever its purpose proceeds along so-called action components. These components consist of (a) facilities, or the "tools" that facilitate the individual's performance of his role (F for short), (b) the role he happens to be engaged in within a given social context (R), (c) norms, i.e. the "rules of the game" to which he must conform, and which regulate the performance of his role (N), and (d) the overall value structure of the society, which legitimizes the rules, or norms (V).

These writers moreover imply that the greater the number of action components from which the individual has become estranged, the greater his disenchantment with pre- or proscribed modes of behavior. Furthermore, if he has become estranged from the existing value structure, he is assumed to have become estranged from the norms, his role and the facilities as well. In this case, maximal estrangement is hypothesized to exist. This, in turn, implies a vertical hierarchy in which the action components are grouped with facilities at the bottom and values at the top.

It is possible that estrangement from these action components may begin with facilities, i.e. a vague feeling of disaffection

for anything which has the task of facilitating the individual's performance of his role. For example, if the role is the occupational role, i.e. the job, it may be the inadequacy of machinery, the monotony of the conveyorbelt, the absence of promotional opportunity, insufficient training for the job, lack of opportunity to participate in decision-making as it relates to the performance of the job etc. In time such estrangement from these facilities may diffuse over the remaining action components, i.e. the job activity itself, the rules as well as the values that legitimize a particular activity.

Another possibility is that estrangement from the whole of society is already complete, i.e. at a maximum, before it manifests itself in potentially deviant behavior. In this case, the existing value structure has induced full-fledged disenchantment in the individual, and his disaffection from the remaining action components serves but as a sort of "verification" of his total estrangement.¹³ Therefore, the replacement of the existing value structure with one capable of laying the foundation for a new society is the ultimate goal.¹⁴ The thrust of the Communist Party Movement in North America and elsewhere seems to illustrate this sequence of events.

Contrary to the first alienating condition, which may induce potential deviance, and which, in the Smelser-Scott model becomes sequence facilities (F) ----> values (V), the second condition within the same model becomes values (V) ----> facilities (F). It may here

be surmised that, if the estrangement that some non-elite members of the society experience diffuses over more than one action component, for example from (F) to (R), hence to (N), and ultimately to (V), the thrust toward political deviance will increase. Whenever such estrangement has diffused over component (V), it may be further assumed that these members of the society have become estranged from the remaining action components as well, namely (F), (R) and (N).

In this context, it should be re-emphasized that both sequences (F-V) and (V-F) in the Smelser-Scott model represent two distinct types of political deviance. The type of official reaction the social control agents will make to these forms of political deviance will depend upon how threatening to the official value structure they perceive such non-elite protest to be. In turn, the sanctions the control agents will impose upon these forms of deviance will depend upon which sequence (either F-V or V-F) operates in the deviant conduct.

The above formulation raises some important questions. For example, if the Marxian sequence of alienation (F-V) is present in the deviant behavior, do the control agents feel that this form of deviance can be partially accommodated within the existing institutional structure? Do they regard this form of protest as too scattered and fragmented to warrant much attention? What kind of sanctions are imposed in this case to control the deviant activity? On the other hand, if the "utopian" sequence of alienation prevails,

does it always pose a threat to the elite value structure? And if so, what types of sanctions have historically been imposed upon this form of deviance?

These observations outline the problem with which this thesis is concerned. An attempt will be made at classifying the mechanisms that have been invoked by state authority in the U.S. and Canada to control these forms of political deviance. This classification will be attempted within the (F-V) and (V-F) sequences of alienation from the action components as outlined by
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Scott.

Documentation has been gathered from a library selection of descriptive accounts, dealing with events that have historically been associated with reactions to the Communist Party and worker movements in particular. These materials contain contributions by historians, political scientists, law enforcement agencies, participant observers, or persons convicted of political crime. Wherever possible, original documents were consulted in their entirety and quotations presented therefrom in some instances. This method was adhered to especially in Chapter III which is concerned with an analysis of the official viewpoint of events as well as that of some labor groups. It is hoped that a relatively comprehensive perspective of the Communist Party and worker movements as well as the official reactions to their various activities will result from this selection of materials.

In summary, this thesis represents an explorative study with the aim of identifying some possible sources that appear to be involved in the genesis of political deviance. Furthermore, it is an attempt at establishing a conceptual linkage between these source conditions and the types of social control devices that have been instituted by state authority to control conduct which is perceived as political deviance. In this endeavour, activities which have historically been perceived by officialdom as deviant behavior in the political arena have been selected as the "data".

In order to accomplish the two major objectives of the thesis, namely an identification of some sources that are seemingly involved in the genesis of political deviance and discovering a linkage between these source conditions and the devices instituted by state authority to control the deviant conduct, it was necessary to devise a method that allowed the interpretation of the data in keeping with these objectives. This method consists of an attempt at interrelating the three sociological concepts of alienation, deviance and social control with the aid of three heuristics.

The first of these heuristics was introduced in the form of the ideal sequence. This device has the purpose of conveying the idea that the phenomena which are symbolically represented by the three concepts could be regarded as elements in an historical sequence of events. In this manner, the ideal sequence is considered a useful "tool" in the grouping of the data, providing an appreciation

of the interaction between these phenomena over time as well as accentuating their role in the genesis of political deviance.

The other heuristics are the alienation sequences (F-V) and (V-F) in the Smelser-Scott paradigm. Both devices represent distinct forms of protest against official principles. These forms of protest may be perceived and defined by the social control agents as stemming from different sources. Depending upon the control agents' definition of the source condition which, in their opinion, motivates a given activity (either condition F-V, or V-F), devices to control the perceived deviance will be instituted by them that are in keeping with such definition of the source.

Social Control

The ideal sequence in the foregoing section was presented in order to outline some of the structural elements, i.e. the value system, rule-making, potential deviance and deviance, as well as the intervening processes that are seemingly involved in becoming deviant. In this context, a question can immediately be posed: Who are the rule-makers who, from some position of authority, can exercise power over the life chances of the other members of the society? This question, it seems, must be answered first in order to provide an appreciation of the relationships that exist between various collectivities in the social structure and the effects of rule-making on these relationships.

institutional sphere. These men may be top executives in the large corporations, bankers and financiers, top union leaders, cabinet ministers, Supreme Court judges, high officials in the Federal Bureaucracy, university professors, high-ranking Church dignitaries as well as men in a position to exercise control over the mass media, such as newspaper publishers, television magnates and others.

These members of the various elite groups are interested not only in seeing to it that the other members of the society do what the elites think is "right", but apparently believe that the conduct they pre- or proscribe is in fact to the advantage of the whole of the society. ¹⁹ In this vein, elite groups "legitimize"

their moral position and derive their power from a self-imposed position of authority that demands conformity of the other members.

²⁰ Lipset (1955) emphasizes, for example, that this conformity may be regarded as a necessary condition for good citizenship by some elite groups.

Such construction of reality and exercise of power as practised by the various elite groups requires a configuration of values in order to achieve legitimization. The question then is this: What are some of the guiding principles, or goals that provide the underpinning for the content of rules which these elite groups make and endeavour to protect? Furthermore, how do these values manifest themselves in the "vertical mosaic" of the social structure as reflected in the occupational hierarchy of North American society?

In keeping with the ideal sequence, three major values appear to supply the pillars for elitist rule-making in the U.S. and Canada.

1. Personal Success.

Historically, the charter groups in the U.S. and Canada brought forth a small group of entrepreneurs (largely of Anglo-Saxon origin), who were raised in the tradition of the Protestant Ethic, which, in contrast to worldly renunciation in the Catholic faith, decreed that personal, economic success was an acceptable value premise (Bendix, 1962),²¹ (Du Bois, 1955),²² (Murray, 1964).²³

This value of personal success on the level of the individual became institutionalized as "free enterprise"²⁴ and the overall legitimizing value for a society based on corporate capitalism. The overriding importance of this value is well illustrated by its influence on the other institutional spheres, or, as Porter (1965)²⁵ puts it, "Beyond the Board Room". The influence of the Corporate Elite, for example, reflects itself in Royal Commissions in Canada established by the Federal Government in which the Corporate Elite frequently provides the spokesmen for the private sector of the economy. Moreover, members of the Corporate Elite are found on governing boards of many universities and hold positions in philanthropic organizations as well.

2. Class-Continuity.

This value appears to reflect a feeling, which may be regarded as "consciousness of kind" and stresses the principle of social homogeneity. It finds expression, for example, in the value elites place on kinship relations in some cases. Studies of elites show that kinship is considered to be of some importance either within one elite group, or between elites. However, elites seem to differ in their emphasis on this value. In Canada, for example, kinship links are most common within the higher ranks of the corporate world, and are less prominent in the other elites.

The transmission of elite positions from father to son or close relative is apparently one factor, which operates here, so that a fortune, or prestigious positions remain in the family. Likewise, adding to existing wealth and prestige by intermarriage with equally powerful families has been practised.

Class-continuity is moreover expected to lead to common attitudes and values about the society at large as well as the position the corporate world assumes in it. In Canada as well as to some extent in the United States middle and upper class people of British origin who happen to be university graduates comprise relatively small groups from which a ruling class can then be selected. Such a recruiting base is small enough for its members to recognize each other as belonging to the same class, or group. In

order to maintain this "inner circle" a careful selection of potential candidates for elite positions therefore becomes necessary. ²⁶

The actual selection of candidates is usually accomplished through the device of "co-optation", which provides for common socialization practices for elite children by virtue of education at private schools; summer camps, membership in gentlemen's clubs, success as a corporation executive, participation in philanthropic activities etc. ²⁷ Here the non-instrumental aspects of socialization ²⁸ predominate over the instrumental ones. In this manner, going to private school and being wealthy means more than actual educational attainments and their benefit to society, or how wealth is re-distributed for the benefit of the general economy. Similarly, membership in certain clubs means more than the actual need for fellowship.

Such principles that operate in the selection of candidates for elite positions bring persons of the same social type together in terms of education, ethnic background, religion and the "right thinking" required for potential leaders.

3. Moral Worthiness.

It is a dictum that those who make values and rules must themselves be above reproach in personal conduct.

In North America an index for the appraisal of moral worth has in the past been and to some extent still is (a) sect, or church

membership, and (b) membership in certain associations and social clubs as well as having attended specific schools and having received awards for distinguished service to one's country.

From a historical perspective, membership in a Protestant sect, for example, was a certificate to moral worth. Today Corporate Elite membership in certain churches, such as the Anglican in Canada and the Episcopalian in the United States is still a frequent phenomenon. Church membership seemingly provides a visible sign of honesty and fairness to one's fellows, although today many members of the various elites no longer publicize membership in a particular church. Perhaps the holding of such value as church membership has come to be taken for granted. Nevertheless, even today members of the Corporate Elite play a fairly conspicuous role in church affairs.

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A mark of moral worth other than church-sanctioned is membership in certain clubs and associations. In the U.S., for example, membership in certain "very exclusive" gentlemen's clubs establishes the incumbent as having the moral fibre, character, or the "right" disposition for leadership, which requires him to interact with the like-minded, i.e. those of equivalent moral worth. While Porter (1965) notes that the precise function of social clubs in Canada's elite world has not been clearly delineated, he admits that such club membership may well provide a "locus of interaction" that makes for social homogeneity.

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The quest for moral worth reflects itself further in the type of preparatory school, or College elite members have attended. Domhoff (1967)³² provides a whole list of preparatory schools that, in his view, permit a graduate to lay claim to elite membership. In Canada, the situation is quite similar. For example, graduation from certain universities serves as "proof" for possessing leadership qualities. Porter (1965)³³ claims that of 118 members of the Canadian Economic Elite 42 persons graduated from McGill University, 35 from Toronto and 4 from Queens University. The remainder had chosen college training outside Canada.

A further index of moral worth as a requirement for claiming elite status seems to lie in the incumbent's ability to serve his community, or country in the political arena. Keller (1963)³⁴ gathered some data from 120 U.S. ambassadors sent to several countries between the years 1900 and 1953. She found that the majority of this elite group were members of the Economic Elite or came from the professions. Four-fifths had college degrees; one-half graduate degrees, mostly in the Law faculties. One-third of the group had graduated from preparatory schools, and two-fifths had been granted degrees from Ivy League Colleges.

Elite values then encompass common notions about how the social system should operate and be maintained. As indicated earlier, such a legitimizing value system provides the underpinning for the construction of an everyday reality to which the other members of

the society are expected to conform. This means that elite values become reified and diffused over the whole of the social system in time.

In this manner, elites come to declare themselves as the guardians of societal institutions set up, initially, to protect interests and values which are, first and foremost, their own. Therefore, elites must see to it that the interests at stake in such an enterprise are protected by the making of rules that have the task of dissolving threats to them. Should these interests and values be threatened, elites can use their positions of authority to rule any challenge to them as deviating from established and "normative" standards.

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Alienation and Deviance

Such selective perception of reality by elite groups to which the value system discussed in the previous section appears to be integral, thus excludes a priori the ideals some non-elite members of the society may hold. In this sense, it evidently makes little, or no difference to elite groups in positions of authority whether the value premises they defend may mean total exclusion of the interests of some members of the society. Rule-making defines the areas of rights and responsibilities for the individual, and, moreover, has the task of preventing disruption of elite positions which the non-elite member estrangement from the existing value pre-

mises may entail. In this manner, any anticipated manifestation of such estrangement in the form of overt protest against the elite value structure is forestalled.

The 'ideal sequence' implies that, once rules have been made, they either preclude the communication of non-elite ideals to positions of authority, or they prevent such communication from having any noticeable effects. In this case, excluded from the making of general action guidelines and unable to effectively communicate their desires and influence elite decision-making, some groups in the society cannot be expected to take any active part in their roles as citizens, nor will the institution of voting in elections have much meaning for them. Therefore, any active expression of protest as a result of this composite of alienating conditions will most likely lead to deviance.

For this reason, it is a difference in the perception of reality, which exists between elite groups who have the authority to define a given social situation and make rules about it and other members of the society in non-elite positions who are expected to obey the set standards, where the genesis of political deviance and most likely other forms of deviance must be sought. ^{36,37}

This cleavage in perceiving reality moreover seems to be artificially maintained through the institution of rules which disown any prerogative to express beliefs other than those contained in-

the pre- and/or proscriptions of the rule. The sense of powerlessness (as a variant of alienation), which is likely to ensue as a consequence, refers to a scarcity of those relationships which permit the non-elite control of up and down the line communication with elite groups at the top of the various institutions. ^{38,39} In turn, the extent to which alienation will be experienced as powerlessness by non-elite members seemingly varies with the degree of control these members think (rightly, or wrongly) they can exercise over this communication process. A subsequent response of non-elite reaction to perceived lack of control may be deviant behavior, especially when strategies favoring protest are introduced and accepted by certain groups in the society.

It is possible to find an example of this alienation-deviance model in the study of the Communist Movement in North America. Some official responses to perceived deviance which this thesis attempts to examine can perhaps be best appreciated by regarding the various elite groups as moral entrepreneurs, as rules come into being as a result of the enterprise exhibited by these groups in controlling any protest against their self-imposed value system. ⁴⁰ It is conceivable that the major values of North American elite groups, such as personal success, class continuity as well as moral worthiness should be jeopardized by political programs that advocate the abolition of private property and all rights to inheritance, centralization of credit by the state as well as public

ownership of the instruments of production. A secular and egalitarian ideology of brotherhood moreover poses a threat to existing corporate-ecclesiastical principles based upon alms-giving, patronage, and relatively exclusive claims to moral worthiness.

In North America the cleavage between the value systems of corporate capitalism and ideologies favoring state ownership render the members of 'leftist' political groups powerless in the sense that they are not in positions where argument and advocacy of their ideals is regarded as legitimate and permissible. It is therefore natural that this extreme lack of control over arguing their cause should induce intense feelings of powerlessness, which in turn greatly increases the probability of non-conforming behavior in the political sphere.⁴¹

Societal Reaction to Political Deviance

If a group of persons has chosen to deviate from the rule, i.e. persist in conduct banned by authority, its potentially deviant behavior will be compounded, as it must associate with other rule violators in order to forestall discovery of its infractions by those who have chosen conformity. In this vein, being deprived of communicating its beliefs to authority most likely also means being deprived of communicating these beliefs to rule conformers.

Thus the group's position, except for its relationships with other deviant positions in the social structure, becomes one

imbued with structural exclusion from communication with those in positions of authority (vertical) as well as with members of the society who conform to the rules (horizontal). As previously mentioned, if the group persists in the potentially deviant conduct due to a number of alienating conditions, it will evoke the disapproval of authority at some future point in time. At this stage the members of this group will be officially labeled as deviant and become subject to apprehension.

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It is hoped at this point that the foregoing sections have brought into focus some of the conditions which chronologically antedate official labeling. In addition, it was implied that political deviance is chiefly a consequence of some structural conditions, starting with differences in perceiving reality between elites and non-elites and being compounded by the inability of some non-elite members to communicate their beliefs to other positions in the social structure both vertically and in part horizontally.

It has already been mentioned that the elite construction of everyday reality in the society excludes a priori the ideals some members of non-elite groups may hold. Moreover, if elites can impose their conceptions of how the social system should operate upon non-elites by the making of enforceable rules, the positions of authority held by members of the various elites become themselves major sources of political deviance. The exercise of authority which takes place through the invention and/or application of these rules

thus renders certain patterns of behavior by persons occupying non-elite positions in the social structure deviant. In this thesis, the effects upon these positions which this exercise of authority brings into being will be examined up to the point of official labeling and the "correction" of the deviant conduct.

In the literature, societal reaction to deviance has most commonly been associated with the process of labeling. In fact, writers, such as Becker (1964), Erikson (1966) and Kitsuse (1966) have defined deviance mainly in terms of the effects of labeling. While there seems to exist a close relationship between societal reaction and the labeling of individuals as deviant, this association between the two concepts also has its limitations. For example, the question as to what agency is responsible for the labeling of individuals as deviant is not always clear. Furthermore, if official labeling is considered a transformation of an initial, subjective reaction to non-elite conduct that is experienced as threatening to existing values and norms, then how great must this threat be to set the labeling device in motion?

Whichever the case may be, it can hardly be said that there is general agreement as to what criteria a definition of deviance should accommodate, except perhaps for some tacit acknowledgment that a given social situation involving deviant behavior will

@ This must be so, as forms of behavior per se do not elicit a societal response that makes possible a differentiation between deviants and non-deviants.

depend upon the response of authority to it, and, to some extent, upon how the deviant in turn reacts to this response.

More generally, the reaction of authority to political non-conformity in North America seemingly represents a deliberate attempt at propagating a stereotyped conception of the political non-conformer, which elicits such associations as "red", "alien", "dirty", "soapbox agitation", "Godless", "bombs", "sabotage" and others. As Lemert (1951) points out, these anarchistic stereotypes have sustained themselves over time and tend to be applied indiscriminately to Socialists, Communists, Pacifists, other radicals as well as progressive and moderate reformers.

In view of the conservative leanings of elite groups at the top of the various institutional hierarchies of authority, devices for correcting political deviance in North America have in the past been stern and unrelenting. Jail terms and deportations, police atrocities and intimidations as well as administrative measures in defiance of the judicial process have been used as control devices with political non-conformers. Even the services of the courts have on certain occasions been invoked on behalf of achieving political goals.

Once labeling has occurred, it seems to serve also as a device of surveillance and control of anticipated future deviance in the same sphere of activity, or others as well, unless the offender decides to cease engaging in banned conduct after a period of time.

