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2 Doreen Barrie, The Other Alberta: Decoding a Political Enigma.
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1 Millennia of Native Work

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3 Ibid., 14–16.
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Judd, “Native Labour,” 311.

The federal government’s acquisition of most of the Hudson’s Bay Company lands and its subsequent approach to these lands are detailed in Kirk N. Lambrecht, *The Administration of Dominion Lands, 1870–1930*.


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Walter Hildebrandt, *Views from Fort Battleford: Constructed Visions of an Anglo-Canadian West*, 36.


Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915.*


Carter, *Lost Harvests.*

**One Step Forward: Alberta Workers, 1885–1914**

1. A.A. den Otter, *Civilizing the West: The Gaits and the Development of Western Canada*, 76.
2. Ibid., 99, 105.
5. The *Victoria Colonist* claimed fifteen hundred deaths, but Chinese merchants in Victoria argued that there had been twenty-two hundred. Andrew Onderdonk, the contractor for the western section of the the CPR, admitted only six hundred.
12. Ibid., 25–26, 34, 35.
13. On the general climate of employer-labour relations, see the account of the Homestead strike of 1892 in David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925.*

14. Ibid., 121.
15. Ibid., 123.
16. Ibid., 276.
17. Ibid., 278.
19. Ibid., 203.
22. Ibid., 204–5.
23. Ibid., 207–8.
26. Ibid., 296.
27. Ibid., 296.
30. Ibid., 217.
33. Ibid., 220.
34. Ibid., 237–42.
35. Ibid., 245–52.
36 Allen Seager, “Socialists and Workers: Western Canadian Coal Miners, 1900–21.”
38 Ibid., 255–56. Electoral cooperation between organized labour and local Liberal parties was not uncommon in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It involved a Liberal constituency association agreeing to nominate a candidate supported financially by trade unions as the local Liberal candidate. Such candidates were generally known as Liberal-Labour, or even “Lib-Labs.”
39 Ibid., 61.
40 Den Otter, Civilizing the West, 180, 273–74.
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43 Ibid., 103.
44 Excerpt from M.B. Venini-Bryne, The Buffalo and the Cross, cited in ibid., 104.
46 Calculations based on data from the Census of Canada, 1911.
47 Den Otter, Civilizing the West.
48 For non-wage survival tactics, see Bettina Bradbury, “Pigs, Cows and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861–91”; Baskerville and Sager, Unwilling Idlers, chap. 6, 112–28; for specific accounts of livestock raising and children’s and women’s contributions, see Krystyna Lukasiewicz, “Polish Community in the Crowsnest Pass,” 1–10; the critical value of women’s and children’s work for family survival is detailed in Humphries, “Enclosures, Common Rights and Women,” 17–42.
50 Caragata, Alberta Labour, 32; Buckley, Danger, Death and Disaster, 1–7.
51 David Bright, The Limits of Labour: Class Formation and the Labour Movement in Calgary, 1883–1929, 18–21.
53 Caragata, Alberta Labour, 9.
54 Seager, “A Proletariat in Wild Rose Country,” 202; and Bright, Limits of Labour, 78.
56 Bright, Limits of Labour, 79–83; and Caragata, Alberta Labour, 43–51, 21–28.
57 Bright, Limits of Labour, 41–46.
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68 John Bullen, “Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Ontario.”
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74 Avery, Reluctant Host, 25, 26.
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77 Ibid., 85–88.
78 Ibid., 67–70.
81 Ibid., 470, 471.
82 Ibid., 480, 481.
83 Ibid., 478, 479.
84 Ibid., 471, 482.
85 Ibid., 486; Danyks, Hired Hands, 126–30.
86 Danyks, Hired Hands, 116.
2 H.A. Logan, "Rise and Decline of the One Big Union in Canada," 249.
5 Edmonton Morning Bulletin, 6 August 1914.
6 Calgary Daily Herald, 12 August 1914.
7 Calgary Daily Herald, 13 August 1914.
8 David Bright, The Limits of Labour, 110.
9 David Bright, "We Are All Kin": Reconsidering Labour and Class in Calgary, 1919," 70.
11 Tim Cook, At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1914–1916, 28–29;
Desmond Morton, When Your Number’s Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War, 9; and Ronald Haycock, Sam Hughes: The Public Career of a Controversial Canadian, 1885–1916, 202. Haycock claims that 70 percent of the first sixty thousand enlistments were British-born.
12 Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, Alberta: A New History, 169.
13 Edmonton Bulletin, 6 August 1914.
14 Frances Swyripa, “The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien,” 58.
15 Ibid., 59.
21 Bright, “We Are All Kin,” 68.
22 Lethbridge Daily Herald, 19 February 1917.
23 McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, 121.
24 Lethbridge Daily Herald, 19 February 1917.
26 Crag and Canyon, August 1916.
28 Calgary Daily Herald, 14 August 1916.
31 Canada Year Book, 1922–23, 752–53
32 Calgary Daily Herald, 10 November 1916.
33 Calgary Daily Herald, 13 November 1916.
34 Calgary Daily Herald, 27 November 1916.
37 Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, 296–98.
38 See the table “Industrial Disputes by Province, 1901 to June 30, 1919,” in Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments with Representative Employers and Labour Men, on the Subjects of Industrial Relations and Labour Laws, and for the Consideration of Labour Features of the Treaty of Peace, Ottawa, September 15–20, 1919 (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1919), xxx.
39 Haycock, Sam Hughes, 225–57.
41 Fudge and Tucker, Labour Before the Law, 92.
44 Waiser, Park Prisoners, 6.
45 Krystyna Lukasiewicz, “Polish Community in the Crowsnest Pass.”
47 David Bright, “We Are All Kin,” 74.
50 Ibid., 83.
51 Edmonton Morning Bulletin, 6 May 1919.
53 Calgary Daily Herald, 14 March 1919.
54 Though mostly unsympathetic to his subjects, David J. Bercuson has provided the
major book-length history of the obu to date in Fools and Wise Men: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union. A recent assessment of the obu in the context of radical debates of the period more generally is Ian McKay, Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People’s Enlightenment in Canada, 1880–1920.  

Logan, “Rise and Decline of the One Big Union in Canada,” 252.  

Copies of all issues of the Alberta Labour News can be found in the Alfred Farmilo Papers at the Provincial Archives of Alberta.  


Palmer and Palmer, Alberta, 203.  

The end of the Winnipeg Strike and the strike’s aftermath are explored in Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell, When the State Trembled: How A.J. Andrews and the Citizens’ Committee Broke the Winnipeg General Strike.  


Ibid.  


Ibid.  

Ibid., 82–83.  

Bill Waiser, All Hell Can’t Stop Us: The On-to-Ottawa Trek and Regina Riot, 9–40; Alvin Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta, 14–18.  

Waiser, All Hell Can’t Stop Us, 171–212, 261–75.  

See David Bright, “The State, the Unemployed, and the Communist Party in Calgary, 1930–5.”  


Farmers across the Canadian prairies faced trouble from numerous quarters. Environmental disasters aside, many farmers had overextended themselves through the latter part of the 1920s, both in terms of buying more acreage as well as obtaining credit for agricultural products and new technologies. Added to this were the Wheat Pools’ overly ambitious expectations of export market needs, which caused them to boldly hold prairie cereal grains off the world market, anticipating that so doing would raise the world wheat price and benefit prairie farmers. See Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, 384–85; Palmer and Palmer, Alberta, 252–54, and Bill Waiser, Saskatchewan: A New History, 292–302, 312–13.


City of Edmonton Archives, RG 11, Class 149, File 17, 6 December 1932, Shute to Knott. The RCMP had only recently taken over provincial policing in Alberta, though it might be noted that most members of the force were drawn from the ranks of the disbanded Alberta Provincial Police.  


Ibid.  


5 Alberta Labour and Working-Class Life, 1940–59


2 Donald E. Graves, South Albertans: A Canadian Regiment at War, 33–34.

3 Farley Mowat, And No Birds Sang, 218–19.

4 Graves, South Albertans, 31–33.

5 Stacey, Arms, Men and Governments, 589. Nationally, 89 percent of requests for postponement were granted.

6 Interview with Norah Hook by Catherine Cole, Edmonton, 12 May 2004, GWG Project.

7 Interview with Tets Kitaguchi, Hinton, 28 October 2005, Alberta Labour History Institute (hereafter ALHI).


9 Patrick Lenihan, Patrick Lenihan: From Irish Rebel to Founder of Canadian Public Sector Unionism, 138–47.

10 Ibid., 150–51.

11 Interview with Nelly Engley, Edmonton, 21 April 2004, GWG Project; interview with Anne Ozipko, Edmonton, 4 April 2003, ALHI.