Finally, the erroneous belief that elitist rule-making reflects the values and desires of most members of the society further strengthens the artificial maintenance of elitist rules, and consequently makes possible the emergence and perpetuation of the aforementioned anarchistic, stereotyped notions about the political non-conformer. This stereotypy, which results when elitist notions about the operation of the social system are reified and taken as representing the common good, has contributed heavily to the idea that political deviance must be sought in the personal characteristics of the offender. However, during the past two decades an increasing awareness that political deviance emanates from a differential perception of social reality between individuals, or groups in different positions in the hierarchy of authority has emerged.

This awareness may in part have been responsible for a shift in attitude away from the previous conception of political non-conformity which envisioned a "deviant versus public" relationship to one stressing the relationship between elite and non-elite groups. Such a conception locates the source of the deviant conduct in the offender's social, rather than psychical, environment.

In summary, this introductory chapter emphasized that deviance results from a cleavage in the perspective of reality which arises from the different social experiences that are common to elites and non-elite groups in the society. The "official" value

system was taken as a point of departure and regarded as an alienating condition from the viewpoint of some non-elite members in that these individuals may perceive themselves as being excluded from the drafting of guidelines that affect their everyday activities.

It was mentioned that such estrangement may induce a group of persons to protest the conditions which they experience as estranging. Depending on the magnitude of their protest, the authorities may react to it by the making of rules in order to "dissolve" the challenge which this protest imparts to the official values and norms. It was noted that rule making defines some non-elite members as potentially deviant and that the application of the deviance label compounds the estrangement of these individuals in that they now perceive themselves as being unable to communicate their ideals and desires to the authorities with noticeable effects, namely by achieving a modification, or the elimination of some official standard which they perceive as the source of their estrangement.

Two social conditions were assumed to be frequent sources of estrangement. One such condition was seen to have its origin in the man-work relationship and was described in terms of the Marxian notion of alienation, i.e. when work is perceived as benefitting only the employers. Another condition referred to the total disenchantment of a group of individuals with the major value premises of the society having the aim to replace these with alternative standards.

It was assumed further that the types of protest in which these two forms of estrangement may result have historically been perceived as two distinct forms of political deviance by officialdom. Therefore, the official reactions to the deviant conduct will depend upon what kind of source condition the authorities perceive as motivating it.

The second part of this Introduction provided a descriptive account of some social experiences engaged in by elite groups and an elaboration of some of the major values they hold, such as "personal success", "class-continuity" and "moral worth" via the pursuit of ennobling causes.

In the final section, some common reactions to deviance were mentioned, such as the labeling process. It was pointed out that labeling is generally facilitated by an erroneous belief of some non-elite members, namely that elitist rule making reflects the ideals and desires of most members of the society. Moreover, it was noted that such reification of elitist values as representing the "common morality" has contributed heavily to the genesis of some stereotyped notions about the political offender.

The next chapter will attempt to examine some of the effects the making and/or application of rules may have upon some non-elite members.

FOOTNOTES

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5. Dinitz, S., Dynes, R.R. and Clarke, A. Deviance: Studies in the Process of Stigmatization and Societal Reaction, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969.
6. Clinard and Quinney, op. cit., p. 179.
7. Merton, R.K., op. cit., pp. 808-811.
8. Matza, D., Becoming Deviant, New Jersey, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., pp. 143-144.
9. Marx, K., Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, Marx-Engels, Gesamtausgabe, Abt. I, Bd. 3 translated by Martin Milligan, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, p. 72.

In this connection see also Rollo May's Man's Search for Himself, New American Library, SIGNET BOOKS, New York, 1967, pp. 49-56. Other references are contained in T.B. Bottomore (ed.) Karl Marx: Early Writings, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963, pp. 120-143.
10. Parsons, T., and Shils, E.A., Toward a General Theory of Action, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1951.
11. Scott, M.B. "The Social Sources of Alienation", Enquiry, Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring, 1963, pp. 57-59.
12. Smelser, N. Theory of Collective Behavior, New York: The Free Press, 1962, see esp. Chapter II.

13. This ideology was expressed in an interview with a former high-ranking official of the Communist Party of Canada, member of the polit-bureau of the CPC and editor of a Communist-oriented newspaper in Vancouver. When the author questioned him about what had prompted his induction into the Communist Party Movement, he stated that "...it all started when I walked along the grimy streets of the little Scottish mining town I come from. I could not avoid comparing the hovels of the miners with large families to the castles of the 'haves' on the surrounding hills. It just wasn't right. That did it!"
14. This position is implied in the autobiography of the late Rev. A.E. Smith, a former preacher, spokesman and secretary of the Communist Party of Canada as well as former leader of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada:

"I remember the mental and spiritual struggle through which I passed in those days. To me the Gospel of Jesus was the proclamation of a new social order of human society....I saw that Jesus was a Communist. I linked his life with the old prophets...who were early Communists".

(From Rev. A.E. Smith, All My Life, Toronto: Progress Books, 1949, pp. 42-43).

15. Scott, M.B., op. cit.
16. Mills, C.R. The Power Elite, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956, pp. 4, 11, 13, 15.
17. Porter, J., The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965, especially Chapter VII, "Elites and the Structure of Power."
18. Domhoff, G.W. Who Rules America, Englewood-Cliffs, New Jersey, 1967, pp. 4-11 (Introduction).
19. Becker, H. Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, p. 148.
20. Lipset, S.M. "The Sources of the Radical Right" (1955) in: Bell, D. (ed.) The Radical Right, New York: Doubleday Anchor Book, 1964, pp. 320-321.
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22. Du Bois, C. "The Dominant Value Profile of American Culture", American Anthropologist, Vol. 57 (1955), pp. 1232-1238.
23. Murray, E.J. Motivation and Emotion, New Jersey: Foundations of Modern Psychology Series, Prentice-Hall, 1964, p. 107.
24. Smelser, N., op. cit., p. 36.
25. Porter, op. cit., pp. 298-303.
26. Porter, J., op. cit. The sections on class-continuity as well as moral worthiness rely heavily on Porter's study. See esp. pp. 279-280; 520-528; 303-305.
27. Domhoff, G.W., op. cit., p. 5.
28. Porter, J., op. cit., p. 285.
29. Porter, J., op. cit., pp. 287-290.
30. Domhoff, G.W., op. cit., pp. 35-36.
31. Porter, J., op. cit., p. 305.
32. Domhoff, G.W., op. cit., p. 34.
33. Porter, J., op. cit., p. 277.
34. Keller, S. from her book Beyond the Ruling Class, p. 297, quoted in Domhoff, G.W., op. cit., pp. 105-106.
35. Dahrendorf, R. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1959, p. 293.

Clearly, it cannot be assumed that a citizen of a democratic state has no power at all with respect to political affairs. However, as Laski claims, "despite this basic power common to all, a clear line can be drawn between those who are in the position to exercise regularly control over the life chances of others by issuing authoritative decisions. The citizens of a democratic state are not a suppressed class, but they are a subjected class, or quasi-group, and as such they constitute the dynamic element in political conflict."

36. Becker, H., op. cit., p. 16, 23.
37. Rose, A.M. and Prell, A.E., "Does the Punishment fit the Crime?", American Journal of Sociology, LXI (Nov. 1955), pp. 247-259.
38. Kornhauser, W., The Politics of Mass Society, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959, see esp. Chapter II.
39. Seeman, M. "On the Meaning of Alienation", Am. Soc. Review, Vol. 24, 1959, p. 785.
40. Becker, H., op. cit., see esp. Chapter VIII.
41. Bottomore, T.B. and Rubel, M. Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, London: Watts and Co., 1956, p. 97.

The cleavage mentioned between particular (elitist) and common interests was noted by Marx in his early writings. Although he did not dwell on the origin and development of alienation, he nevertheless felt that it probably emanated from the division of labor. He wrote: "...as long as a cleavage exists between the particular and the common interest, as long as therefore activity is not voluntary, but naturally divided, man's own act becomes an alien power opposed to him, which enslaves him instead of being controlled by him".

42. Matza, D., op. cit., p. 162 ff.
43. Clinard, M.B., The Sociology of Deviant Behavior (3rd. ed.) New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968, p. 26.
44. Clinard, M.B., op. cit., p. 27.
45. Lemert, E.M. Social Pathology, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951, p. 200.
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CHAPTER II

SOME OFFICIAL REACTIONS TO RADICAL LABOR MOVEMENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

It has been stated in the Introduction that elite positions at the top of the various institutions may be regarded as major sources of deviance. This means that deviance results whenever these positions exercise authority by transforming their initial reactions to offending conduct in the political sphere into rules to punish perceived infractions.[@] Some of the effects which this exercise of authority may have upon the positions of some non-elite members of the society will be examined in this chapter.

The extent to which non-elite conduct is affected by such exercise of authority will be explored in terms of the form of political deviance officialdom perceived as being present in a given conduct and its definition of it. In the Introduction two such forms of political deviance were identified with respect to their sources and represented by alienation sequences (F-V) and (V-F). In this chapter an attempt will be made to interpret some historical events with the aim to demonstrate that the two stated source conditions can be identified in the activities to be described.

[@] Berger and Luckmann, for example, regard the transformation of such subjective reactions to human activity as a process of 'objectification' when these become habitual, or institutionalized.¹

The historical events that have been selected are, (a) The period of the "Red Scare" of 1919 in the United States, (b) The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 in Canada, (c) Some official reactions to problems of the U.S. Labor Movement following World War II, and, (d) Some official reactions to problems of the Canadian Labor Movement in the post-World War II period.

In order to make the presentation of the data more meaningful in terms of the main objectives of the thesis, the following strategy was adopted: (1) The gathering of the historical materials was undertaken with these questions in mind, (a) What were some of the underpinnings to the occurrence of the event? (b) What conditions provoked elite groups to assure public support of their preferred value system? (c) What rule, or other devices were instituted by officialdom to define the conduct of some non-elite members as deviant? (d) Who were the members of the society so defined? (2) A preliminary interpretation of these historical data will be made in this chapter and will focus first on the question as to how the various events were perceived by the members of the Labor Movement, and second, on how these events were perceived by state authority.

In Chapter III, the present account of the official and Labor perspectives of the events will be elaborated. This will be done by an interpretation of selected materials, such as statements by important groups in the business world, government documents as

well as materials illustrating the position of the Labor Movement during the two historical periods. This approach has the aim to provide a better understanding of the basic argument, namely that authority will define a given activity as deviant in terms of the source which it perceives as motivating it, and that it will institute devices to control the deviance in keeping with its reaction to and definition of this source condition. A brief classification of such control devices will be appended and based upon this consideration.

A. The Period of the "Red Scare" of 1919 in the United States

1. The Event.

An historical event, which seemingly exercised great influence on the perception of everyday reality by U.S. officialdom occurred in the wake of World War I, and has popularly been known as the "Red Scare", or "Red Hunt". This event roughly comprises two years from the end of World War I until early 1920, the near-end of the Wilson administration.

During World War I state authority was confronted with the suppression of "subversives". These were individuals, who openly rejected the U.S. government's war effort with Germany as well as its military intervention in North Russia and Siberia. This war-time

@ Special reference is made here to the members of two political parties, i.e. the Socialist Party of America and the I.W.W. (International Workers of the World). The S.P.A. believed in evolutionary principles, such as reform through legal-political measures. By contrast, the I.W.W. was an activist group, advocating the use of violence.²

radical activity had greatly contributed to the enactment of the Espionage Act of 1917 as well as the Sedition Act of 1918 both of which Congress adopted to combat the thrust of the Labor Movement which it perceived as an attempt at increasing Communist infiltration. ³

Another condition, which provided some impetus for the "Red Scare", was the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia along with the emergence of international Communism through the formation of the Comintern (Communist International) in March of 1919. ⁴ This background of international turmoil as well as unemployment and other domestic problems supplied the underpinnings for the "Red Scare" period.

Understandably, these conditions imposed a severe threat to the existing value-structure, apart from their divisive effects upon the American public. Also, as in most times of great social upheaval, the cause for it is frequently sought in the conspiracy of a small group of individuals against the welfare of most members of the society, or even against that of humanity. ⁵ It should therefore be possible to assume that public belief in a Communist conspiracy had already fostered a "united front" ideology, and that as a result, support of existing values was easily rallied by authority. Yet, one index of the threat, which the perceived Communist thrust created for some American elites, is reflected in their advocacy of "hard line" principles that were directed toward the extermination

of all threatening, seditious opinions. This perspective was greatly aided by fomenting patriotic sentiments in the American public and can be illustrated by a series of incidents, which immediately prompted official reaction.

The Seattle General Strike, for example, was one such incident. In January of 1919, 35,000 Seattle shipyard workers went on strike for higher wages and shorter working hours. Just before the outbreak of the General Strike, however, activist I.W.W. groups had instigated wildcat strikes, Red flag parades and violent propaganda against the war. In early 1919, therefore, the press in the Pacific North West expressed doubts whether the strike was aimed at higher wages or represented a fragmentary attempt at Communist infiltration of industry.⁶ In addition, North Western employer groups harbored much hostility toward the Labor Movement due to past I.W.W. harassments and other radical activities. This in turn resulted in the organization of a general strike in aid of the shipyard workers by the Seattle Central Labor Council.⁷ Shortly thereafter, 60,000 workers employed in a large number of occupations and organized in unions that were affiliated with the Council, went on strike as well.

Mayor Hanson of Seattle attributed this act of the Labor Movement to an I.W.W. conspiracy with the intent of launching a Bolshevik revolution.⁸ Eventually, Federal troops that were brought into the city in conjunction with 1,500 policemen took control of all essential services to the public and forced the Council to relent,

in this manner ending the strike. While before the strike American elites may well have perceived the Communist thrust as local and fragmentary, they now concentrated more attention on domestic radical activity.

Other incidents which dramatized the challenge to the existing power structure were the rash of bomb plots that occurred at this time. In these plots home-made bombs were mailed to prominent members of the judiciary, government and industry.⁹

The threat, which the Seattle General Strike and the bomb plots imparted to the various authorities as well as the general public was compounded further by still another incident. This consisted of a series of riots, emanating from radical May Day rallies, mass meetings and Red flag parades in a number of American cities.¹⁰ These activities elicited press comments, such as "...free speech has been carried to the point where it is an unrestrained menace",¹¹ "Silence the incendiary advocates of force....Bring the law's hand down upon the inciter of violence. Do it now."¹²

The press with headlines, editorials, articles, cartoons as well as patriotic slogans had thus paved the way for arousing patriotic sentiments in the public to take action against the perceived Communist infiltration of American business. This press campaign was greatly assisted by employer groups, who were extremely hostile to the Labor Movement due to its advocacy of the "closed shop", higher wages, shorter working hours and the device of the

strike. These groups made substantial financial contributions to certain patriotic societies, such as the National Security League, the American Defense Society as well as the National Civic Federation all of whom were engaged in an all-out attack on radical conduct at that time. The major contributions to these societies came, for example, from the large corporations as well as private businessmen.

In addition to the patriotic societies, employer groups used their affiliation with various employer organizations, such as the National Metal Trades Association, the National Founders' Association and the National Association of Manufacturers to step up their anti-union campaigns. In this context, it is interesting to note that prominent leaders of employer organizations were present, too, on the directing boards of the patriotic societies. These employer organizations expressed their anti-union sentiments through journals, such as the Iron Trade Review, The Manufacturer's Record and the Open Shop Review. These journals held that unionism, for example, "ranked with Bolshevism", represented a "surrender to Socialism", and that it was "the greatest crime left in the world".

Prodded into action by this "entrepreneurial" activity of the press and employer groups, the Federal government conducted two investigations into radical behavior.

The first of these, the Overman investigation, was aimed at investigating the background of the Seattle General Strike and

concluded at the end of its hearings that Bolshevism presented a great danger to the nation, but gave little or no evidence for the effects Communist propaganda might have had on the ranks of American Labor.¹⁵

The second investigation into radical conduct followed reports that Bolshevik activity predominated among New York workmen. The demand for the second investigation was supported by the Union League Club of New York, which had applied pressure on the New York state legislature.¹⁶ This demand led to the creation of the Lusk Committee, which was held responsible to "investigate the scope, tendencies, and ramifications of...seditious activities and report the results of its examination to the legislature."¹⁷ The Lusk Committee quickly secured "evidence" of seditious behavior by conducting raids on the Russian Soviet Bureau as well as on the Rand School in New York, the latter being a Socialist and Labor College. It then prematurely concluded that radicals controlled about one hundred trade unions, and that the Rand School had co-operated with the Soviet Bureau in bolshevizing American Labor.¹⁸

The combined pressure of state legislatures, employer organizations, patriotic societies, press exhortations and possibly other groups upon Congress finally induced the Senate to adopt a resolution, requesting the Attorney-General "...to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal

proceedings, and if not, why not, and if so, to what extent, for the arrest and punishment [or deportation]...of the various persons within the United States who...have attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government...."¹⁹

While being strictly an administrative device, this resolution gave Attorney-General Palmer the authority to start his nationwide raids on radicals, concentrating his attention on "aliens", as it was assumed that native-born radicals were not really dangerous, if left alone. As a result of these raids, 250 individuals were arrested without the formality of a warrant in New York alone. In other U.S. cities more than 500 persons were seized and reported as having been subjected to police brutalities on arrest as well as intimidations and physical torture by jail guards in prison.²⁰ Of those arrested, 35 individuals were held on state criminal anarchy charges while foreign-born persons were committed to the custody of the Federal authorities for deportation. A large number of those apprehended were members of the Union of Russian Workers, the Communist Labor Party as well as the Communist Party. Altogether about 249²¹ individuals were deported to Soviet Russia guarded by 250 soldiers.

Following the raids, the Attorney-General's Department continued its campaigns for peacetime sedition legislation. This effort culminated in the drafting of the Graham-Sterling Bill, which levied a \$10,000 fine on any person who attempted to overthrow the

U.S. Government, or prevented, or delayed the execution of federal law, or harmed, or terrorized any officer or employee of the government.²²

During the "Red Scare" period relatively few cases were arraigned for adjudication by the federal courts, but the enactment of state sedition legislation proliferated during 1919. Some states already had such laws in their statute books, but others (about twenty states)²³ enacted such type of legislation during the year 1919 alone.

In these laws, criminal anarchy, for example, was defined as "the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force and violence, or by assassination... or by any unlawful means." The fine for any offense under this legislation was \$5,000 or ten years in jail, or both.²⁴ Syndicalism was defined as "the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage...violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform." Offenders under this law were "guilty of a felony" and punishable in the state penitentiary for not more than ten years, or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.²⁵

Such legislation led to the prosecution and conviction of many Communists, especially in the states of Illinois, New York and California. For example, William Lloyd along with 19 other members of the Communist Labor Party were found guilty under these laws and each received a \$3,000 fine and jail sentences, ranging from one to five years. Only days later, Rose Stokes and Bill Haywood (long-

time I.W.W. leader) with 83 other members of radical groups were convicted and received sentences from five to ten years in the state penitentiary.²⁶ In New York, such leading radicals as C. Ruthenberg, I.E. Ferguson, James Larkin, H. Winitzky and Benjamin Gitlow were convicted on charges of criminal anarchy, each receiving the maximum penalty of from five to ten years in prison.²⁷

2. Interpretation.

One political incident during the "Red Scare" period mentioned in the previous section was the Seattle General Strike. In this strike, the real issues consisted of a demand by workers for a wage-increase and shorter working hours. The concrete value premises (terms of reference) upon which the Labor Movement based these demands were ideals, such as improvements in worker living standards, greater equality in the distribution of rewards among all trades and more leisure time for the enjoyment of family life. Raising the status of shipyard workers within the hierarchy of occupations was probably another ideal to be realized by these demands.