13 Aaron McCrorie, “PC 1003: Labour, Capital, and the State.”


15 Ibid., 83–86.


19 Interview with Walter Makoweczki, Edmonton, n.d., ALHI.


24 Comment from Bill Skura, in interview with Al Fontana, Emma Fontana, Veronica Fontana, Pauline Grigel, John Kinnear, Clara Marconi, Albin Panek, Glen Poulton (Blondie), Emily Root, Ray Root, Bill Skura, Gary Taje, and John Yeliga, Coleman, Alberta, 10 November 2005, ALHI (hereafter “group interview”).

25 Comment from Clara Marconi, in group interview.

26 Interview with Joyce Avramenko, Edson, Alberta, August 2003, ALHI.

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28 Avramenko interview.

29 Comment from Pauline Grigel, in group interview.

30 Comment from Bill Skura, in group interview.

31 Ibid.

32 Tom Langford, “An Alternate Vision of Community: Crowsnest Miners and their Local Unions during the 1940s and 1950s,” 149.

33 Bruce Ramsey, The Noble Cause: The Story of the United Mine Workers of America in Western Canada, 184.


35 Ramsey, The Noble Cause, 184–85.

37 Interview with Canmore nurses, n.d., ALHI.
38 David Finch and Gordon Jaremko, Fields of Fire: An Illustrated History of Canadian Petroleum, 47–49.
42 Interview with Neil Reimer, Edmonton, December 2004, ALHI.
45 Alvin Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta, 111.
48 Maclachlan, Kill and Chill, 231–32.
49 Interview with Elizabeth Kosma, Edmonton, 12 May 2004, GWG Project.
50 Interview with Mary Romanuk, Edmonton, 2 April 2004, GWG Project.
51 Romanuk interview.
52 Ozipko interview.
55 Interview with Lorne and Agnes Wiley, Medicine Hat, n.d., ALHI.
57 Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta, 123.
59 Ibid., 131–33.
60 Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta, 123.
61 Ibid., 144, 149–50.
64 Statutes of Alberta, 1948, chap. 76.
65 Caragata, Alberta Labour, 140–41; The Back Row: Labour’s Cold War in Alberta, at 15:40.
66 Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta, 112.
67 Interview with Norman Bezanson, Edmonton, May 2001, ALHI.
68 Kitaguchi interview.
71 Interview with Doug and Eva Tomlinson, Edmonton, n.d., ALHI; Caragata, Alberta Labour, 141.
72 Tomlinsons interview.
73 Caragata, Alberta Labour, 139–40.
74 Reimer, Celanese Project interview.
75 Reimer, Celanese Project interview.
79 Ernest C. Manning, in The Back Row at 11:54.
80 On anti-communism in Canada in general, see Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945 to 1957. On the specific implications of the anti-communist campaign for gays and lesbians, see Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, The Canadian War on Queers, especially 53–114.
81 Interview with Ben Swankey, Burnaby, BC, July 2003, ALHI.
82 Ibid.
83 Lenihan, Patrick Lenihan, 153–54.
84 Makowecz interview.
85 Ibid.
86 Swankey interview.
87 Interview with Jack Phillips, Vancouver, 2003, ALHI.
88 Tomlinsons interview.
89 Reimer interview, Edmonton, 7 November 2002.
90 Reimer interview, Edmonton, 25 October 2002. Reimer brought in several OUI members from CIL to create the impression for Celanese workers, who were working in a plant too large for everyone to know everyone else, that the OUI-supporting contingent was large.
92 Interview (no. 3) with Dave Werlin, n.p., n.d., ALHI.
6 The Boomers Become the Workers: Alberta, 1960–80

1 Interview with Jack Hubler, Edmonton, n.d., Alberta Labour History Institute (hereafter ALHi).
3 Interview with Susan Keeley, Calgary, 11 September 2007, ALHi.
8 Ernest B. Akyeampong, “The Union Movement in Transition.”
9 Gil Levine, “The Waffle and the Labour Movement.”
10 John Richards and Larry Pratt, Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West, chap. 7.
11 Alvin Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta, 131.
13 Statutes of the Province of Alberta, 1968, chap. 298, s. 26–43.
14 Interview with Bill Broad, AUPE News, 3 October 2006.
15 Jeffery Taylor, “Compulsory Arbitration and the Right to Strike: The Experience of Alberta’s University Faculty.”
16 Interview with Walter Watt, Edmonton, n.d., ALHi.
17 Interview with David William Potter, Edmonton, n.d., ALHi.
18 On the changing position of nurses in Canada in the postwar period and the roles that nurses played in achieving changes, see Kathryn McPherson, Bedsides Matters: The Transformation of Canadian Nursing 1900–1990.
19 Interview with Barb Charles, Medicine Hat, 31 November 2008, ALHi.
20 The number of nurses on strike is reported in Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, “Orders Suspending the Right to Strike or to Lock Out.”
22 Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, “Orders Suspending the Right to Strike or to Lock Out.”
23 Interview with Marg Ethier, Edmonton, September 2003, ALHi.
24 The number of teachers on strike when back-to-work orders were issued is reported in Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, “Orders Suspending the Right to Strike or to Lock Out.” On the patterns of teachers’ strikes in Alberta more generally, see Alberta Teachers’ Association, Local 10, “Strikes by Alberta Teachers Since 1942, http://local10.teachers.ab.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/Local10.teachers.ab.ca/PDF%20files/STRIKES.pdf.
25 Interview with Bernie Keeler, Edmonton, 6 May 2005, ALHi.
26 Interview with Gil Levine, Edmonton, n.d., ALHi; Patrick Lenihan, Patrick Lenihan: From Irish Rebel to Founder of Canadian Public Sector Unionism.
28 Interview with Fred Pyke, Edmonton, n.d., ALHi.
29 Interview with “L.D.,” n.d., ALHi.
33 Interview with Andre Van Schaik, Edmonton, n.d., ALHi.
34 Richards and Pratt, Prairie Capitalism, 236, 242.
36 The definition favoured by the AFL was “an International, National, or Provincial organization of employees, or a local branch chartered by and in good standing with such an organization.” AFL fonds, 77.54, item 3, Alberta Federation of Labour, CLC, Fifth Convention, Report of Proceedings, Calgary, Alberta, 26–29 October, 1960.
37 AFL fonds, 77.54, item 3, “Memorandum from Alberta Federation of Labour,” to Premier Manning and cabinet members, 25 January.
1960.

38 Ibid.

Interview with Reg Basken, Edmonton, September 2003, AlHi.

41 Warren Caragata, Alberta Labour: A Heritage Untold, 144–45.
42 Interview with Doug and Eva Tomlinson, Edmonton, n.d., AlHi.
43 Caragata, Alberta Labour, 146.

44 Ibid.

50 John Maynard Keynes proposed that governments abandon notions of pro-cyclical spending, that is, expanding money supply and government programs during good times in the private sector and contracting them in bad times. Instead, he argued that by increasing spending and the money supply in times of recession, governments could limit their impact. They could then balance their books by spending prudently once the economy revived.

51 Ibid., 44.
52 Ibid., 61.
53 Ibid., 62.
54 Interview with Willa Gorman, Edmonton, October 2007, AlHi.
55 Interview with Wally Land, Hinton, 2005, ALHI.
56 The CLC convention in 1958 passed a resolution supporting the creation of a new political party, which it described as a “broadly based people’s political movement which embraces the CCF, the labor movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded persons interested in basic social reform and reconstruction through our parliamentary system of government” (quoted in The Western Socialist 28, no. 223 [1961]: 12).

59 Robin Hunter, “Social Democracy in Alberta: From the CCF to the NDP,” 74–75.
64 Masson and Blaikie, “Labour Politics,” 278, 282 (quotation is from 282).
65 Larry Pratt, “Grant Notley: Politics as a Calling,” 35.
66 For example, when the AFL sponsored a demonstration at the legislature in 1970 to protest the government’s inaction on unemployment, the leadership were disappointed both by the lack of participation by locals and by the unemployed themselves.