In this instance, the source condition which motivated Labor's protest was represented by a number of corporate principles which the workers experienced as estranging in their daily work role. One of these principles had to do with the maintenance of profits at a fixed level through corporate efficiency, which required that

wages be maintained at a given rate and that workers remain at their jobs a certain number of hours. Another principle, which estranged workers from the work situation, was the employers' insistence upon "the right to manage" in the area of employer-worker relationships, which most corporations considered as the only means for maintaining the over-all efficiency of their organization. Still another principle to which most corporations were committed was the customary view that moral distinctiveness of the workingman could be won by him only through rewards for individual merit via competition. What estranged workers from the latter value was that such distinctiveness was controlled by the corporations in an autonomous manner in that they could withhold rewards at their discretion.

These corporate values then are here regarded as the source of worker estrangement. In Labor's view, they were directed toward securing benefits for the corporation at the expense of the worker. On finding themselves unable to effectively communicate the aforementioned ideals to the managers and owners and in this manner influence their decision-making in the area of labor-management relations, these ideals became the "counter-principles" which legitimized Labor's protest. Persistence in this protest was further strengthened by the Labor Movement's vote in favor of a general strike in aid of the shipyard workers.

While thus the strike of these shipyard workers was motivated by source condition (F-V), there is evidence that their more

specific goals, namely a wage-increase and shorter working hours, were regarded by them as being secondary to the attainment of a new morality for all members of the society. The desire for such ultimate protest received its impetus from war-time radical activity in the United States, which, as already noted, resulted from U.S. military intervention in North Russia and Siberia as well as her active participation in the war against Germany. These events were followed by the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and the formation of the Comintern in 1919. It can be argued that this combination of events provided the thrust for worker estrangement to diffuse from the everyday work situation to the general value premises of the society.

This observation implies that worker estrangement now diffused from corporate principles which failed to supply a rationale for making the work role "workable" to a conception of the work role as one being controlled by a class of persons whose "irresponsible" behavior was tolerated by the whole of society. Therefore loyalty and commitment to societal principles for action which defined such "irresponsibility" as legitimate conduct became impossible. Labor's total disenchantment with American society resulted.

Such utopian mode of thought aimed at the elimination of all official guidelines which, in the view of some activist Laborites, threatened the ideals of most members of the society. Principles, such as "personal success" within a "free enterprise" system and the

continuity of a class of "successfuls" who seemingly determined the life chances and success in life of others as well as their individual moral worth invited this ultimate protest. In Labor's view, these principles excluded most members of the society from active participation in deciding about their future.

This Labor perspective encompassed the view that, if official guidelines had fostered Labor's commitment to them in the first place, the present demand by the Labor Movement would be superfluous.

For this reason, Labor regarded the official value premises as representing alienating conditions that required replacement by principles to which most workers could become genuinely committed. In turn, such commitment was possible only if most workers had participated in the initial making of these principles "collectively". Hence, the "personal success" of some had to be replaced by the "collective success" of the many. Moreover, the right of a small class of entrepreneurs to determine who was to be "successful" deprived most members of the society of equal access to economic rewards. The continuity of such class could thus be prevented only by abolishing private property and the right of some to inherit it in favor of the ownership of these rights by the "collectivity". Furthermore, moral worthiness was to be found only in the individual's direct participation in collective enterprise and brotherhood instead of attaining it through individual merit via competition.

In order to reach this moral objective, Labor regarded the fostering of public disenchantment from the major official value premises as being legitimate. The riots during the May Day parades as well as the bomb plots designed to eliminate several prominent elite members supply some index for such disenchantment. Another reflection of this utopian mode of thought that was expressed by the more activist sector of the Labor Movement can be found, too, in radical propaganda that was disseminated during this period by activist groups. ²⁸ Within the Smelser-Scott paradigm these activities can be identified with source condition (V-F).

During this period, the activities of these radical groups were apparently tolerated by the more conservative elements in the Labor Movement either because these conservative members experienced indecision, or because they held the view that this activist behavior assisted the advancement of their own cause. Conceivably, the image of the Labor Movement suffered a serious setback through these attacks on official principles. This was so despite conservative declarations of non-alignment with the activist sector of the Movement and "moderating" devices used by them, such as the American Alliance of Labor and Democracy formed by Samuel Gompers, then President of the AFL (American Federation of Labor).

It has been claimed that historical conditions were in part instrumental in fostering total worker disenchantment with the general value premises of American society during the "Red Scare" period. The

extent of such worker estrangement and the protest it invoked in most members of the Labor Movement was of such magnitude that elites foresaw an intended replacement of the existing authority structure by one based upon utopian principles, as in the case of Russia.

For elite groups, it was thus not a question whether this authority structure could accommodate the threat which such worker protest imparted, but rather how it could rally the means to survive it.

It can be argued that, under less inexorable conditions, the demands by the Labor Movement during the Seattle General Strike would have been perceived by officialdom as threatening the more specific goals of corporate efficiency. From the employers' point of view, these included the meeting of financial obligations to suppliers, instant service to customers, maintaining good credit ratings with financial institutions, keeping the organization in the "black" etc.

From the perspective of government, for example, the strike would ordinarily have represented a threat to the governmental principle of maintaining "the free flow of commerce" as well as providing "essential services" to the public. However, politicized by the preceding historical events, elites perceived the protest of the Labor Movement as an outcome of its affiliation with the Communist Movement. These elite groups believed, therefore, that the activities by the

Labor Movement represented an attempt at Communist infiltration of American industry. This belief was further supported by the I.W.W.-organized wildcat strikes and Red flag parades that preceded this strike as well as the organization of a sympathetic strike involving 60,000 workers in addition to the 35,000 shipyard workers.

This elite perspective of the various activities is clearly reflected in press comments regarding the strike, namely whether it was employed for "wages or for Bolshevism?"²⁹ Moreover, it is implied in a front page cartoon of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, which showed the Red flag flying above the Stars and Stripes, bearing the caption "NOT IN A THOUSAND YEARS"³⁰. Some remarks made by Mayor Hanson of Seattle further support such open challenge of Labor strategies.³¹

While the behavior of the Labor Movement had remained beyond reproach and did not necessitate a single arrest,³² the bomb plots as well as the May Day riots connected the goals of Labor with the use of violence. This is evident from newspaper headlines, such as the following: "REDS PLANNED MAYDAY MURDERS", or "36 WERE MARKED AS VICTIMS BY BOMB CONSPIRATORS"³³.

These attacks upon the existing value structure was perceived by elites as being motivated by a value system which, in their view, was diametrically opposed to their own. For elites, these "alien" value premises embodied a conception of "collective success" via state ownership of the instruments of production (and not "personal success" via "free enterprise"), "classlessness" via the abolition

of private property and the rights of inheritance (and not the continuity of a class of "successfuls" via kinship ties and the prerogative to determine who was to be successful by this class) and moral worth via egalitarian principles and brotherhood (and not the attainment of moral worth via the pursuit of ennobling causes).

It is here argued that elites defined the activities of the Labor Movement as motivated by source condition (V-F) in the Smelser-Scott model. In their view, Communist infiltration of American society by some totally estranged groups with whom the Labor Movement had associated itself was now complete.

This elite view formed the basis for the argument that the disenchantment of workers with the whole of American society was responsible for Labor's lack of conformity to the normative structure (existing labor laws), its lack of responsibility to organized capital in the work role, as well as its lack of control over the principles and means that facilitated the work process. Furthermore, this perspective provided officialdom with a rationale for defending its preferred value system and refusing to negotiate with Labor by labeling its activities as "deviant".

B. The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 in Canada

1. The Event.

In Canada, the post-World War I scene exercised effects upon Canadian officialdom similar in nature than those experienced by its

American counterpart. Events of international significance in the form of the Bolshevik revolution and the formation of the Comintern as well as domestic afflictions, such as a recession period, growing unemployment and the demobilization of war veterans, presented a severe threat to Canadian national security.

It is understandable, therefore, that Canadian elite groups should have perceived some of the incidents that occurred during the Winnipeg General Strike with great apprehension which can be best appreciated by examining some of the official reactions to the various activities.

One incident that provoked Canadian authority to rally public support for their preferred value-system was the Winnipeg railway strike of 1918. Here, the chief conflict focused upon the demand by the union that the employers (Canadian Pacific Railway) recognize its position as a collective bargaining agent for its membership. This strike had a dimension for becoming general and aroused great concern on the part of authority in that city. In order to gain control of strikes such as this, orders-in-council were passed, which prohibited the creation of "dangerous" organizations and the distribution of radical literature.

Another incident was the Western Labor Conference at Calgary, Alberta in March 1919, which was dominated by labor leaders, having a syndicalist or Communist orientation. This conference resolved that all industrial workers be organized into One Big Union,

which in turn required the severance of these workers from international union organizations. Moreover, the conference demanded of government the withdrawal of Allied troops in Russia, the release of political prisoners and relaxation in the censorship of radical literature. Other resolutions accepted the principle of the Proletarian Dictatorship to bring about a transition to Socialism and conveyed greetings to the Russian Soviet Government as well as other working class movements in the world.

Still another incident consisted in a break-down of negotiations between members of the metal and building trade unions and a group of employers. For example, employer groups in the construction trade affiliated with the Builders Exchange granted that a demand for increased wages was reasonable, but that they were in no position to pay such increase, as their bankers refused to advance funds for this purpose. Employers of the metal trade refused dealing with both the wage issue and the Metal Trades Council as a legitimate bargaining agent. As a result, the Builders Exchange and the Metal Trades Council presented the issue to the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council which in turn ordered all affiliated unions to vote on a general strike in order to establish the principle of collective bargaining in labor-management relations and, in this manner, force a wage increase in keeping with current living expenditures. A vote in favor of the strike resulted, which induced over 30,000 workers to leave their jobs on May 15, 1919, including about 12,000 non-union

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 members. The strike lasted from May 15th to June 25th, 1919 and paralyzed services, such as banking, transport, postal service, food supply, water and power supply as well as fire and police services. 39

Canadian elites were now compelled to rally public support in order to combat the challenge to the general value premises of the society which this strike imparted. Such "anarchistic" behavior of the Labor Movement required immediate "correction". At that time all important public services were under the exclusive control and leadership of the General Strike Committee composed of representatives from each union affiliated with the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council.

Elite entrepreneurialism was now directed toward inciting patriotic sentiments in the citizenry through the formation of the Citizens Committee of One Thousand. This committee represented a coalition between corporation men, the professions and newspaper editors and originated its own newspaper, the Citizen. 40 Most of its editorials identified the striking workers with the Bolshevik Movement. 41

It is of interest to note that, already at the very beginning of the strike, the Citizens Committee had established a militia group of between 3,000 and 5,000 "volunteers" to stand ready for combat against the strikers, if this should become necessary. 42

Newspapers across the country began to join the Citizen in its attack on the strikers by supporting the "Red Conspiracy" notion. 43

Other campaigns to deal with the threat of Communist infiltration in the ranks of Labor were conducted in Ottawa by politicians.⁴⁴ The Canadian Federal Cabinet expressed hostility toward the strike, maintaining that it was to be interpreted as a flagrant attempt at revolution. Senator Robertson, the Minister of Labor, for example, regarded the strike as a "revolutionary scheme" and was quoted by a colleague, Senator A.N. MacLean, as having said that the strike had been planned at the Calgary Conference, and that consequently the Winnipeg General Strike was the first rehearsal for a later full-fledged revolutionary take-over of the country.⁴⁵

Despite these exhortations by the various elites, however, the strike spread to the other provinces of Canada. In Vancouver, 60,000 strikers left their jobs, including shipyard workers and street-car employees.⁴⁶ In Alberta, railroad workers and expressmen staged a walk-out.⁴⁷ Postal workers, streetcar employees, hotel and restaurant workers struck in Calgary.⁴⁸ A series of strikes was reported in Saskatchewan, and Brandon, Manitoba experienced a general strike.⁴⁹ Members of the Winnipeg police force voted for a sympathetic strike, but were requested by the General Strike Committee to remain on duty and under the orders of the municipal government.⁵⁰

On May 22nd, 1919 the Federal Ministers of Labor and the Interior departed for Winnipeg to consult with high-ranking officials of the municipal and provincial governments.⁵¹ This visit resulted in

an ultimatum to post-office employees, which demanded their return to work the following day at the risk of immediate dismissal in the case of default. The provincial government served a similar ultimatum
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to its telephone workers. The Winnipeg City Council informed members of the fire brigade and the police force -- the latter had joined the strikers despite the request of the General Strike Committee to
53
remain on duty -- to return to work, or face dismissal.

This campaign activity of Canadian elites moreover included the participation of high-ranking officials in the police force. To illustrate, RCMP Commissioner Perry addressed the executive of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association, denouncing the strikers and asserting that their action was revolutionary and directed toward the confiscation of private property and the founding of a Communist
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form of government.

Other means for intensifying the campaign against radicalism were used as well by Canadian elites during this period. One of those was, for example, the Labor Minister Robertson's invitation to the U.S. headquarters of international unions, attempting to enlist their co-operation in opposing the strike. The international unions responded favorably and actually denounced trade union locals at Winnipeg for their participation in the strike, threatening the dismissal of members and the revocation of local charters, if striking
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was continued in open defiance of international headquarters.

Conservative members of the Labor elite, such as T. Moore of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress rejected an appeal of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council for support in the strike. In fact, the Labor Congress imposed unacceptable conditions upon the Council, namely that it abdicate its authority in conducting the strike and transfer such authority to international headquarters. 56

While the Strike Committee refrained from advocating violence, skirmishes between RCMP officers as well as militia men and the strikers nevertheless took place. Two of these clashes occurred on June 9th and June 21st when the strikers, who had meanwhile gained the support of most war veterans, staged parades. On these days, RCMP officers aided by mounted militia men recruited by the Citizens Committee, charged into crowds of strikers and ex-servicemen, firing several shots. Three persons were killed in these incidents and 42 wounded. 57

With campaigning efforts reaching a climax, more moderate views of the whole event, some of which had apparently been held from the beginning of the strike, were now expressed by some newspapers. 58 Similar views were expressed by some members of the Federal Parliament. 59 Nevertheless, elite groups succeeded in attaining their objective, namely having their beliefs transformed into legislation that could be used to define the leaders of the strike as well as some other members of the Labor Movement as deviants.

On June 6th, 1919 an amendment to the Immigration Act was passed by the Dominion Parliament, which extended provisions with respect to deportation by executive order to British-born subjects. The reason for this move was that the strike leadership was not found to be in the hands of foreign-born members of the Labor Movement. It is reported that this bill passed the three readings in both Houses, including royal assent in less than one hour.

A few days later, the Solicitor-General suggested that the Federal Government adopt the recommendations of the Committee on Sedition and Seditious Propaganda, which the Dominion Government had established earlier in an effort to investigate some radical activity in the Labor Movement. These recommendations were adopted in the form of an amendment to the Criminal Code of Canada as Section 98, which allowed for a rather broad definition of seditious intent, holding offenders guilty until proven innocent and increasing the maximum penalty from two to twenty years imprisonment upon conviction. Section 98 was instituted as an executive order-in-council during the last phase of the strike.

On June 17th, 1919 ten members of the Central Strike Committee were arrested in raids upon their homes. The police confiscated a number of books and papers labeled as "seditious documents" to be presented as exhibits at the trials, which occurred not until the following year. Raids were also conducted at the Labor Temple in

Winnipeg, the offices of the Western Labor News, and the Ukrainian Labor Temple. ⁶² No physical violence was served upon the prisoners following their arrest by the police, but there were intimidations to the effect that sentences might be more severe, if the existence of a conspiracy was denied by them. ⁶³ Of the ten strike leaders arrested on a charge of seditious conspiracy three were later acquitted, and the remaining seven received jail sentences, ranging from six months to two years in duration.

2. Interpretation.

One incident which seemingly had some effect upon the development of the Winnipeg General Strike was the Winnipeg railway strike of 1918. It should be recalled that this strike was defined as illegal through the passing of provincial orders-in-council that forbade the founding of "dangerous organizations" as well as the distribution of 'leftist' literature. This legislation had the effect of intensifying Labor's protest against the employers' reluctance to recognize the union as a collective bargaining agent in labor-management relations. Already estranged from principles that ordained no standards of equality in this relationship, the Labor Movement's realization of being "powerless" in terms of influencing the decisions of business elites was now amplified. In fact, its activities had officially been defined as potentially deviant by provincial legislation.

It is possible that the official strategy of ruling the union demand as potentially deviant conduct created a high degree of politicization in the members of the Labor Movement, which found an outlet in the Western Labor Conference and subsequently in the Winnipeg General Strike.

During the Western Labor Conference such initial disaffection from the work role which, in preceding strikes, had manifested itself in tense labor-management relations, almost reached a dimension of total disenchantment with the whole of Canadian society. The desire to organize workers into One Big Union combined with a resolution demanding acceptance of the Proletarian Dictatorship, give some indication of the goals toward which the thrust of the Labor Movement was directed. Yet, while the Conference to some extent allied itself with the doctrines of the Proletarian Dictatorship, it neither publicly advocated the use of violence nor did it attempt to solicit public support for the overthrow of the Canadian authority structure. Moreover, while the One Big Union idea severely threatened the self-interests of Canadian authority, it can be regarded chiefly as an attempt at uniting the fragmented efforts of union locals in a more sparsely populated and geographically larger country than the U.S.

Rather than advocating the elimination of the general value premises of the society and their replacement by utopian principles, such as "collective success", "classlessness" and moral worth via

egalitarian principles, the OBU (One Big Union) Movement attempted to eliminate official guidelines in the form of corporate principles as well as labor legislation which it regarded as "unworkable" in the everyday work role. These values were the source of worker estrangement, as they contained an ideology of subordination which was unacceptable to most workers.

It is clear that the employers were reluctant to relinquish what they considered to be an important principle for maintaining corporate efficiency, namely the absolute right to manage. They therefore sought to protect this value premise by lending strong support to the Labor lobby system then a common arbitration device.

This principle of the right to manage was in turn legitimized by a general value premise of North American society in that the continuity of a class of "successful" entrepreneurs and managers was at all times necessary for the common good. Consequently Labor's attempt at gaining equality in the management of employer-worker relationships was regarded by the employers (either genuinely, or by pretext) as an open attack on this general value premise.

Ironically, the thrust of the Labor Movement toward modifying, or eliminating the subordinate role of Labor vis-a-vis Management included an appeal to the existing normative structure (the official legal apparatus) rather than insisting upon an alternative that upheld a totally new morality. While thus worker disaffection

from the work role had diffused to institutionalized rules (legislation), as the workers had been excluded from the drafting of these, they nevertheless attempted to communicate their ideals to authority in the prescribed manner, although without noticeable effects. The OBU (One Big Union) Movement was, however, determined to achieve a desired standard of equality between its membership and management. In its view, this standard could be attained only if union and management recognized each other as bodies politic in the arbitration of labor disputes. It therefore sought to increase its bargaining power with management by organizing all workers into "One Big Union".

The activities during the Winnipeg General Strike reflect a similar perspective by the Labor Movement. The principles that guided Labor's action were basically the same as in the preceding strikes, namely equality in the sharing of economic resources with the other trades as well as standards of equality in labor-management relations. The rejection of these principles by the employers in the metal and building trades intensified the workers' disaffection from their work role, as they perceived themselves as being isolated from the making of a "blue print" which intimately affected the everyday reality of their work. Their protest against corporation-made values in the area of labor-management relations therefore took the form of fostering disaffection from those corporate principles in the other members of the Labor Movement, in this manner creating a platform for more full-fledged organization of them. This device of increasing

union membership had the same aim as in previous strikes, namely changing existing labor legislation which ordained over-representation of elite members on three-man conciliation boards.⁶⁶

In view of the Labor Movement's public appeal to the official legal machinery for the settlement of labor-management disputes and the constraint it seemingly placed on activism in its membership, it is here argued that the source condition which motivated its protest is represented by sequence (F-V) in the Smelser-Scott model. It is doubtful whether Labor's estrangement had diffused to the general values of Canadian society.