70 Caragata, Alberta Labour, 145.
Alberta Labour in the 1980s

1 Alberta Federation of Labour (1983), President’s Report to the 27th Annual Convention.
2 Interview with Lorraine Stallknecht, Fort McMurray, 20 October 2005, Alberta Labour History Institute (hereafter ALHI).
4 Ed Shaffer, “Oil, Class and Development in Alberta,” 120.
6 Larry Pratt and Garth Stevenson, Western Separatism: The Myths, Realities and Dangers, 10.
13 Shaffer, “Oil, Class and Development,” 121.
14 Edmonton Sun, 29 April 1982. Shell Canada President Bill Daniel set a 30 April deadline for federal participation in the project.
17 David Cooper and Dean Neu, “The Politics of Debt and Deficit in Alberta,” 165.
22 See Alvin Finkel, Our Lives: Canada After 1945, 134.
23 See the Fraser Institute website at http://www.frasierinstitute.org. See also Cliff Stainsby and John Malcolmson, “The Fraser Institute and the Government: Corporate Free Lunch.”
25 Interview with Jane Sustrik, Edmonton, 19 April 2007, ALHI. The SNAA merged with the UNA in 1985.
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27 UFCL, Collective Bargaining in Canada: A Human Right or Canadian Illusion, 2.
28 David Flower, “Public Education as the Trojan Horse: The Alberta Case.”
31 Alberta Federation of Labour, Resolutions, 26th Annual Convention, 1982, Resolution 57.
34 G. Brent Gawne, Labour History Day address, Alberta Labour History Institute, August 2004.
35 Interview with Bill Flookes, Calgary, 2005, ALHI.
36 Interview with Glen Taylor, Hinton, 2 May 2003, ALHI.
37 Interview with Peter Holbein, Edmonton, 11 November 1996, ALHI.
38 Interview with Mike Tamton, Calgary, 16 October 2007, ALHI.
39 Interview with Bill McGillivray, Medicine Hat, 3 June 2005, ALHI.
40 Interview with Sam Lee, Edmonton, 5 June 2004, ALHI.
41 Bulloch interview.
43 Interview with John Ventura, Edmonton, 20 November 1998, ALHI.
44 Flookes interview.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
49 Alberta Federation of Labour, “For Jobs and Recovery: Reduced Work Time — No Loss
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50 Interview with Mike Wilgus, Edmonton, 16 November 2005, AlHi.
52 Retrieved 10 April 2010 from http://www.afbna.ca/, but the information no longer appears on the page.
53 Alberta Federation of Labour, 27th Annual Convention, 1983, Resolution no. 5.
55 Interview with Tamara Kozlowska, Edmonton, 13 July 2010, AlHi.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
59 Palmer, Working-Class Experience, 400.
61 Ibid., 201.
62 Ibid., 163.
66 Nikiforuk, “The New Quarterback,” 120.
68 Alberta Union of Provincial Employees, Report of President, Sixth Annual Convention, 1981.
71 Harry Dembicki, Unemployment — Reaping the Costs.
73 Winston Gereluk, We Are the Friends of Medicare.
74 Interview with Karen Olson, Edmonton, 22 March 2010, AlHi.
75 Canada Health Act (1984), c. 6, s. 1.
76 Interview with Dr. Richard Plain, Edmonton, 27 March 2010, AlHi.
79 Alberta Union of Provincial Employees, Report to the AUPE Provincial Executive Meeting, 8 February 1986.
80 UNA, The First Twenty-five Years, 11–12.
82 Ibid.
85 Interview with John Ewasiw and Mary Ewasiw, Edmonton, 20 September 1998, AlHi.
86 Ventura interview.
87 Ibid.
89 Interview with Kip Connelly, Edmonton, 14 July 1999, AlHi.
90 May, The Battle of 66 Street, 73–83.
92 Interview with Gord Christie, Calgary, 21 May 2008, ALHI.
93 Roberts, Cracking the Canadian Formula, 142.
94 Ibid., 143–44.
95 Ibid., 144.
96 Interview with Reg Basken, Edmonton, 20 May 2005, ALHI.
97 Alberta Labour Relations Code (hereafter ALRC), R.S.A. 2000, c. L-1. s. 90.
98 Interview with Lucien Royer, 1 August 2009, ALHI.
99 ALRC, s. 148(2)
100 Alberta Federation of Labour, Executive Council Report to the 33rd Annual Convention, 1989.
103 WHMIS was implemented through coordinated federal, provincial, and territorial legislation, led by changes in 1986 to the
federal *Hazardous Products Act* and the related *Controlled Products Regulations*.