While it has been argued that the Labor Movement retained a partial commitment to the general value system, Canadian elites, by contrast, experienced no less a threat by Labor's thrust toward changing certain norms than did American elite groups. They, too, believed that the Movement's protest was directed toward the creation of a new morality by replacing the general value premises based upon corporate ecclesiastical interests with utopian goals.

Surviving the threat to values, such as "personal success", the continuity of a class of "successfuls" as well as achieving moral worth through distinctiveness from others was equally paramount to Canadian elites as it was to their U.S. counterparts. The question whether Labor's protest could be partially accommodated by the existing authority structure was relegated to secondary importance.

The Winnipeg Railway strike of 1918 reflects such elite perspective. Elites then regarded the Communist thrust as real in that they assumed that members of the I.W.W. were attempting to unite with socialist trade union members in the OBU (One Big Union) Movement to overthrow constituted government.

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While the chief conflict in this strike focused upon the demand by the union that the employers (Canadian Pacific Railways) recognize its position as a collective bargaining agent, the C.P.R. perceived such official recognition of the union as an acute threat to the 'maintenance of profits' principle and other corporate values. A parallel to the experience of American elites during this period, Canadian government and employers perceived, in the arguments advocated by Labor, aims beyond the concrete issue of union recognition. An example of such view is the passing of orders-in-council by the provincial government which prohibited the creation of organizations inimical to the tenets of corporate-capitalistic enterprise by labeling these groups as "dangerous". It should be recalled that these rules forbade the distribution of leftist literature as well.

The Labor Movement's persistence in protest despite the enactment of legislation to define its activities as potentially deviant accentuated the threat to the general value premises. For example, Canadian Federal Cabinet ministers perceived the proceedings of the Western Labor Conference as containing overtones of a 'leftist'

68 conspiracy. This view was also held by some influential newspapers. 69
The chief resolution of this conference aimed, as already noted, at organizing all workers into One Big Union. It is therefore natural that this proposal by the Labor Movement should have multiplied the threat to the goals of the various authorities and contributed to an intensification of the conflict between the two parties with respect to Labor activities generally. Employers, for example, perceived Labor's concerted effort in organizing its members as a challenge to their prerogative of managing the affairs of their organization as they saw fit. On the other hand, the various levels of government perceived OBU strategies as an open attack on institutionalized norms. These refer to the Labor lobby system and legislation which, up to this point, had effectively dissolved any challenge to the general value of class-continuity, namely that the social system could operate with maximum efficiency only if a small class of entrepreneurs that had achieved "success" in the society continued to govern its existence.

The strike of the metal and building trades which later grew to the magnitude of the Winnipeg General Strike furthered elite beliefs that this series of strikes as well as the Western Labor Conference were Communist-inspired. In their view, this 'conspiracy' had now reached a climax in that the whole of Canadian society had been infiltrated with the ideology of the Proletarian Dictatorship. Consequently, elites set about labeling Labor activities as "deviant conduct". An editorial in the Winnipeg Citizen, which held that the

strike was "a serious attempt to overturn British institutions...and to supplant them with the Russian Bolshevik system of Soviet rule ..."⁷⁰ and the statement of M.R. Blake, Member of Parliament for North Winnipeg in the House of Commons, namely that workers had abandoned⁷¹ "their responsibility to capital and the state" are examples of such elite perspective.

As during the "Red Scare" period in the U.S., Canadian elites perceived the various incidents of this post-World War I period as motivated by source condition (V-F). This condition pre-supposes an attempt at replacing existing values with alternative objectives. In the elitist view of these incidents, Communist infiltration of everyday life had been accomplished by Labor through its association with the Communist Party Movement. Therefore, elites assumed that the total disenchantment of the workers with Canadian society had diffused to worker responsibility on the job as well as the workman's grasp of its essentials, namely "proper" work principles and control over the tools of production. Contract negotiations with the Labor Movement based upon standards of equality became, therefore, impossible.

Summary

Two historical events involving relations between authority and the Labor Movement that occurred during the post-World War I

period in North America were described. This had the purpose of tracing some of the source conditions that seemingly motivated authority to define those activities as deviant in the political sphere.

The basic argument rested on the notion that political deviance stems from a cleavage in perspective, which has its origin in the different social experiences common to elites and non-elite groups in the society. An indication of the extent of this cleavage was provided by interpreting the data in terms of how the events were perceived by the social control agents (represented by various elite groups) and, in turn, how they were regarded by the members of the Labor Movement. In this interpretation the point was emphasized that the manner in which authority and the Labor Movement perceived these incidents depended upon their definition of the source condition which, in their view, motivated a particular conduct. Two basic source conditions represented by the alienation sequences (F-V) and (V-F) were identified with the various activities and regarded as two distinct forms of political deviance in this context.

In the Labor perspective of these events, the general value premises of American and Canadian society (V) were perceived as alienating conditions that induced protest by fostering a perception of being isolated from the formation of key principles for social action to which the Labor Movement could genuinely commit itself. Moreover, it can be argued that existing labor laws provided further impetus for such estrangement in that most workers perceived themselves as

being unable to influence the official decisions that were embodied in these laws. In this sense, the Labor Movement regarded the labor laws as examples of their own inability of communicating their ideals to the appropriate authority in an effective manner.

In the U.S. example, this estrangement from the general value premises was shown as being relatively complete, so that conformity to institutionalized rules, or norms (N), responsibility in the work role (R) as well as any mastering of essential work rules and production tools facilitating this role (F) had, for most workers, become impossible. The protest which resulted can, therefore, be traced to source condition (V-F).

A slight contrast appears in the Labor perspective of these incidents in Canada in that workers seemingly retained a partial commitment to the general value-system. This observation is borne out by Labor's appeal to existing institutions (the courts) with a plea to legislate changes in then current labor laws. It can be said that, while estrangement from the work situation (F and R) had occurred and diffused to the normative structure (N), most workers were not entirely disenchanted with the whole of society (V). This situation can, therefore, be identified with source condition (F-V).

It is tempting to speculate about some possible reasons for this cleavage in the Labor perspective of events between its U.S. and Canadian representatives.

One reason may perhaps be found in the greater number of I.W.W. activists in the U.S. at that time, especially their presence in the Western and North Western regions. By contrast, I.W.W. activity in Canada exhibited less thrust. Another reason may have been the general evolution of the North American Trade Union Movement itself. Possibly, the Canadian Movement lacked the advanced level of development which its U.S. counterpart had experienced as a result of earlier and more large-scale industrialization. This had the effect of placing employer militancy in Canada under greater restraint. Moreover, it can be argued that the Canadian Movement espoused a more tolerant attitude in its bargaining strategies with management. At this particular stage of its growth, it sought to avoid major conflicts with the captains of industry.

The U.S. Movement in turn had passed through this phase in its development years before. By greater exposure to labor-management disputes it had likely built up a greater residue of disaffection from employer tactics in the bargaining situation. U.S. business elites, through more numerous confrontations with Labor issues, may well have developed a less tolerant attitude toward them, in this manner increasing their militancy.

The perspective of the incidents by U.S. and Canadian elites was based upon the same definition of Labor's activities, namely in terms of condition (V-F). In their view, Labor had associated itself with the Communist Party Movement for the purpose of replacing

the existing value premises with an utopia which ordained values, such as "collectiveness", "classlessness" and moral worth based upon egalitarian principles in contradistinction to corporate-ecclesiastical principles, such as "personal success", the continuity of a class of "successfuls" and moral distinctiveness through competition with others.

Highly suspicious of Labor's strategies, the various elites began to label the activities of the Movement as deviant conduct. This had the aim of sensitizing the public toward the impending threat to existing institutions by evoking patriotic sentiments. Labeling devices that were utilized by these elite groups varied with the location of these groups in the social structure. For example, the press used devices, such as headlines, editorials, articles, cartoons and patriotic slogans. The various levels of government through cabinet ministers, members of the Senate, Congress or Parliament and other high-ranking officials, employed speeches in the different Houses of government, luncheon addresses to interest groups as well as publicized meetings with lower levels of government. Some labeling was accomplished, too, through the device of interest group activity which consisted of anti-union propaganda by the patriotic societies, the Legion and other groups. All of this enterprise had the objective of labeling Labor's thrust as deviant conduct.

As noted previously, for U.S. and Canadian elites, most incidents during this period raised the question of surviving the Communist thrust toward what they perceived as a complete infiltration of industry and everyday social life. Understandably, such definition of the Labor Movement's activities excluded negotiations with it from any consideration. Moreover, the rules (administrative and legislative) which resulted from such definition of political deviance (V-F), as well as the means by which these were enforced, were in most instances quite restrictive. In the Canadian example, however, rule enforcement was seemingly less strict when compared to that employed by the U.S. authorities.

Theoretically, this difference in the punishment of rule infractions implies the influence of some agent upon the attitude of government toward these offenders. It can be argued, for example, that some Canadian interest groups perceived the thrust of Communist infiltration as having a more "abstract" quality to it than did similar groups in the U.S. in that they saw fewer manifestations of this thrust in the form of "street skirmishes". In turn, such non-elite reaction to Labor's activities was transformed into pleas for leniency toward the deviants following their apprehension by the authorities. By contrast, the acts of violence, in most cases committed by I.W.W. activists, likely fostered more apprehension toward the Labor Movement in U.S. non-elites. In this manner, these groups were seem-

ingly more inclined to share the official view of the incidents, namely that the complete take-over of American institutions by the Communist Movement was imminent.

C. Some Official Reactions to Problems of the U.S. Labor Movement Following World War II.

1. The Event.

In contrast to historical conditions prevailing after the First World War, the post-World War II period was dominated by a political philosophy which envisioned the possibility of a coalition between basically opposed domestic interests in order to achieve "normalcy".

This mode of thought could prevail in the absence of an ideology which advocated global revolution as a solution to Labor's problems as for example in 1919. Moreover, a general increase in the prosperity level of most Western countries may well have reinforced such conciliatory perspective. This resulted in a pragmatic view of most issues involving labor-management relations.

Following World War II the United States was confronted with the problem of reconverting its war-time economy to one fulfilling post-war demands. This problem was magnified to some extent by the aftermath of a whole series of strikes during the war as well as the absence of a government labor policy to deal with them.

The demobilization of war veterans combined with the cancellation of many contracts for the production of war materials, caused the unemployment of about three million workers during 1945. This gigantic pool of excess labor required almost immediate relocation in industry.

Apart from these problems, the Labor Movement, especially those unions represented by the A.F.L. (American Federation of Labor) and the C.I.O. (Committee for Industrial Organization), resolved that general prosperity during the post-war period depended upon the extent of purchasing power commanded by the lower income groups. In view of the differential between relatively high post-war prices for consumer goods and rather inadequate wages, labor-management relations chiefly encompassed the problem of adjusting wage levels to existing prices. Here, it was assumed by the unions that employers were in a position to grant an increase in wages within existing price ceilings, and that it was possible to determine the extent of these in-
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creases through collective bargaining without strikes. While some
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wage-rate increases were granted by employers on this basis, no general agreement was reached between employers and the unions regarding the magnitude of increase which employers were able to accommodate. There existed no arbitration agency in the United States in 1946 to settle such disputes.

These issues then formed the background against which some of the incidents that occurred during the years immediately following

World War II must be evaluated. The question is: What incidents in particular induced authority, i.e. employers and government to combat the threat which the thrust of the Labor Movement imparted to corporate principles as well as existing labor legislation?

The General Motors Strike of November 1945 was one incident, which prompted American corporate elites to take action in order to protect their self-interests. Most unions advocated the view that a corporation's ability to pay should be considered as a major point in determining the extent of a wage-increase without upward price adjustment to be awarded to the workers by the company. On the other hand, company officials maintained that prices and profits did not form a part of wage bargaining.

Similar issues were involved in the almost five thousand strikes that occurred later in 1946. These strikes had a worker participation rate of over one million and affected the steel industry, electrical manufacturing, meat packing as well as farm-equipment plants. The largest of the strikes occurred in the steel industry, resulting in a three-week walkout of about 750,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America in early 1946, the year with the greatest number of strikes on record.

Another incident which challenged the laissez-faire goal in labor-management relations protected by officialdom up to this point was the Labor-Management Conference in November 1945, which, except for

affirming the sanctity of contract did not proffer any agreement between Labor and Management on the matter of settling labor disputes. This led President Truman to issue a public statement after the Conference in which he emphasized the necessity for legislation to gain control of this serious situation.

The Presidential campaign for the enactment of legislation, providing guidelines for the settlement of labor disputes was chiefly prompted by seemingly insurmountable deadlocks in negotiations between Labor and management in many instances. This necessitated the seizure of several industries by the Federal authorities under the War Labor Disputes Act during the period from August 1945 to June 1946.

Apart from the great number of strikes and the failure of the Labor-Management Conference in developing a solution to them, another incident apparently influenced authorities to rally support for the purpose of introducing legislation in protection of their interests. This incident took the form of certain abuses in union government over a period of years, which had received increasing criticism. Such criticism was leveled largely at undemocratic practices within unions, such as irregularities in the holding of local meetings and national conventions, or threats to inflict bodily harm on members in disagreement with the action proposed by officers. Moreover, the relatively large concentration of power in the hands of certain executive officers had become a subject for criticism over the years and, in combination

with other malpractices, furnished the target for a Senate Investigation Committee.
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By December 1945, President Truman urged Congress to provide him with the statutory authority to accept fact-finding boards for the investigation of labor disputes. This support was, however, not forthcoming until 1946 when the strike situation reached a climax. At that time, support for the enactment of new labor legislation came also from various newspapers, congratulating the President for taking a "militant stand against the rapidly accumulating encroachments on the people's right by Labor"⁸⁰ and exhorting Congress "to no longer evade its responsibility to the people"⁸¹ in proposing legislation. Further support for the Federal Government's campaign was provided by corporate executives,^{81a} educators as well as government officials.

Many of the solutions to labor disputes that were proposed dealt largely with amendments to the Wagner Act of 1935, which aimed at equalizing the bargaining power between management and labor. Yet, it contained no clause, regulating the abuses of union activities. Reportedly, this Act regulated employer responsibilities in the collective bargaining situation, but not that of unions.

As a result of the Federal Government's initiative, the press, corporate executives, businessmen and educators as well as over thirty state legislatures became instrumental in enacting a number of restrictive measures in 1947. These forbade a union "closed shop" policy, limited the use of check-offs, restricted the right to strike,

established unfair labor practices for unions, banned union political activities, required unions to file financial reports, regulated union fees, prohibited secondary boycotts, limited picketing, regulated disputes in public utilities, and in many ways curtailed the privileges unions had enjoyed previously.

At the Federal level, Congress as well as the Senate introduced a number of bills that were equally restrictive of union practices, but most of these were never reported out of committee. The accumulation of these bills, however, led to the enactment of the Labor-Management Relations Act, or popularly known as the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, which became law over President Truman's veto.

Among other restrictions on Labor activity, this Act forbade unions to coerce employees in their choice of collective bargaining representatives, discriminate, or cause employers to discriminate against employees, cause payment for services not performed, or engage in jurisdictional strikes, or secondary boycotts. It outlawed the closed shop, but allowed the union shop, provided it was approved by a majority in the bargaining unit. Damage suits against employers and unions were permitted for violation of contracts, and procedures in emergency strikes were established, retaining for the Government the right to seek postponement or suspension of such walkouts for a limited period through an injunction in the Federal District Courts. Unions as well as corporations were forbidden to support candidates for federal political office. Supervisory personnel were denied protection under the

statute. The Federal Conciliation Service was made into an independent agency. Unions seeking the service of the National Labor Relations Board were required to file their constitutions, by-laws, and financial statements with the U.S. Department of Labor. Union officers had to file an affidavit, declaring that they were not members of the Communist Party, or any organization supporting it. ⁸⁴

As a result of this law, the number of strikes declined, but court cases, involving unions, increased. ⁸⁵ The Act imposed penalties for a violation of one or more of its many sections. For example, Section 304 prohibited political contributions by corporations and labor unions and subjected unions found guilty to a fine up to \$5,000, and a union official up to \$1,000 and imprisonment for one year. More generally, the Taft-Hartley Act placed a number of restrictions on a great many practices formerly engaged in by both unions and employers. Violations usually resulted in convictions, enforcing these restrictions, but could be dealt with by imposing fines in varying amounts as well as short-term prison sentences under some of its sections.

2. Interpretation

In the General Motors Strike of 1945 the point of issue was, as noted, the union demand for a wage-increase. Such request was combined with another, namely that a corporation's ability to pay be regarded as a measure in determining the total amount of this wage-increase.

Principles of corporate efficiency, such as the maintenance of profits at a fixed level by a class of managers and owners which prompted the company's refusal to negotiate were experienced by most workers as estranging. Such estrangement from corporate principles was due to a perception of being excluded from the making of work rules which affected their everyday role as workers. Moreover, as worker participation in corporate policy-making in the area of labor-management relations was thus denied, company-made work principles did not encompass the desired standards of equality in this relationship. This worker estrangement from work principles gained in magnitude in that workers perceived existing labor laws that favored the lobby system as an arbitration device in labor disputes as being responsible for their inability to communicate their views to the appropriate authority. This general disaffection with the work role over a period of time gave the impetus to the strike vote. The demand by the union that a corporation's ability to pay be taken into consideration in fixing the amount of the wage-increase supports this view.

During the President's Labor-Management Conference, the unions were chiefly concerned with a balance of powers, i.e. standards of equality between Labor and management in contract negotiations. Principles, such as the right to manage which necessitated a class of owners and managers to maintain profits and corporate efficiency was, as noted before, experienced as an alienating condition by the workers

who perceived themselves as being excluded from the formulation of company work principles. The unions' desire to be recognized as collective bargaining agents by management thus represents a form of protest against these principles and simultaneously a manifestation of worker estrangement from them.

The restrictions imposed upon Labor activities by the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act had made the Labor Movement distrustful of any legislative changes requested by the employers. For this reason, the Movement favored the establishment of equality standards in labor-management relations via employer contract rather than legislative channels. Labor regarded the contract device as a more effective means of removing their estrangement from both corporate principles and institutionalized rules in the form of the two Acts mentioned than the lobby system, which artificially maintained barriers to fruitful communication with business elites. This conflict can thus be identified with source condition (F-V) in the Smelser-Scott model.

The very fact that Labor agreed to confer in a formal setting with business as well as government elites to settle differences in the labor-management relations area is evidence that it was concerned with the modification of corporation-made work principles that were protected by the existing institutional structure, nothing more.

By contrast, American business elites regarded the union's demand for a wage-increase during the General Motors Strike as a threat

to the company's autonomy in matters of management as well as corporate efficiency in meeting payrolls, rendering service to customers, avoiding idleness of costly machinery etc. In the same vein, elites regarded the thrust of the Labor Movement as challenging institutionalized norms, such as labor laws and the rules of commerce, all of which had the task of protecting the general value of "free enterprise".

As opposed to the incidents following the First World War when elites were greatly concerned with surviving the threat which Labor activities imparted, they perceived at this time conciliation procedures as being a distinct possibility in dealing with Labor's protest. In their view, this protest was too fragmented as to represent a real challenge to the general value premises of the society. Its partial accommodation within the existing institutional structure was, therefore, regarded as possible. Such elite perspective of the event was probably supported by the belief that, in contrast to the post-World War I period, Labor exhibited little, or no affiliation with the Communist Party Movement.

This elite view is moreover reflected in the proceedings of the Labor Management Conference of 1945. American elites believed that arbitration procedures in the settlement of labor disputes were a suitable device to combat Labor's protest. However, while they agreed on the device of the contract and its sanctity, no agreement between Labor and management was reached with respect to the basic terms which

such contractual relationship should encompass. In this sense, the Conference chiefly "verified" the existing cleavage in perspective between elites and Labor relative to the labor-management problem.

It is possible that business elites, while basically receptive toward the regulation of their relationships with Labor via the contract device, had retained a distrust in Labor's activities which they regarded as justified in view of the malpractices engaged in by union officials over a number of years. Elites believed that, if the Labor Movement tolerated practices of a group of leaders who could be regarded as estranged from Labor's own "work bench", then the Movement was capable of employing similar practices in its relations with employers as well as in the organization of workers.

In concluding, it can be argued that American elites perceived the protest of the Labor Movement as emanating from a general disaffection from corporate principles as well as institutionalized rules in the form of labor laws. While thus Labor's estrangement had diffused from the work role to the normative structure of the society, elites saw no signs of Labor's alignment with the Communist Party Movement. Thus, the post-World War II incidents involving labor disputes can, from the perspective of American elites, be identified with the (F-V) condition within the Smelser-Scott model. It is possible that historical conditions prevailing after the Second World War had some effect in fostering such conciliatory perspective of Labor's strategies.

D. Some Official Reactions to Problems of the Canadian Labor Movement in the Post-World War II Period.

1. The Event.

The post-World War II period in Canada was fraught with domestic problems much the same in nature as those that existed in the United States during this period, namely the demobilization of war veterans, the wage-price conflict as well as the unemployment problem.

One major difference between the two countries was the relative absence of strikes in Canada during the war years when compared to a proliferation of them in the United States. Perhaps this can be attributed in part to a no-strike policy in the Canadian Labor Movement to assist the war effort,⁸⁶ or it may have been due to existing governmental controls on rent and prices, the provision of cost-of-living bonuses and a more generous interpretation of wage control.⁸⁷ Workers were on strike in 1942 and 1943, but the duration of these strikes was generally not very great -- about 4.77 days lost per worker in 1943, for example.

Labor-management relations in Canada seemingly contained a more conciliatory note during this period. While the problem of wage-increases was unquestionably present, the Canadian Movement was more concerned with the issue of union recognition by employers as exemplified in the Kirkland Lake strike of 1942, which was initiated by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.⁸⁸

In this context, an important question is to what extent the incidents which occurred during this period challenged elite principles both in the corporate and governmental spheres of activity.

One incident was the General Motors Strike toward the end of 1945, which caused 11,000 members of the Canadian Local 200 of the U.A.W. (United Autoworkers of America) in Windsor to go on strike. These workers demanded a union shop (primarily), seniority for war veterans, lay-off or reconversion pay, and a two-weeks paid vacation. The operation of the General Motors power house in Windsor became an issue in the settlement of this strike, as the U.A.W. had withdrawn their maintenance personnel. As a result, the Association of Insurance Underwriters of Ontario requested the Attorney-General of Ontario to provide protection of General Motors' property in the absence of these maintenance men. Ontario Premier Drew made a journey to Ottawa, requesting the assistance of Prime Minister King, who responded by authorizing the dispatch of RCMP reinforcements to Windsor in order to break picket lines, should such action be warranted. The strikers, however, blocked off the power house area with a large number of cars in defiance, and this measure assisted the defeat of any attempt to break the strike. When, following the encounter between police and the strikers, Local 195 of Chrysler Corporation joined the strike, the companies finally negotiated a settlement with the U.A.W.

Another incident is represented by a whole series of strikes (following the U.S. pattern), which involved about 139,474 workers as

well as a total of 4,561,393 lost man-working-days. Moreover, this strike movement encompassed the whole of Canada from Cape Breton to Vancouver Island, and began in May 1946 with the walkout of British Columbia Loggers, members of the I.W.A. (International Woodworkers of America). This strike was followed by the seamen's strike, strikes by textile workers, rubber workers, and later by the strikes of electrical and steel workers at Hamilton, Ontario. Lumber workers in Northern Ontario stopped work in the autumn of 1946.

Union demands in these strikes mostly involved union recognition as a bargaining agent for the striking workers by management, wage-increases as well as shorter working hours in some instances. For example, in the seamen's strike, the union's chief demand was the 3-watch system (8 hours of work per day) as opposed to a 12 hour working day. During that time, seamen received an average pay of about \$112 per month and were discouraged from collective bargaining at the risk of the governmental enactment of amendments to the Canada Shipping Act disadvantageous to their cause. In this context, it is of interest to note that striking seaman could moreover be arrested for desertion.

The Federal Government, in an attempt to break the strike, declared the docks public property and prevented seaman from entering the shipyards at the risk of trespassing. This particular strike received, however, much public support from the local authorities. For

example, at Cornwall and Thorold, Ontario, the mayors openly protested interference with the strikers by the provincial police while at Collingwood the inhabitants of the town attempted to convince strike breakers to leave town. Finally, the Federal Government, under its war-time powers, seized 29 shipping companies, appointing a controller and commissioner to adjudicate wages and working conditions. This measure resulted in granting the CSU (Canadian Seamen's Union) the requested 3-watch system.

The seamen's strike was followed by the strike of the Dominion Textile Workers, which resulted in the walkout of 6,000 workers in Montreal and Valleyfield, Quebec. Members of the United Textile Workers of America, Canadian district, demanded a wage-increase, a forty-hour work week as well as recognition of their union as a legitimate bargaining agent. Dominion Textile Co. refused, however, to sign a contract with Canadian union leaders R.K. Rowley and Madeleine Parent, and this refusal was supported by the provincial government. Quebec Premier Duplessis held the view that the strike was illegal and represented a "Communist Conspiracy", ordering the arrest of Rowley on charges of sedition and conspiracy later on and demanding that Rowley be remanded without bail. This union leader went to trial toward the end of 1946, was found guilty of the charge and sentenced to only six months in jail mainly due to public protest as well as concern with the issue that was expressed in the Federal Parliament.

Elitist enterprise directed toward bringing about legislative reform of labor-management relations received, however, much impetus from the unions themselves in Canada during this period. Apart from the specific objectives of Canadian industry and the various levels of government in demanding such reform, the Canadian Labor Movement's chief concern, for example, was to embody some of the principles of P.C. 1003 in permanent legislation. This executive order by the Federal Government stated the government's position with respect to labor-management relations and dates back to February 1944 when it was passed under the nucleus of National Emergency Laws, which expired in March 1947. P.C. 1003 provided for the right of workers to form and join labor unions, prohibited unfair labor practices, established procedures for defining and certifying bargaining units, required compulsory collective bargaining and conciliation, and affirmed the right of workers to strike during the term of an agreement.

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While labor-management relations had again become the responsibility of the provinces under the provisions of the British North America Act following the expiration of the Emergency Laws, the Dominion Government was instrumental in proposing legislation that could be universally adopted across Canada. This effort resulted in federal law in 1948 in the form of the Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act. While this Act embodied most of the war-time provi-

@ The first Dominion labor legislation enacted was the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907.

sions, it included some new sections that were opposed to the Labor Movement's objectives. These were provisions directed toward decertifying a bargaining agent without replacing it with another and toward restraining a union from taking a strike vote until conciliation procedures had been completed. The Act, however, declared
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company unionism as illegal.

At the provincial level, labor legislation had already existed for a number of years before World War II. British Columbia, for example, enacted the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act in 1947, which replaced an earlier statute of 1937, bearing the same title. This provincial statute established a Labor Relations Board as did federal legislation, but included provisions not contained in the latter, such as the requirement for a government-supervised strike vote, a measure opposed by the unions. Other Labor demands for changes in this Act encompassed the appointment of a Labor representative on the Labor Relations Board as well as the elimination of the Board's right to determine jurisdiction in labor disputes and
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to decide which union a worker should join.

This federal and provincial legislation resulted in a number of suits for damages against unions as well as judgements for illegal strikes. Legislative regulation of strikes was in part responsible also for an increase in ex-parte injunctions served on unions, restricting their right to picket and strike.

Between the years 1946 and 1955, 69 injunctions were, for example, applied for in British Columbia alone, with all but two having been granted. ⁹⁸ Contempt of these injunctions frequently resulted in jail terms and fines. To illustrate: Two officials of the Boilermakers Union received short jail terms for refusing to obey an injunction in 1949, which called for the reinstatement of a worker expelled from the union for his open opposition to its policies. ⁹⁹ In another case, an I.W.A. (International Woodworkers of America) agent received a short jail term for contempt of an injunction, restraining the union from picketing a vessel belonging to Canadian Transport Co. Ltd., Vancouver. He as well as other leaders of that union were fined \$7,200. ¹⁰⁰

2. Interpretation.

During the General Motors Strike in Canada the Labor Movement employed much the same strategy in protesting corporation-made work principles as did its counterpart in the U.S. In both cases the unions demanded recognition as collective bargaining agents by management as well as a wage-increase for their membership. Yet, while the chief concern of the American parent union, i.e. the United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America was an increase in wages, its Canadian affiliate in Windsor, Ontario placed more emphasis on the establishment of a union shop, vacation with pay and other fringe benefits, such as a seniority clause for war veterans and lay-off, or re-conversion pay.

Apart from being estranged from corporate value premises, such as the maintenance of profits at a given level and autonomy in managing the corporation's affairs which were protected by the business elites, members of the Canadian Labor Movement perceived themselves as being excluded from the formulation of corporate guidelines that endowed the social aspects of the work role with legitimacy.

During the series of country-wide strikes that followed the Second World War, the chief demand by the Labor Movement was, however, union recognition by management. This demand was legitimized by the same desire for standards of equality in contract negotiations as was the case in the General Motors Strike. The previous device of legislative lobbying was no guarantee for the Labor Movement to attain this value and safeguard it.

Following the expiration of the National Emergency Laws in March of 1947 jurisdiction over Labor problems was, as noted, returned to the provinces. Existing provincial labor legislation that had been superseded by the Emergency Laws thus became again enforceable. In British Columbia, for example, the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (ICA Act) of 1937 restricted collective bargaining to committees of employees in preference to unions. The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1947 which replaced the 1937 statute established a Labor Relations Board, but provided for a government-supervised strike vote. All of this labor legislation was to some extent opposed to the standards of equality

in Labor-management relations which the Labor Movement had set out to attain, and was consequently experienced as estranging by its members. For example, the provision of the 1937 ICA Act for collective bargaining via employee committees failed to recognize Labor's desire to become a body politic and a legitimate agent in arbitration procedures. This provision did little more than shifting the device of the lobby from the legislative arena to the corporate sphere. In this sense, it represented an attempt at fragmenting Labor's overall objectives, and hence added to its perception of being "powerless" in communicating its goals to the various corporate elites in an effective manner.

This 1937 Act then supported corporate autonomy in the area of labor-management relations and became a major source for Labor's persistence in protest. The replacement of this statute by the ICA of 1947, while conceding to the Labor Movement the right to organize, perpetuated Labor's disaffection from the work role by providing for a government-supervised strike vote. This clause expresses a fundamental distrust of Labor strategies which government elites shared with their counterparts in the corporate world. The rationale for it lies in the elitist notion that Labor's protest was due to the activities of some estranged Labor leaders who attempted to foster such estrangement in the other members of the Movement, so that the latter perceived themselves as being exploited by their

employers. The clause had therefore the aim to eliminate the domination of union members by "alien" leaders during a strike vote. Furthermore, non-representation on the Labor Relations Board for which the Act provided intensified Labor's sense of "powerlessness".

It can thus be argued that the estrangement of Canadian workers from corporate principles that legitimized the work role had diffused to the normative structure of the society in that some clauses in existing labor laws chiefly supported corporate autonomy in the area of labor-management relations. These conditions were responsible for Labor's protest and can be represented by source condition (F-V).

Much that has been said about how American elites perceived some of the incidents in this post-World War II period also applies to the view Canadian elites took of them.

The General Motors Strike at Windsor, for example, was perceived by Canadian elites in the corporate world and government as a sympathetic gesture in support of the strike vote against the U.S. parent company in Detroit. As in the U.S., Canadian elites experienced Labor's thrust chiefly as a threat to corporate principles, such as the right to manage, maintaining profits at a desired level and corporate efficiency.

In the view of Canadian business elites, this strike represented only a scattered attempt at challenging the general value system of the society, although institutionalized rules in the form

of labor laws were openly attacked. Partial accommodation of Labor's protest within the existing institutional structure was nevertheless regarded as possible. This view is reflected, for example, in the negotiations of General Motors Company with the union which resulted in a settlement of the strike.

The series of country-wide strikes entailed concrete demands by the Labor Movement much the same in nature as those in the General Motors Strike at Windsor. In turn, it may be said that elite groups perceived these strikes as threatening values similar to those challenged in the General Motors Strike, namely corporate principles legitimizing the work role on the one hand, and labor laws on the other. As in the U.S., the partial accommodation of these protests within the existing institutional framework was regarded as possible by Canadian elites, as they perceived no signs of Labor's affiliation with the Communist Party Movement in these activities.

Basically, the reaction of Canadian elites to the conduct of Labor during this period can be identified with source condition (F-V). The strike of the Dominion Textile workers in Quebec which resulted in the arrest of Canadian Labor leader R.K. Rowley, and which was perceived by the Quebec provincial government as Communist-inspired may be regarded as an exception.

Summary

In these two post-World War II events, the Labor Movement's disaffection from the work role can be traced to alienating conditions that were induced by corporation-made principles as well as institutionalized norms in the form of labor laws. This represents a contrast to the period that followed the First World War where elites, for example, defined Labor's protest largely in terms of a lack of loyalty and commitment to the existing value- and authority structure, relegating concrete bargaining issues to secondary importance.

During this post-World War II period then, most Labor issues were perceived in terms of their pragmatic utility to elites as well as Labor. Worker estrangement did not diffuse to the general value premises of the society. The protest which it fostered was directed toward changing guidelines and norms which, in the workers' view, were not "workable" in the everyday performance of their jobs and which, furthermore, provided for inadequate remuneration for such performance.

It can be argued, therefore, that the elite as well as the Labor perspective of these events contained a pragmatic orientation which aimed at finding a solution to concrete issues in the area of labor-management relations. Such concrete frame of reference allowed the Labor Movement to retain a partial commitment to the general value system of the society in both events.

While Labor's protest in both the U.S. and Canada during this period can be regarded as stemming from source condition (F-V), a slight difference between the U.S. and Canadian examples emerges. This difference refers to the kinds of concrete issues with which Labor was most concerned in both countries. In the U.S., for example, the Movement was chiefly concerned with the attainment of a wage-increase as well as union recognition by management. In Canada, union demands were extended to include a number of fringe benefits. It is possible that previous exposure to social benefits, such as governmental control over rent and prices, cost-of-living bonuses and a more broad interpretation of wage control during the war years had sensitized Canadian workers toward the social aspects of the work role. This sensitivity seemingly reflected itself in the bargaining situation.

An overall comparison of the Labor perspective of the events between the two countries shows, however, no important difference.

U.S. and Canadian elites regarded this form of political deviance as stemming from source condition (F-V). Such definition of the various incidents precludes the view that Labor had affiliated with the Communist Movement in order to replace the general value system of the society with a diametrically opposed "counter-system", or ideology. Business elites, for example, perceived Labor's

protest as based upon a disaffection from pragmatic corporate values, such as the "maintenance of profits" via corporate efficiency, the necessity for an "owner and manager class" to maintain these profits at a fixed level via the right to manage and the workers' attainment of "moral distinctiveness through rewards for individual merit" via competition. In both countries, government elites perceived the thrust of the Labor Movement as motivated by worker disaffection from institutionalized norms (labor legislation), but as confined to this area of institutional activity. Thus, government elites realized the necessity of having Labor participate on equal terms in the formulation of labor laws from which it had been deliberately excluded in previous years.

Such desire for Labor's participation in the formulation of labor laws reflects itself in President Truman's call for the Labor-Management Conference of 1945. The reason for the failure of this conference to establish mutually satisfactory terms of reference for labor legislation may largely be attributed to the reluctance of business elites in allowing greater Labor participation in the generation of corporate values legitimizing employer-employee relationships relative to the work role .

It is here argued that such reluctance by Management was due to its perception of Labor's protest as a fragmented attempt at introducing utopian principles, although it had to admit to Labor's non-alignment with the Communist cause.

While thus Management conceded that partial institutional accommodation of Labor's thrust was possible, it did not see any way of accomplishing it other than by relinquishing some of its prerogatives. This reluctance to relinquish corporate autonomy in labor-management relations can be traced in Canadian industry, for example, until at least 1947 when some provincial labor legislation still provided for a government-supervised strike vote and the establishment of labor relation boards to which no Labor representative could be appointed.

In both the U.S. and Canada, however, elites generally defined Labor's protest as being motivated by source condition (F-V). Consequently, the devices they instituted to control this form of deviance were much less restrictive than those ordained in the period following the First World War.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER III

TWO FORMS OF POLITICAL DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The previous chapter attempted to interpret some post-World War I and II political incidents in North America by identifying two distinct forms of political deviance in these activities. These types of deviance were regarded as stemming from two source conditions and were represented by the alienation sequences (V-F) and (F-V).

The argument has been stressed that the various authorities will define a given conduct as deviant in terms of the source which they perceive as motivating it. Understandably, the devices that will be instituted to control this deviance will vary with such official definition. A connection between the definition of what form of political deviance is present and the devices to control it has already been indicated in a preliminary way in Chapter II. However, for a better understanding of this "linkage" a more detailed interpretation of source conditions (V-F) and (F-V) with relevant documentation from the literature is necessary.

In this manner, the differential perspective of the various events which arises from the different social backgrounds common to elites and non-elite groups and from which ultimately the two forms of deviance emanate, can be more convincingly illustrated.

Moreover, such illustration allows to point up some of the factors that determine the extent of this cleavage on which, in turn, official reactions to deviant conduct and its control depend.

Illustrative materials have been selected from original documents, such as Labor journals and pamphlets as well as government reports on deviant activities and such public statements which, in the author's view, portray a business elite perspective of Labor-Management relations during these two periods. Conceivably, the Labor Movement usually advocates more divergent strategies for the attainment of its objectives than do the various authorities represented by elites in the corporate world and the different levels of government, as the political orientations of the latter are basically conservative. This factor has been compensated for by presenting a greater selection of materials that deal with the position of the Labor Movement during the periods discussed here.

The materials themselves have been arranged as follows: Source conditions (V-F) and (F-V) will be examined first with respect to Labor's terms of reference and illustrated by relevant items from the literature. This interpretation will be followed by an examination of some official reactions to Labor's goals that can be found in business and government publications. Following this juxtaposition of perspectives the extent of the cleavage between them will then be pointed to. Finally, the official definition of the

form of political deviance which emerges from this cleavage in perspective will be linked to the devices instituted by officialdom to control the deviant conduct. A brief discussion of control devices along with an attempt to classify them will be appended in the final section of this chapter.

A. Political Deviance Stemming from Source (V-F)

It was mentioned in the second chapter that most Labor activities during the post-World War I period received some impetus from existing historical conditions, namely the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and the formation of the Comintern in 1919. These conditions, it was argued, were in part responsible for the diffusion of worker estrangement from the work role itself to include the general value premises of the society. The utopia which resulted had as its major objective the organization of workers for the pursuit of goals that could provide the Labor Movement with a collective identity and engender loyalty and commitment in all workingmen. The replacement of existing value premises, such as "personal success", the necessity of a class of "successfuls" for the proper operation of the social system and the attainment of moral worth through competition became therefore mandatory.

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An editorial in the Communist World,¹ the official organ of the Communist Party, Local Greater New York, which appeared in

late 1919, illustrates several ideals that were underlying worker protest during this period. This editorial reflects the Communist Party goal of infiltrating American industry and gradually replacing corporate-ecclesiastical principles with a new morality based upon the principles of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia.

In some of its passages, this document indicates maximal estrangement of workers from elite value premises as well as an inability to communicate the ideals of the workingman to the existing authority structure in an effective manner. In turn, the fostering of such estrangement in fellow workers in order to increase their receptivity toward organization is well portrayed. The attempt at establishing a new worker identity by generating values engendering loyalty and commitment, and, in this manner, relating workers to an authority structure which they can accept and which is collectively controlled becomes evident. The utopian principles embodied in the Communist Party ideology are reflected in the advocacy of certain methods whereby the instruments of production, i.e. the "shop" can be controlled by the workers by exercising their "mass power". In order to attain this goal, shop organization is regarded as a necessary point of departure. The abolition of privately-owned industrial property is implied. Finally, the editorial stresses the organization of the workers into Communist Party Shop Branches, which reflects the notion of attaining power and prestige through brotherhood and

collective enterprise. These norms, namely worker ownership of the instruments of production, the abolition of private property as well as moral distinctiveness through collective effort are in turn legitimized by the general value premises of "collective success", "classlessness" and moral worth based upon egalitarian notions.

In quoting some passages from this editorial, words and/or sentences relating to Labor's reference terms have been underlined. This will apply also to the examples that follow.

"If you and your fellow workers controlled the shop, determined the hours of labor, the working conditions, and apportioned the rewards for the services rendered, you would be able to create the conditions that would bring happiness to you. You would so arrange your work that you would not have your life sapped by long hours and bad working conditions and so that the wealth you produced would be yours, yours to secure the enjoyment of good food, good clothing, a good home, and the opportunity for education and healthy recreation.

There is enough wealth produced to give these things to all who work. But the capitalists own the shops that should be yours. The capitalists make you work long hours under bad working conditions; they take from you as their profit the lion's share of what you produce.

....The workingmen of Russia have shown the way. In Russia the shops, as well as all other means of production and distribution belong to the workers.

....Before their [the workers'] mass power the government of the capitalists and landowners broke up and disappeared. The workers' councils became the organs of the working-class government. The workers controlled the state power, the police, the army.

And in Russia, the workers are building the society that means happiness for all in spite of all the efforts of

the capitalists of the world to overthrow their government and strike down their new economic system.

Bring together all the enlightened workers who are ready to participate in the struggle to win control of the shop. Organize them in a Communist Party Shop Branch. This committee will carry on the work of agitation and education among the other workers. It will collect funds and secure papers and pamphlets for distribution in the shop."

The position of the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) during this period, largely supported the Communist world view, but, instead of accomplishing these goals by gradual infiltration of industry, advocated their immediate attainment by a "here and now" utopia. This militant view is expressed in a small booklet by G.H. Perry, entitled "The Révolutionary I.W.W.",² which appeared in 1919. In this booklet, the total disenchantment of workers from the official value premises is pointed to by stressing the preamble of the I.W.W. constitution, which states that the organization of workers represents the genesis for the formation of a new social system within the confines of the existing one. Apart from advocating violence for the rapid attainment of its goals, the I.W.W. emphasizes much the same strategy for the replacement of the traditional institutional structure with a new one, namely that of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The pointlessness of communicating ideals to the various authorities in order to influence their decision-making in the Labor-Management area is strongly implied.

"ORGANIZING A NEW SOCIAL SYSTEM

"The I.W.W. is fast approaching the stage where it can accomplish its mission. This mission is revolutionary in character.

The preamble of the I.W.W. Constitution says in part: 'By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old'. That is the crux of the I.W.W. position. We are not satisfied with a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. Such a thing is impossible. Labor produces all wealth. Labor is therefore entitled to all wealth. We are going to do away with capitalism by taking possession of the land and the machinery of production....The capitalist class took them because it had the power to control the muscle and brain of the working class in industry. Organized, we, the working class, will have the power....We will demand more and more wages from our employers. We will demand and enforce shorter and shorter hours. As we gain these demands we are diminishing the profits of the bosses. We are taking away his [sic] power....We tear down to build up....The Industrial Workers of the World are laying the foundation of a new government. This government will have for its legislative halls the mills, the workshops and factories. Its legislators will be the men in the mills, the workshops and factories. Its legislative enactments will be those pertaining to the welfare of the workers....These things are to be. No force can stop them. Armies will be of no avail. Capitalist governments may issue their mandates in vain. The power of the workers - industrially organized - is the only power on earth worth considering, once they realize that power. Classes will disappear, and in their place will be only useful members of society - the workers."

The sentiments of Labor in Canada during this period are well expressed in a special issue of the Western Labor News ³ then a strongly Socialist-oriented daily. This issue deals with various aspects of the Winnipeg General Strike, such as the strategy and discipline of Labor, its concrete demands from the authorities as well as its goals. The latter are enumerated in a leading article which

severely criticizes the profit system for its harmful effects upon the workers, opposing it with a "counter-system" based upon egalitarian premises. However, the values that are envisioned as replacing elitist goals lack the intensity of those advocated by Communist-oriented groups and encompass a lower level of abstraction. Moreover, the institution of utopian values is seen as requiring a period of "transition", but no guidelines are provided as to the form of social action that is to be initiated by the Labor Movement during this transitional period. There is no indication of a program of continued agitation, an "infiltration policy", or immediate seizure of governmental institutions. While the replacement of elitist values by the utopia of the co-operative commonwealth is advocated, this replacement is apparently accomplished through evolutionary forces. This article further implies that the communication of worker ideals to the authorities has had no appreciable effects in the past, but that the workers' loyalty and commitment to the general value system of the society must continue, as evolutionary change cannot come about via total disenchantment and violent protest.

"A BETTER INCENTIVE

The only incentive worth while is that which gives to humanity the consciousness that it will have the full product of its toil. Today the man who is smart enough can rob a whole world under the profit system, and he is called successful. The day will come when he who robs another will be regarded as a disgrace to the race.

The one thing needed is a system wherein each worker, man or woman, shall be assured that all that he or she produces shall be his or hers, and that, by no hook or crook shall it be possible for another to profiteer on that work.

This opens up the whole realm of the philosophy of life. We cannot follow the gleam here. Sufficient if we can show that the profit incentive is pernicious and unnecessary, and that there is a possible and a superior alternative.

The day will speedily arrive when we shall be compelled to grapple with such alternatives. The present system is disintegrating before our very eyes, and the defenders of the old system are pouring out their money like water to defeat the workers. Moreover, they are pouring out their vials of wrath against those whom they declare to be leaders because they dare to voice the deep aspirations of labor. Their calumny will not avail. The only hope lies in calm and reasoned judgement.

....It will take heroic measures to meet the transition period that hastens upon us....But, the very intensity with which the possessors of wealth have followed the profit incentive has cribbed, cabined and confined the nobler side of their nature and so dwarfed their minds, that there seems to be no hope in them. Their defense lies, not in facing facts honestly and manfully, but in side-stepping the real issues and dragging in irrelevant issues.

No solution for the world's woes can be found in this direction. The profit incentive must be replaced by the incentive of service. Co-operation must replace competition. Give must take the place of get."

Somewhat in contrast to the position taken by the Western Labor News with respect to Labor's ultimate goals, a feature article in the Red Flag,⁴ a Labor journal in the tradition of Revolutionary Socialism, is more intense and abstract in the advocacy of Labor's objectives. Moreover, this article advocates a method for the attainment of these values, namely a comprehensive program of infiltration

with the aim of fostering total disenchantment of workers with the official value system. On the other hand, such infiltration takes the form of organizing workers through "educational programs" rather than direct affiliation with certain labor organizations. The fear is expressed that an affiliation with labor bodies would increase the number of those workers who have retained their commitment to official values and who would resist their replacement by utopian goals. Effective communication of the working-man's ideals to elite groups is assumed to be impossible a priori due to the different locations of elite and non-elite positions in the hierarchy of authority and the conflict which such differential location inevitably produces.

"The Socialist Party of Canada is a political organization of Revolutionary Socialism. Its political functions are the education of the members of the working class into a knowledge of their class position in modern capitalist society. They also advocate the capturing of the Powers of the State, by the working class for the purpose of turning the present capitalist class ownership and control of the means of production and distribution into the collective ownership and control of society as a whole.

...the period of permanent reform can only begin when the workers have obtained control of the powers of the State, upon which the process commences, of transforming the capitalist system of production for profit into a system of production for use.

...the Socialist Party of Canada can have no affiliations with any non-revolutionary party even though professedly Socialist or with an organized labor body whose function is to assist its members to bargain to better advantage for wages and conditions of work. We hear much, especially

from the United States of revolutionary industrial organizations, but this party holds that an industrial organization can not be called revolutionary, because in order to cover an industry it must take into its ranks individuals with all kinds of political opinions antagonistic to the social revolution.

...the members hold that the Party is better able to concentrate on a sound scientific educational programme.

The class struggle of today takes the form of a struggle between the wage working class and the capitalist class, but the class struggle is not in the wage relation, not in the transaction of buying and selling labor power. Nevertheless the antagonism engendered in that transaction may often develop into such a course of action as may call into the open that hidden but uninterrupted struggle which arises from the deeper-lying antagonism between the economical conditions of existence of the property-less working class and the property-owning capitalist class.

Elite groups during this period were convinced that the major thrust of the Labor Movement was motivated by an affiliation of most labor groups with the Communist Party Movement. Their initial reactions to this thrust were represented by a number of devices which had the aim of labeling all of Labor's activities as potentially deviant conduct. (Some of these labeling devices were mentioned in Chapter II.)

The extent of the threat which elite groups experienced is clearly reflected in the reactions to Labor's conduct by the various levels of government. A good example of such reaction is the Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities of the New York State Legislature, which is popularly known as the
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Lusk Report. Senator Lusk was the chairman of this investigation into

radical activities. This document was published in 1920 and consists of four volumes, which give a most comprehensive review of radical activities at that time. The Introduction of this Report provides an official definition of Labor activities and reflects the severe challenge which these activities imparted to the existing authority structure.

The Lusk Report leaves little doubt that government perceived Labor's thrust as Communist-inspired and directed to replace official values and institutions with a social system in which egalitarian and cooperative principles legitimized all actions in the society. In this document Labor's strategy is regarded as being inspired by a group of totally disenchanting individuals, who attempt to foster such estrangement from existing values in all members of the Labor Movement. The devices of the strike and sabotage are seen as the results of creating such estrangement in the work force and as methods for attaining the desired end, namely a new morality for all members of the society.

In the view of the Committee members, Communist infiltration of American industry is nearly complete, and hence the report contains an appeal to individuals in positions of authority as well as citizens at large to assume a militant attitude toward this perceived infiltration. The extent of the threat to the authorities is expressed, too, in the advocacy of educational reform in the school-

system, which was to be preceded by a "re-orientation" of educators and teachers as well as a substantial increase in their salaries.

The following quotations point to such official perspective. Sentences pertaining to Labor's goals as perceived by officialdom have been underlined.

"A study of their [the political parties'] platforms and official pronouncements shows that they do not differ fundamentally in their objectives. These objectives are: the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth in place of the present form of government in the United States; the overthrow of what they are pleased to call the capitalist system, namely, the present system under which we live, and the substitution in its place of collective ownership, and the management of means of production and distribution by the working class.

....All are agreed that success can be obtained only through the destruction of the present trade union organizations of the working class, and by creating in their stead revolutionary industrial unions having the power (through industrial action involving the general strike and sabotage) to so cripple the government as to render it powerless to prevent the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth and the working class rule.

....The result of the propaganda of the quasi-political organizations which has been spread throughout the country...has been to undermine the confidence of these workers in the conservative trade union organizations and lead to the formation of a large number of powerful and independent revolutionary industrial unions.

....This method of 'boring from within' has been extremely effective and has in large measure permeated the Central Federated Union of New York City as well as many union groups in other parts of the State, engendering radical and revolutionary spirit in their rank and file.

....the Committee feels that it must appeal in the strongest way to every member of the legislature, to every man who holds any position of authority or of influence, to

take every possible step, not only to understand the cardinal facts of the situation but to devote his thoughts and his acts to a crusade in support of every agency, every policy, that will counteract and defeat this movement. The re-education of the educators and of the educated class must go hand in hand with the re-organization and extension of our educational system....Party differences, local claims, appropriations not fundamentally necessary, should be set aside until more than living wage is secured for those on whose teaching the spiritual and material prosperity of this country so largely depends."

In Canada, the initial official reactions to Labor's thrust contained a more ambiguous and divisive note than those of U.S. authority. However, they indicate much the same fear, namely that total worker estrangement from the official value premises had occurred, and that their replacement by utopian principles and institutions was Labor's ultimate goal. This view was expressed, for example, by the Federal Minister of the Interior, Arthur Meighen, when asked for the Dominion Government's position with respect to

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the Winnipeg General Strike.

Mr. Meighen's speech in the House of Commons clearly reflects the belief that the estrangement of workers from the work role, which had prompted their demand for the recognition of their union by management, had diffused to the authority structure and general value system of the society. While some members of Parliament maintained that Labor's thrust warranted partial accommodation within the

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existing institutional structure, members of the Federal Cabinet believed that the institution of utopian values via revolution was imminent.

"Now in discussing the inner principle of a general strike...it is well to consider where action of that kind is bound to lead. It led in Winnipeg...to a general paralysis of the whole industrial structure of the city. It led to a denial of the necessities of life to the people of that city, even to the strikers themselves.

...as a consequence inevitably it led to the establishment of a separate Government - or better, assertion of governmental functions on the part of those in charge of the strike itself.

Those pretensions are an assertion of governmental authority. But the strike leaders were driven to make them if they were to continue effectively anything in the nature of a general strike. Consequently I say it is proved by the example of Winnipeg, and indeed follows inevitably from the very logic of the situation, that a general strike to succeed or, indeed, to continue, must result in the usurpation of governmental authority on the part of those controlling the strike.

...the citizens of Winnipeg...have shown an example to the citizens of this country that the body of sensible opinion in Canada can and will set its face decidedly against anything in the nature of a general strike-anything in the nature of a soviet or any other form of government inconsistent with constituted authority.

I do not think it is necessary for me to bring written evidence of the assumption of soviet or other irresponsible authority further than the facts that I have adduced...

Furthermore, the opinion had taken permanent root in that city that the issue that had given rise to the strike on the part of the employees of the three concerns was no longer the main or the present issue to be decided; that it had been swallowed up in a far greater issue...

It was essential that the greater issue raised by the assumption of Soviet authority - and it was nothing less on the part of those in control of the strike in the city of Winnipeg - should be once and for all decided...."

In the preceding juxtaposition of the official and Labor views during this period a wide cleavage in perspective should be noted. Basically, this cleavage can be attributed to the different social experiences common to the members of the Labor Movement and elite groups in business and government. Both perspectives are based upon reference terms that exhibit a high level of abstraction and that are diametrically opposed to each other with respect to their substance. Such level of abstraction manifests itself, for example, in the kinds of concepts that are contained in these references, or guiding principles. To illustrate, "collective success", "classlessness" and moral worth via brotherhood reflect ideas as to how the institution of Labor as a whole should operate, or what kinds of collective goals should be attained by all members of the society within its ideational boundaries.

The same can be said of the concepts that make up the major reference terms of North American elites in the institutional sphere of Labor, namely "personal success", the continuity of a class of "successfuls" and moral worth via individual distinctiveness and the pursuit of ennobling causes. These concepts, too, reflect ideas about the sort of goals that should be accomplished by the collectivity. Therefore, while these reference terms are substantively opposed to each other, they nevertheless provide action guidelines that require commitment from all members of the society.

Both sets of references contain claims for authority and prestige in the society, but only the official guidelines are protected by an authority structure which can enforce the punishment of deviations from them.

In this sense, the two sets of references envisioned here actually represent two different constructions of reality. One was preferred by officialdom and maintained via the authority of the state while the other was introduced as an alternative to it through a protest movement.

It should be clear from what has been said that the cleavage in perspective which results from such different constructions of reality is thus directly responsible for the genesis of political deviance of the (V-F) type. In this case, officialdom will regard Labor's version of reality as totally "alien" to its own and as being possible only once total disenchantment from the official value premises had occurred. In the view of the various authorities, such estrangement could come about only through Labor's affiliation with the Communist Party Movement. Consequently, it defined Labor's activities as political deviance of the (V-F) type.

Having thus defined Labor's conduct as political deviance of the (V-F) type, the question arises as to how officialdom maintained its version of reality and what sort of devices it employed to control perceived deviations from it.

A substantive account of such control devices has already been given in Chapter II. A conceptual "linkage" between these devices and the official definition of deviance will be attempted in the final section of this chapter.

B. Political Deviance Stemming from Source (F-V)

In Chapter II it was stated that, during the post-World War II period, a transition to "normalcy" in the economic sphere was facilitated by a coalition theme in then current politics. The idea that a coalition between basically opposed domestic interests was a possibility created an attitude of conciliation toward reconversion issues.

This pragmatic view of Labor-Management relations is reflected in the protest of Labor against corporate principles as well as in the perspective of Labor's goals by management. The conciliatory note in these views is unmistakable.

An editorial which appeared in an issue of the American Federationist in 1946⁸ supports this observation. This article makes a careful review of then current economic problems and bases its major viewpoints upon reference terms, such as an equal share of strategic resources, standards of equality between Labor and management in contract negotiations as well as moral worth through collective effort. The advocacy of these principles is, moreover, in itself

a manifestation of estrangement from the work role in that the Movement felt powerless in influencing the decisions of governmental mediation efforts. In fact, the view is expressed that government mediation may block fruitful relationships between Labor and management. This confirms an observation made in Chapter II, namely that the Labor Movement was fearful of restrictive labor legislation, such as the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act which, in its view, made the communication of key Labor issues to management and government impossible, rendering them potentially deviant behavior.

Despite this alienating condition, however, the conciliatory view expressed in this article may in part be due to the proposals made in the report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor which rejected compulsory arbitration measures. This report was made public in early 1946 and supports to some extent Labor's objective of establishing equality standards in the area of Labor-Management relations. In this manner, some of Labor's previous estrangement from corporate values, such as management's ultimate "right to manage" was counteracted.

In the quotations from this article, sentences relating to Labor's reference terms have been underlined. This will apply to all examples that examine the perspective of Labor during this period.

"We in the United States must and will share with those who have not. Let us each and all make plans to eat 40 per cent less wheat and save at least 20 per cent in fats. Let us willingly and conscientiously make our contributions."

....Food freely given will be a power for peace and for democratic institutions."

The article then goes on to quote some sections from the Senate Report mentioned that express agreement with Labor's principle of establishing standards of equality in Labor management relations.

"The committee's recommendations are based upon a widely held principle that successful labor-management relations will not be achieved by compulsory and repressive measures, but can only be achieved and preserved as a result of collective bargaining...the function of government with respect to labor-management relations is not to supervise and police, but to cultivate in both labor and management that sense of responsibility toward each other ...which will lead to the making and keeping of collective bargaining agreements and the resolution of differences by means of their own devising'."

"Labor relations are the human relations that develop out of working together. Human relations improve with mutual confidence and responsibility. So the way to successful labor relations is conference between representatives of workers and management, collective bargaining, with decisions based upon facts, supplemented when necessary by conciliation and mediation to aid in reaching mutual agreement upon disputed facts and their interpretation.

....In time economic necessity forces management and workers to get together. Any intervention by government may relieve management and labor of the responsibility for finding a solution, but it also imposes the opinions of persons not immediately concerned and without personal knowledge of the facts of the case."

This view is further substantiated in a pamphlet entitled "Let Our People Live: A Plea for a Living Wage", published by the Political Action Committee of the Textile Workers of America, a member of the C.I.O. (Congress of Industrial Organization). This pam-

phlet appeared in 1945, shortly after the end of the Second World War.

The document vehemently attacks perceived sub-standard wage conditions for Textile Workers in the United States, but generalizes the issues involved as being applicable to all American workers. Worker disaffection from the work role is expressed, but shows a diffusion of it to the normative structure in the form of then current legislation, such as the Wage and Hour Law. However, while strong sentiments against the exploitation of workers by employer groups are expressed, the statements reflect a pragmatic view of seemingly intolerable working conditions that can be remedied only by joint action. Corporate principles, such as profit maintenance and the necessity of an owner and manager class, having ultimate control over Labor-Management relations, are severely challenged by statements based upon a "counter-system" of values, namely the sharing of all available resources and moral worth through collective enterprise among all members of the society. In stressing these counter-principles, another value frequently underlying Labor's strategy, i.e. standards of equality between Labor and management via union recognition is almost ignored. This principle is touched upon only in the sense that management is but one of many groups that entertain attitudes inimical to Labor's goals. Therefore, if management is only one of many groups who espouse a world view "alien" to Labor's ideals, there must be others within the institution of Labor that hold similar

views. In this sense, the statements made in this pamphlet imply a diffusion of disaffection from the work role to the authority structure in the form of existing labor legislation. In Labor's view, such laws chiefly safeguard the behavior of some "irresponsible" groups who have no qualms about depriving non-elites of their "rights".

The following statements are quoted from this pamphlet:

"No greater injustice exists than the plight of those men and women who work hard, in our land of plenty, yet receive so little for their labor that they can barely keep body and soul together. All those who work today for less than 65 cents an hour (at present living costs) are excluded from decent housing; they cannot afford medical care; their children cannot get the benefits of our free education. They cannot get enough food to fill them.

...We are dedicated to the task of helping all Americans to obtain equal rights and equal opportunities. We are ready to fight for any group which is underprivileged. And we are ready to fight any group that tries to usurp power and deprive others of their rights.

We, therefore, make the solemn pledge that we shall not rest nor cease fighting until the Wage and Hours Law is revised, and the 65-75 cents-per-hour minimum wage is established to abolish the great injustice of substandard wages.

There are some employers who sell their services or their products for cost or less to beat their competitors. Then they turn around and try to make up their deficit as well as their profit by underpaying their workers.

Let us abolish starvation wages. Let us put a floor under wages so that all who work may have enough to eat.

Every worker must understand that any man's poverty is a threat to every other man's security. He must therefore join hands with all the progressive people to abolish the injustice of substandard wages."

In Canada, the same pragmatic view of Labor-Management relations prevailed during this period. This view is reflected in an address to the Canadian Club at Montreal by P. Conroy, Secretary-Treasurer, Canadian Congress of Labor, in early 1946.¹⁰ This address deals with various aspects of the Canadian Labor Movement, such as its affiliations with international organizations, the relationship between Canadian industry and government as well as relationships among trade unions. It is rather comprehensive in outlining the scope of Labor activities and objectives during that time. Statements about the Movement's relationship with employers sharply criticize corporate principles. These are portrayed as estranging for most workers, and this disaffection can, in the author's view, be overcome only by participation in collective enterprise via close co-operation between Labor and management on vital economic issues.

While worker estrangement is seen as being confined to the work role, there is nevertheless an indication of its diffusion to the institutional structure and the general value premises of the society, unless management makes a serious effort to meet Labor's demands. These consisted of an upward adjustment of wages to meet then current price levels for consumer goods and the granting of standards of equality in contract negotiations, the absence of which Labor found estranging. These conditions alienated the Labor Movement in the sense that it felt excluded from the drafting of work

principles to which it could become genuinely committed. This view is expressed in the quotations that follow:

"Indeed, Labor's objectives are largely determined by poverty, and caused by what is, at best, a second-hand life that is not satisfactory to the human spirit. Like all human beings, motivated by the natural desire for a better existence, men and women in the ranks of Labor want to get rid of their second-hand life, their second-hand cars, ... their second-hand furniture ... and rise to a stature of personal, social and economic recognition worthy of their contribution to society. Despite the division in Labor's ranks, these are things upon which Labor is collectively minded.

How do we propose to achieve these objectives? It is obvious that, first of all, we shall have to try to secure unity of action among ourselves.

Now, you may disagree with any or all of those lines of reasoning, but it is important to observe that implicit in any and all of them is a deep and abiding dissatisfaction with the scheme of things now governing us. In this dissatisfaction Labor receives more notice and more notoriety, merely because there are more of us in the mass than in other agencies of day-to-day activity.... We are the raucous voices.

I am not aware that much concern is being given by businessmen to the welfare, not of the mass of the people, but of the very system which produces their positions of material priority and privilege.

What I do know is this. There is no flashier futility than to proclaim the virtues of free enterprise to a girl in the textile industry, who may be earning twenty, twenty-five, or thirty cents an hour, or to the laborer at fifty cents an hour - the price of a fair cigar. Human beings cannot continue to be bargained for in that way. It will come to an end. It can come to a pleasant or an unpleasant end, by measuring up to the realities of impending disaster, or the alternative, to let disaster overtake us all - with everyone, Labor, business, and all other taking the consequences.

The choices are reduced to one of realization that our economic system must work for the people, or the other, that the people must work for the system.

....Labor's position is, generally, that our economic enterprise must satisfy all those willing and able to work, or it does not measure up to what is required. In that sense our system has fallen down. Labor says to Business: "Don't stop us from organizing. Help us to organize. But don't stop there. Organize yourselves. Not to do a job on Labor, but to do a job - for Canada - with Labor."

(Italics with respect to the words on and with in the original.)

A similar perspective of Labor-Management relations during this period emerges from a memorandum that was submitted by the CFL (Canadian Federation of Labor) to the government of Ontario in early 11 1947. This document focuses in particular on the workers' objection to compulsory bargaining practice, which was introduced through provisions in the Ontario Labor Relations Board Act in 1944. This estrangement from official rules had its origin chiefly in the composition of the Ontario Labor Relations Board, as it encouraged the representation of members who belonged to certain minority groups within the Labor Movement.

The Federation felt that these Board members were interested primarily in the objectives of the unions that employed them rather than those of the majority of Canadian workers. In this manner, the majority of workers perceived themselves as being powerless in communicating their own objectives with appreciable results. This disaffection from the principle of compulsory bargaining advocated

by officialdom in order to protect the value of corporate efficiency had manifested itself already in the Federal and provincial elections of 1945 and, very possibly, culminated in strong protest in early 1947. It may thus be surmised that worker estrangement from the work role which had diffused to some aspects of the normative structure, i.e. labor laws, was chiefly responsible for this protest. However, it was confined to labor legislation whereas conformity to other laws, such as, for example, the Criminal Code, was not affected.

Another goal of Labor, namely the attainment of standards of equality between Labor and management via the recognition of unions as collective bargaining agents by officialdom was likewise impeded by this legislation. Moreover, this law precluded workers from engaging in collective effort (organization) on the job and upheld the principle of obtaining wage increases via competition. This, as was noted earlier, induced estrangement in the labor force, as most of its members regarded the attainment of moral distinctiveness as possible only through co-operation. These alienating conditions resulted in counter-proposals to government which demanded the abolition of the Labor Relations Board.

The following statements are quoted from this memorandum:

"Although the Government was undoubtedly moved by a desire to safeguard this freedom 'to join or not to join' when it introduced the Ontario Labor Relations Board Act in 1944, the law has failed spectacularly to fulfill its purpose...."

The Canadian Federation of Labor shares with the majority of Ontario's industrial workers a firm belief in voluntary collective bargaining and in organization without legal compulsion under the adequate safeguards of the Criminal Code. The workers object to compulsory collective bargaining because it has been found destructive of the very freedom it was meant to preserve and foster - their freedom to band together on the job in the manner of their own choosing.

It was not necessary for the Canadian Federation of Labor to take a poll of the industrial workers of Ontario to find out what they think about compulsory collective bargaining. The workers' disapproval of this much-touted reform was registered by their ballots in the Dominion and Provincial general elections of 1945....

While the Canadian Federation of Labor earnestly requests the Government of Ontario to consider the repeal of the Province's compulsory collective bargaining law, it realizes that some time may elapse before a decision on this matter is reached. The Federation therefore recommends that, as an interim reform, the composition of the Ontario Labor Relations Board should be so modified as to remove its present obvious bias against those trade unions which are free from foreign affiliation and control. At present, the representation of the workers on the Ontario Labor Relations Board is restricted to those who are members of certain minority groups. The vast majority of the workers have no representation, and the minority-group servants who are members of the Board show little zeal as defenders of Labor's rights when the interests of the unions that employ them conflict with the interests of the workers at large.

To workers indoctrinated with the isms which spell class hatred, the very existence of a law prescribing a code of behavior is a provocation to exhibit their truculence.®

The Federation recommends that the Government of Ontario should offer incentive to the improvement of output per man-hour by declaring its intention to raise (1) wage standards under the Industrial Standards Act, (2) Old Age Pensions, (3) minimum wages, and (4) other social security benefits as soon as that improvement of industrial produc-

® This remark refers to an observation made in Chapter II, namely that the levels of government as social institutions may become major sources of deviance through the enactment of rules.

tivity makes these measures practicable without imposing additional burdens on the public either as taxpayers or as consumers."

It should be clear from these examples that Labor generally upheld a conciliatory attitude toward Labor-Management relations during this post-World War II period. This outlook, as noted previously, was anchored in a pragmatic view of the work role which aimed at a re-evaluation of corporate principles that had been in existence since the arrival of the charter groups in North America. Some of Labor's objectives were, however, stated with firmness and conviction, in this manner imparting a challenge to the everyday reality upon which particular corporate values were based.

U.S. and Canadian elite groups in business and government met this challenge in a "concrete" way, namely by employing the device of conciliation in most Labor disputes. This pragmatic view of Labor-Management relations on the part of officialdom allowed the partial accommodation of conflict within the framework of existing institutions. Such reaction is expressed, for example, in a report by the management members of the Committee on Management's Right to Manage during the Labor-Management Conference called by President Truman in November of 1945.

This report indicates the challenge Labor's objectives imparted to corporate values. However, while collective bargaining is accepted as a legitimate arbitration device by management in this

document, it clearly reflects an attempt at maintaining principles, such as corporate efficiency, the right to manage by a class of managers and owners as well as moral distinctiveness via competition. Management's desire to maintain this value system, which, in most workers, induced disaffection from the work role is emphasized by the Committee's attempt at placing the functions and responsibilities of management into two categories. One of these deals with problems which, in the corporate view, are not subject to collective bargaining. This category is spelt out in greater detail and includes the three major corporate principles mentioned. The other category takes issue with matters that are subject to grievance procedures, such as discharge of employees for cause, the application of seniority provisions of contracts etc.

Interestingly, the Committee's definition of "management" includes all levels of managerial and supervisory personnel and regards plant foremen as assistants to the executive of the organization, in this fashion preventing their unionization. This definition does little to facilitate the communication of the workers' desires to positions higher up in the plant's hierarchy of authority. Personnel familiar with all the concrete aspects of the work role as well as worker sentiments was by definition included in the group of managers and owners whose view they were forced to share at the risk of dismissal. The autonomy of managerial decisions and the executive's right to determine who is to be "successful" in the organization were thereby maintained and safeguarded.

The following quotations from this report support this interpretation. Words and/or sentences relating to specific corporate values have been underlined.

'Management has functions that must not and cannot be compromised in the public interest. If labor disputes are to be minimized by the 'genuine acceptance by organized labor of the functions and responsibilities of management to direct the operation of the enterprise', labor must agree that certain specific functions and responsibilities of management are not subject to collective bargaining.

In the absence of agreement, therefore, the management members of the committee herewith submit their report.

It...should be an obligation on the part of unions to recognize, and not to encroach upon, the functions and responsibilities of management. Failure to accept this obligation has increased labor disputes.

In order to clarify this problem, the committee has discussed many of the important functions of management involved in operating a business. The management members have classified some of them for the purpose of avoiding misunderstandings and minimizing industrial disputes. We have placed them into two classifications:

The first comprises those matters which are clearly the functions and responsibility of management and are not subject to collective bargaining....

Illustrative of items which we believe belong in the first classification and which are not subject to collective bargaining are:

The determination of products to be manufactured or services to be rendered to customers by the enterprise....

The determination of the lay-out and equipment to be used in the business; the processes, techniques, methods, and means of manufacture and distribution....

The determination of financial policies...prices of goods sold or service rendered to customers; and customer relations.

The determination of management organization of each producing or distributing unit; and the selection of employees for promotion to supervisory and managerial positions."

With respect to the unionization of plant foremen the report has this to say:

"...in any report on management functions the term 'management' must be defined to include all levels of managerial and supervisory personnel and not confined to top ranking executive and administrative officials. Executive management cannot properly function and discharge its responsibilities without adequate assistance. It is therefore fundamental that there be no unionization of any part of management.

....The supervisors cannot properly function in a position of dual obligation.

To the foreman is delegated the ultimate responsibility of directing the workmen at the point where they are actually engaged in production. Since the foreman exercises managerial authority, he must be solely and exclusively responsible to management."

A similar view of employer-employee relationships can be traced in the attitudes of Canadian business elites in June of 1946.

An example of such view is a statement by the Canadian Manufacturer's Association on Employer-Employee Relations which was adopted during the association's 75th annual convention in Toronto from June 4th to June 6th, 1946. This document is sub-divided into three parts which spell out certain principles that apply to employers and employees alike, guidelines to be adhered to by employers and principles that apply specifically to employees.

This statement represents an attempt at maintaining a corporate construction of reality in dealing with Labor-Management relations by emphasizing the notion of the company union to the exclusion of recognizing autonomous industrial unions as collective bargaining agents for all employees in a particular trade. Quite definitely, the advocacy of this idea precluded any standards of equality between Labor and management in contract negotiations. In the first instance, company unionism represents little more than a lobby-system for communicating worker aspirations to management. Yet, workers have no legitimate claim to influence managerial decisions that affect their work role. It led, therefore, to worker estrangement from this role. Secondly, this company unionism advocated by the association artificially maintained a fragmentation of worker sentiments with respect to the collective goals of a certain trade as a whole. In this manner, the device of the company union can be regarded chiefly as a means to protect the principle of the right to manage.

The following are excerpts from the first part of this statement which outlines the obligations of employers as well as employees:

"A. Both Employees and Employers Should

....Regard continuity and quality of service to the public (the customer), as the first consideration. Upon it depend year-round jobs, good wages, dividends, and the future of industry itself.

....Settle differences by negotiation in good faith without interruption of operations."

In the second part it is stated that:

"B. Employers Should

....Bargain collectively, in cases where representatives have been freely chosen by a majority of the employees affected, on wages, hours of work, and working conditions.

....Give employees, as far as possible, opportunities to progress within the organization according to ability, experience and merit."

Part three enumerates employee obligations and notes that:

"C. Employees Should

....Recognize the Employer's right to plan, direct and manage the business.

....Co-operate freely with management in meeting the many problems in which the employees are concerned.

....Conserve and protect the products, plant, equipment and machinery, and respect the rights, of employers as the owners of the property."

Similar to the post-World War I period, a cleavage in perspective with regard to Labor-Management problems can be noted that is based upon opposed reference terms. However, a contrast appears in that the principles common to Labor and management, despite their opposition in terms of substance, exhibit an appreciably lower level of abstraction. While the references in the post-World War I examples reflected certain notions that applied to all members of the society, these post-World War II values were based upon ideas about the role of some individuals in a specific work context. The concepts involved in

the construction of these principles indicate this tendency. An illustration should make this clear. Terms, such as profit maintenance at a given level, the continuity of an owner and manager class via the "right to manage" and moral distinctiveness by rewards for individual merit via competition consist of constructs that apply to a specific context of corporate activity, relative to the work role. Likewise, principles, such as equality in the sharing of strategic resources via collective bargaining, standards of equality in Labor-Management relations via union recognition by officialdom and moral distinction of the worker via co-operation exhibit constructs of a "concrete" nature that limit action to a more specific realm of activity (the work role) and certain groups of individuals engaged in it. From Labor's point of view, these reference terms legitimize activities that are closely associated with the work role itself, provide certain groups of workers with a conception of how this role should be organized and define their positions within the institutional structure of Labor. It was mentioned earlier that these two value systems differ substantively in that the official principles reflect a corporate-ecclesiastical world view whereas those of the Labor Movement are based upon notions of equality. The cleavage in perspective which resulted from these different world views generated political deviance of the (F-V) type.

In this particular case, officialdom will regard Labor's world view as one that can be partially accommodated by existing insti-

tutions. The disaffection of workers from the work role was due, in the official view, not necessarily to Labor's affiliation with extreme leftist groups, but chiefly to a desire to attain more power and prestige in the management of public affairs. While such activity required close scrutiny by the authorities, it could be controlled by the making of appropriate rules where these did not already exist.

C. Control Devices

It was demonstrated by a selection of materials from the literature that the two forms of political deviance examined here resulted from a cleavage in perspective that was based upon different constructions of reality common to elites and non-elites. These two versions of reality were shown as being legitimized by two substantively opposed value systems.

It was further mentioned that both these realities are alternatives to each other, but that only the preferred reality of elite groups, which is legitimized by what has frequently been called the "official value premises", has an authority structure to protect it from attack by other groups in the society. It is thus conceivable that these elitist notions about the operation of the social system should be reified and taken as representing the reality common to all members in the society.

It is here argued that this process of reification can also be applied to the manner in which elite groups have historically reacted to an attack on this reality by other groups. For example, the authorities can transform their initial reactions to perceived attacks on the official value premises into rules to ward them off. In cases where such reactions have become habitual, they may become institutionalized norms (rules, or laws), which, over a period of time are reified as representing "devices" necessary to maintain the common good.

Thus, devices to control perceived deviations from the official construction of reality actually represent reified reactions to such deviance. In turn, this deviant conduct may be reacted, or responded to in terms of (V-F) or (F-V), depending on which condition officialdom perceives as motivating it. In this manner, the devices to control the two forms of political deviance examined in this thesis can be represented by two "response categories", or classes of response.

One such response category is created when the authorities react to a given conduct by defining it as political deviance of the (V-F) type. As noted, such reactions have historically become reified into rather restrictive control devices. It should be recalled from Chapter II that these measures consisted

largely of legislation to combat seditious activities as well as executive rules, all such measures being quite restrictive of the freedom of movement. These measures encompassed prolonged prison sentences, exile and severe economic sanctions, i.e. fines. These devices then represent transformed official reactions which, initially, defined the conduct of some members of the Labor Movement as intransigent, or politically irreconcilable. As a result, the "partial accomodation" of such behavior was perceived by the authorities as impossible due to their suspicion that the offenders had affiliated with the Communist Party Movement. For the authorities, the "total elimination" of such conduct was the only measure to maintain the existing framework of values and norms.

The genesis of such official reactions, i.e. reactions that aimed at the total elimination of political deviance of the (V-F) type was illustrated by some examples from the literature. It was mentioned that these official reactions to deviance were generated by reference systems that were substantively opposed to each other and that legitimized different constructions of reality. Moreover, the two opposing value systems showed a high level of abstraction and legitimized collective action for all members of the society in a given institutional sphere.

Another response category comes into being when the authorities react to a given behavior by defining it as political deviance

of the (F-V) form. Historically, the official reactions to this type of deviance have been institutionalized and reified into less restrictive control devices. It was indicated in Chapter II that these devices consisted chiefly of legislation commonly known as labor laws. As noted, these rules were much less restrictive of the freedom of movement and included moderate to short prison terms, restrictions on certain practices engaged in by the Labor Movement as well as more moderate economic sanctions in the form of fines.

The official reactions which these control devices represent, though in institutionalized and reified form, defined the conduct of Labor not in terms of the "alien" label, but as "reconcilable" with the existing political structure. Hence, "partial accommodation" of this form of deviance was considered as possible.

The origin of such response to conduct of the (F-V) type was likewise illustrated by a selection of materials from the literature. Basically, this deviance definition resulted from a conflict between two value systems which, while legitimizing opposed constructions of reality, showed an appreciably lower level of abstraction. The principles common to Labor and the authorities provided more "concrete" guidelines for action that applied to certain groups of individuals in a specific context (the work role) instead of guidelines for all members of the society in a certain institutional area. In short, these opposed reference terms were considerably more esoteric when compared to those that generated the (V-F) type of political deviance.

FOOTNOTES

1. New York Communist World, November 8, 1919, p. 2.
2. Perry, Grover H., The Revolutionary I.W.W., Chicago: I.W.W. Publishing Bureau, pp. 10-12.
3. Winnipeg Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition No. 28, June 18, 1919, p. 2.
4. Vancouver The Red Flag, August 30, 1919, p. 4.
5. Revolutionary Radicalism: Its History, Purpose and Tactics, Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, filed April 24, 1920 in the Senate of the State of New York, Part I, Vol. I, Albany, J.B. Lyon Co., Printers, 1920. See esp. Introduction.
6. Canada, House of Commons, Debates, June 2, 1919, pp. 3035-3040.
7. Ibid., pp. 3029 ff. See also p. 3010 ff.
8. American Federationist, May 1946, Vol. 53, No.5, pp. 20-21.
9. From a pamphlet entitled, "Let Our People Live: A Plea for a Living Wage", Pol. Action Committee, C.I.O., Textile Workers Union of America, New York, 1945.
10. The Canadian Unionist, April 1946, pp. 84-86.
11. The Labour Review, January 1947, pp. 11-15.
12. The President's National Labor-Management Conference, November 5-30, 1945, Summary and Committee Reports, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Div. of Labor Standards, 1946, Bulletin No. 77; pp. 56-58.
13. The Labor Gazette, July 1946, Vol. XLVI, No. 7, p. 877.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS

Summary

Some factors involved in the genesis of political deviance were investigated by a critical examination of historical data pertaining to relations between the authorities and the Labor Movement during the post-World War I and II periods in North America.

This exploratory study was prompted by a paucity of investigations in the literature which actually concerned themselves with providing an interpretation of activities that have historically been regarded as deviant conduct in the political sphere. It was mentioned that most studies of political deviance focused on the classification of offenders as "types", the finding of causal explanations for their behavior and the devising of means for the "correction" of the deviant conduct. Moreover, the assumption that state authority can by itself become a major source of deviance has given further impetus to this study.

A premise now generally accepted by sociologists is that deviance is a process which arises from and is molded by different perceptions of reality that are common to those who define members of the society as deviant and those who are thus defined. This study,

therefore, made an effort to examine some historical events in terms of how these were perceived by officialdom as well as the Labor Movement.

In order to demonstrate the gradual development of deviance over time, the various incidents were regarded as occurring in a temporal sequence which, in turn, was generated by certain source conditions. In taking the official value premises as a point of departure, it was shown that, for different perceptions of the incidents to occur, the actions of the "definers" and the "defined" had to be legitimized by reference systems that were substantively opposed to each other. Finally, the cleavage in perspective which arises from such opposition of values to which elites and non-elites are committed, had to be the source from which deviance emanates.

These theoretical considerations chiefly guided the course of this study and suggested the interrelation of three major sociological concepts, namely aliénation, deviance and social control for the interpretation of some historical materials. The actual "theoretical framework" was introduced in the form of three heuristics which were considered as useful in pointing to the interrelationships between the phenomena represented by these concepts and stressing their importance in the process of becoming deviant.

One of these heuristics was the ideal sequence which facilitated the interpretation of the data by representing the deviance

process as a temporal sequence of events illustrating the gradual development of deviant conduct over time. Another heuristic consisted of the (V-F) sequence of alienation which the Labor Movement regarded as a source for the total disenchantment of the workers from the general value premises of the society. Simultaneously, this source condition was perceived by the authorities as a challenge to the official value system. Likewise, the third heuristic in the form of the (F-V) alienation sequence was regarded by Labor as a source of worker disaffection, but, instead of referring to the general value premises, this heuristic represented worker disaffection from principles that legitimized activities associated with the work role. At the same time, the (F-V) sequence was perceived by officialdom as a source for creating a threat to corporate and governmental principles that legitimized certain activities in the institution of Labor. As perceived by the authorities then, these source conditions were motivating the deviant conduct, and hence were regarded as representing two distinct forms of political deviance. The close linkage between the extent to which non-elite groups experienced estrangement from official values and the official reactions to the protest which such estrangement engendered was illustrated in this manner.

In this study, the phenomenon of alienation, as portrayed in the source conditions, namely (F-V) and (V-F), was seen as being confined to the realm of communication between elites and non-elite

groups. It was regarded as stemming from an inability to communicate ideals and desires to the authorities altogether, or from a failure to do so with noticeable results. The estrangement experienced by workers was seen as resulting from a perception of being excluded from the generation of principles, guiding the whole of their everyday reality, or simply their role as workers. Where standards of behavior already existed in the institutional sphere of Labor, such estrangement was seen as stemming from a perception of being "powerless" in influencing the decisions of the authorities. These situations were indicated in the ideal sequence paradigm in the Introduction. Such use of the concept of alienation was meant to illustrate not only that non-correspondence between old and new ideals is seemingly basic to the process of becoming estranged, but, more importantly, that estrangement results from the interaction process for which those different ideals provide the guidelines.

This theoretical outline was then applied to some historical data which were presented in descriptive form in Chapter II. In this chapter, an attempt was made at pointing to the manner in which elites and non-elites perceived the various historical incidents. The three heuristics were found to be useful devices in the interpretation of these historical materials. For example, the ideal sequence was used to delineate changes in the perception of events over time, and in this manner, provided some appreciation of how deviant conduct develops. The two other heuristics (V-F) and (F-V)

permitted the identification of two forms of political deviance in the events described. Examples of this were given throughout the thesis and need not be re-iterated here. The usefulness of these two heuristics was further demonstrated in pointing to the cleavage in perspective which was shown as arising from two substantively opposed reference systems common to elites and non-elites.

In the interpretation of the post-World War I incidents the materials examined showed a minor difference in the perception of events between the U.S. and Canadian Labor Movement. It was indicated that the U.S. Movement, for example, was dominated by radical groups that were determined to replace existing values and institutions with a new morality. Such domination by radical elements was found to be less pronounced in the Canadian Movement. While most members of the U.S. Movement were estranged in terms of (V-F), Canadian Labor groups seemingly retained some of their commitment to existing values. Consequently, their perception of these events was represented by source condition (F-V). Some possible reasons for this difference were suggested. By contrast, no important difference was found in the perception of the incidents by elite groups in both countries.¹ During this post-World War I period, the annihilation of societal values and institutions by a group of totally disenchanted workers was perceived as being imminent. Having thus perceived condition (V-F) as the source, the authorities instituted devices that

were restrictive enough to control a threat of such magnitude. However, while official control devices were found to be equally restrictive, perhaps more leniency in their enforcement was practised by the Canadian authorities during this period. A possible reason for this was offered.

For both the U.S. and Canada, the data relating to the post-World War II period revealed a more pragmatic and conciliatory view toward Labor disputes. The device of arbitration was considered as a legitimate tool in the settlement of such disputes by both Labor and the authorities. It was shown that the Labor Movement was largely alienated from corporate principles and labor laws which attempted to legitimize the work role. No major differences in the overall objectives of the U.S. and Canadian Movements during this period were found. Yet, there is some hint that the Canadian Movement showed somewhat greater concern with the social aspects of the work role, such as fringe benefits, beyond a demand for wage increases and the recognition of unions as collective bargaining agents by management and governments. Some possible rationale for this concern was suggested. As both Movements perceived its members as being alienated from work principles rather than the general value premises, the source condition for such estrangement was represented by (F-V).

During this post-World War II period, U.S. and Canadian elites regarded Labor's protest as being motivated by some groups that were disaffected from the work role (F-V). For these elites,

Labor's protest became problematic only in the sense that no effective, official machinery for the arbitration of labor disputes existed. Therefore, the problem was one of accommodating Labor's thrust within the existing institutional framework of Labor rather than regarding it as an attempt at Communist infiltration. During this period, North American elites only very rarely looked upon Labor disputes as being motivated by an affiliation of unions with the Communist Party Movement. An exception was noted in the conviction of Canadian Labor leader R.K. Rowley on a charge of seditious conspiracy in 1946.

In Chapter III a more detailed interpretation of the official and Labor perspectives was attempted. This had the purpose of cross-checking the preliminary findings of Chapter II by examining the more general views of labor disputes common to officialdom and Labor during the two historical periods.

While Chapter III largely confirmed the tentative findings of the second chapter, an important point was noted. This refers to the level of abstraction exhibited by the different reference systems. Whenever a set of references legitimized the activities of all members of the society in a given institutional sector such reference system showed a high level of abstraction. By contrast, when the reference terms were "work-oriented", defining the workers' positions within the institution of Labor and providing them with an image of the work role itself, the reference system was more pragmatic.

It was subsequently shown that where rather abstract reference systems were in opposition to each other, a wide cleavage in perspective resulted. In this case, the authorities perceived the activities of the Labor Movement as being motivated by source condition (V-F). This situation prevailed during the post-World War I period. The two opposing sets of references involved here were represented by "personal success", the continuity of a class of "successfuls" and moral distinctiveness by the pursuit of ennobling causes versus "collective success", "classlessness" and moral worth via egalitarian principles and brotherhood.

It was further indicated that where more pragmatic reference terms were alternatives to each other, a more narrow cleavage in perspective resulted. Here, the authorities perceived Labor's conduct as being motivated by source condition (F-V). This situation is illustrated by the events of the post-World War II period. In this case, the two opposing sets of references consisted of the maintenance of profits via corporate efficiency, the necessity for an owner and manager class to maintain them via the "right to manage", moral distinction via competition versus the attainment of an equal share of strategic resources via collective bargaining standards of equality between Labor and the various authorities via official recognition of unions as collective bargaining agents and moral worth via collective enterprise, i.e. co-operation.

It was further noted in Chapter III that these reference systems legitimized different constructions of reality that were ultimately responsible for creating and maintaining a cleavage in the perception of events.

In the final section of Chapter III the point was made that the official reactions to political deviance have historically been institutionalized and reified into official rules (control devices). In this manner, the devices to control deviant conduct were regarded as response categories, or official reaction categories, depending upon which form of deviance is perceived and "reacted to" by the authorities.

These control devices were shown as being most restrictive whenever they represent institutionalized reactions to political deviance of the (V-F) category. The "controls" were found to be less restrictive when they represent reactions to the (F-V) type of political deviance.

Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from the present study.

It was concluded that basically two forms of political deviance could be identified as motivating the events that were examined in this thesis. One such form of deviance was considered by the authorities as being intransigent, or "politically irreconcilable" with

the existing political system of the society, as it was perceived as stemming from Labor's affiliation with the Communist Party Movement. As perceived by the authorities, this form of deviance was directed toward the immediate or gradual annihilation of existing values and institutions by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In the official view, Labor's strategy to attain this goal consisted of fostering estrangement from existing values in all members of the society.

The other form of political deviance was regarded by the authorities as "reconcilable" with the current political system in that they perceived this deviance as being motivated by the disaffection of workers from the work role. Where, in isolated cases perhaps, this form of deviance was seen as an attempt at Communist infiltration, it was nevertheless considered as too fragmented an attack on existing values. It did for this reason not pose a real threat to the authorities.

It was concluded that these two forms of political deviance resulted from a differential perspective of post-World War I and II events and had their origin in the different backgrounds from which the elites and non-elites respectively emerged. Such differences in social experience results in different ideals, standards of behavior and modes of interaction with other groups in society that are justified in terms of the respective value systems, however discoordinate.

It was concluded that the reference system of the authorities chiefly encompassed corporate-ecclesiastical premises whereas

that of the Labor Movement legitimized a morality based upon communal-egalitarian notions.

Where the reference systems common to Labor and officialdom contained rather abstract notions of reality that relate, for example, to the operation of a whole institutional sector, the resulting cleavage in perspective was most pronounced. In turn, where these reference systems were pragmatic and based upon notions about the specific context of the work role, the resulting cleavage in perspective was relatively narrow.

Where this cleavage in perspective was maximal the estrangement of workers from the official reference system was most pronounced. Where such cleavage was narrow, or more marginal, worker estrangement was less pronounced, and so was the thrust toward deviance.

Where the cleavage in perspective was pronounced, the authorities perceived political deviance of the (V-F) type. This form of deviance was precluded from institutional accommodation. Where such cleavage was more marginal, officialdom perceived political deviance of the (F-V) type. This form of deviance could be partially accommodated within the existing framework of institutions.

Official reactions to perceived political deviance have historically been institutionalized and reified into rules, or proscriptive norms in the same manner as notions (values) about how the social system should operate with maximum efficiency. The devices to control

the deviant conduct were, therefore, regarded as response categories, depending upon the form of political deviance that the authorities "reacted to". It was possible to identify one such "class" of control devices as institutionalized official reactions to the (V-F) type of deviance which aimed at the total elimination of such conduct. Another class of control devices was represented by reactions to the (F-V) type of deviance which, in the view of officialdom, warranted the partial accomodation of this conduct within the existing institutional structure.

Finally, it was concluded that official rules are rather ineffective devices for the regulation of political conflict as well as the control of deviance emanating from it. It was shown that the Labor Movement was excluded from the generation of principles that affected their everyday reality. Moreover, the institution of rules defined certain activities of the Labor Movement as potentially deviant behavior. This "deviance" label precluded the effective communication of ideals to the various authorities.

Implications

A number of implications which might form the basis of future research has arisen from the results of this study. These indicate that research in the area of communications between elites and non-elites is, indeed, timely.

The present investigation chiefly attempted to examine some of the factors involved in the genesis of political deviance within the institutional sphere of Labor and relating these source conditions to the devices instituted by the authorities to control it. Conceivably, this type of research could be extended in scope to other forms of political deviance as well as other institutional areas, such as education, welfare and the realm of justice, to name a few.

Such research could be guided by questions, such as the following: If conflict between elites and non-elites is assumed to be inevitable and forms a part of societal "evolution", what kinds of social mechanisms are conducive to the regulation of such conflicting interests, or ideals. ² What are some of the conditions favorable to the implementation of these mechanisms as well as their effectiveness? Does the level of abstraction of the reference systems upon which communications between elites and non-elites are based affect such conflict regulation? If so, does the extent, or intensity of the conflict vary directly with the level of abstraction in which these reference systems are couched? If so, what kinds of conditions other than historical circumstance are responsible for invoking either abstract or pragmatic reference terms in the communication between elites and non-elites?

The present investigation demonstrated that one way of studying deviance consists of an examination of the reference systems employed by elite and non-elites with respect to activities in a given

institutional area. In this type of investigation, some theoretical approaches developed by the Sociology of Knowledge, for example, provide a method that holds promise for future research.³

An investigation of present labor disputes using the present method of inquiry, or perhaps an improved version of it, would be timely. A comparison of the results to those obtained for the post-World War I and II periods in this study could provide useful information with regard to the origin of present labor disputes. Questions similar to the ones raised in this thesis could be posed. For example, What are some of the underpinnings for current labor disputes? What aspects of the official reference system do workers find estranging and may be regarded as motivating their protest? What is the level of abstraction of the reference systems to which Labor and the authorities are presently committed? Is current worker estrangement likely to diffuse to the general value premises of the society? Do the official reference terms in the institutional sector of Labor show an important difference from those of 1919 and 1946? If so, what are the possible reasons for such change? If a comparative study were made, such as the present one, is there any major difference in outlook between the American and Canadian Labor Movements? Do American and Canadian elites differ in the perception of the challenge to their conceptions of reality? Is such difference more pronounced when compared to the periods following the two World Wars?

It is possible that the combined results of the present investigation and such follow-up study provide some index for the evaluation of current trends in Labor-Management relations.

The often-made assumption that official rules are relatively ineffective devices in controlling deviant conduct received some support from this study. It was mentioned that once rules had been made, they rendered the conduct of certain groups in conflict with the authorities as potentially deviant. If some members of such group elect to persist in protest, their apprehension and conviction will follow in time. Following the arrest and conviction of these members, the group's problem becomes twofold: it is now forced to carry on its activities in a clandestine fashion, if it is to survive. Moreover, it must re-evaluate the terms of reference that previously guided its activities, if it is to persist in protest "underground". The only alternative is its return to conformity. In the latter case, the official rules would have been effective.

This line of reasoning implies future research into the effects of labeling, which may have important consequences for the area of law enforcement. Some of the questions that could be posed here are the following: What are some of the conditions that induce a "deviant" group to continue its activities based upon a modified reference system, and in clandestine fashion? Has the application of the official deviance label been responsible to increase the level

of abstraction in the reference system of the group, in this manner intensifying its "underground" protest? What kinds of conditions are responsible for the "peaceful protest" strategy? What kinds of conditions are conducive to intensifying underground protest? What kinds of conditions are responsible for a non-affiliation policy with other groups for the attainment of objectives? What kinds of conditions must prevail for the members of a deviant group to return to conformity?

Another implication from the results of this study concerns empirical research on alienation. It was shown that the estrangement of workers from the official reference system resulted from a perceived inability to communicate their ideals to the authorities with noticeable effects. These ideals and desires arose from then current realities and were in opposition to those of officialdom. Such opposition of older, institutionalized ideals that were guarded by the authorities to current notions about reality that guided the activities of Labor was demonstrated by a juxtaposition of the reference systems to which officialdom and the Labor Movement were committed. In the Introduction it was indicated that the official value premises tend to become reified by most members of the society until they were regarded as representing a common morality. Such reification leads to the belief that this morality is "immune" to the influence of current social experience and new ideals that arise from it.

It is therefore necessary to take into consideration the extent of change in the official reference system which new social experience over time may bring about.

Former empirical studies on alienation neglected to recognize this element of change as well as the impact of current ideals and desires that are responsible for it. The concept of alienation implies that something is "apart" from something else, or, in some way, does not correspond with it.

Future empirical studies on alienation should, therefore, not regard the common morality of the society as a reified social object by accomodating the current ideals and desires of the test population in their research design. It seems that without such consideration these studies fail to demonstrate the extent, or intensity of estrangement from some social object that is actually experienced.

FOOTNOTES

1. It should be noted that this observation refers specifically to the time when these incidents were in progress. However, during the period that followed them, the official view of the Winnipeg General Strike in Canada, for example, coincided with that of the Canadian Labor Movement. This post-facto official view held that the basic aims of this strike consisted of improvements in wages, working conditions as well as Labor's bargaining position.

(See: Report of the Royal Commission to Enquire into the Causes and Effects of the General Strike, Robson Report, Winnipeg, July, 1919.)

This view is opposed to the official view of the "Red Scare" period in the U.S., which assumed that these incidents were motivated by a Communist conspiracy with the aim to replace American institutions with those of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

(See: Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, filed April 24, 1920 in the Senate of the State of New York, esp. Introduction.)

2. Dahrendorf mentions three requisites for the regulation of conflict, namely recognition of divergence and opposition, the removal of diffuse and conflicting forces by their organization into interest groups and agreement on the formal "rules of the game" by the opposing parties. However, he does not specify any conditions favorable and unfavorable for these requisites to be present, nor does he suggest any actual mechanisms for conflict regulation once these conditions have been met.

(See: Dahrendorf, R. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1959, esp. pp. 225-226).

3. This refers especially to the recent works of Berger and Luckmann as well as Holtzner.

(See: Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. The Social Construction of Reality, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., New York, 1967, esp. Chapter II.)

(Holtzner, B. Reality Construction in Society, Schenkman Publishing Co., Cambridge, Mass., 1968, esp. Chapters IX and X.)