104 Roberts, *Cracking the Canadian Formula*, 219.

105 Comment recorded at meeting in Hinton, Alberta, organized by the Alberta Labour History Institute, 27 October 2005.


111 Ibid.

112 Ibid.


116 Royer interview.


118 Royer interview.

119 Alberta Federation of Labour, President’s Report, 28th Annual Convention, 1984.

120 Interview with Clarence Lacombe, Red Deer, 2 May 2003, ALHI.

121 Royer interview.


124 Brian Brennan, *Boondoggles, Bonanzas, and Other Alberta Stories*, 170–78.


128 Interview with Guy Smith, Edmonton, 4 March 2009, ALHI. Guy Smith was elected president of AUPE later in 2009.

129 Lacombe interview.


132 Alberta Labour History Institute community meeting, Medicine Hat, 20 January 2005.


134 Interview with Ted Grimm, Medicine Hat, 8 November 2005, ALHI.


136 See the official website of the Trilateral Commission at http://www.trilateral.org/.


139 Royer interview.


8 Revolution, Retrenchment, and the New Normal: The 1990s and Beyond

1 Interview with Bill Climie, Edmonton, 4 September 2007, Alberta Labour History Institute [hereafter ALHI].

2 Interview with Ashley Grandy, Brooks, 1 November 2005, ALHI.

3 Dave Gower, “A Note on Canadian Unemployment Since 1921.”


5 The original term for bituminous oil production in northern Alberta was *tar sands*. In the 1990s, the energy industry, trying to polish its image, switched to the term *oil sands*.


8 Don Martin, *King Ralph: The Political Life and Success of Ralph Klein*.

9 Mark Lisac, *The Klein Revolution*. 

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10 Trevor Harrison, "The Reform-Ation of Alberta Politics."
11 Interview with Gord Christie, Calgary, 21 May 2008, AlHi.
13 Christie interview.
15 Fred Engelmann, "Seniors: The End of a Dream."
16 Jonathan Murphy, "Workfare Will Make You Free: Ideology and Social Policy in Klein’s Alberta."
22 Reshef and Rastin, Unions in the Time of Revolution, 21, 69.
26 The case for privatization of these services is now seen as dubious. In 2009, Alberta had the highest alcohol prices in the country, and selection in most stores was reduced compared to the pre-privatization era. Government promises for greater convenience never materialized. This is evidence that once privatization occurs, it becomes almost impossible to reverse.
27 For example, see the Parkland Institute’s studies on highway maintenance (Lisa Prescott, Un-accountable: The Case of Highway Maintenance Privatization in Alberta) and liquor retail (Flanagan, Sobering Result). For example, the costs of building and operating hospitals via P3s versus building them as public works was demonstrated in Allyson M. Pollock, Jean Shaoul, and Neil Vickers, "Private Finance and ‘Value for Money’ in NHS Hospitals: a Policy in Search of a Rationale?"
29 Kevin Taft, in Shredding the Public Interest: Ralph Klein and Twenty-Five Years of One-Party Government, demolishes the arguments that the Klein government used to make the province appear to have no alternative but to make massive cuts in services in order to deal with its deficits and debts.
30 See Reshef and Rastin, Unions in the Time of Revolution. A similar thesis is presented by Jeff Taylor in "Labour in the Klein Revolution."
31 Kevin Taft, in Shredding the Public Interest: Ralph Klein and Twenty-Five Years of One-Party Government, demolishes the arguments that the Klein government used to make the province appear to have no alternative but to make massive cuts in services in order to deal with its deficits and debts.
32 For example, see the Parkland Institute’s studies on highway maintenance (Lisa Prescott, Un-accountable: The Case of Highway Maintenance Privatization in Alberta) and liquor retail (Flanagan, Sobering Result).
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35 Karen Hughes, Graham Lowe, and Allison McKinnon, "Public Attitudes Toward Budget Cuts in Alberta: Biting the Bullet or Feeling the Pain?"
theoretically gave more influence to labour but in practice entrenched standard power imbalances. See Jason Foster, “Talking Ourselves to Death.”


AFL, Running to Stand Still.

AFL, The Horizon Project: Showdown over Labour Rights.


The materials in this section are based on the author’s observations as a participant and observer.

Statistics Canada, Perspectives on Labour and Income, various issues.

Interview with Myrna Wright, Pincher Creek, 4 March 2009, ALHI.


Reshef and Rastin, Unions in the Time of Revolution.

Interview with Doug O’Halloran, 13 March 2007, ALHI.

Ibid.

Interview with Andy Marshall, Cochrane, 18 November 2005, ALHI.

Ibid.

The 1997 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Vancouver offered an initial glimpse into the movement amassing in resistance to globalization. However, the scale and global media coverage of Seattle marked it as a key turning point.

Interview with Cindy McCallum Miller, Edmonton, 11 November 2008, ALHI.


Bob Barnetson, “The Regulatory Exclusion of Agricultural Workers in Alberta.”


See Jason Foster, “Making Temporary Permanent: The Silent Transformation of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program” (available from the author).


Bob Barnetson, “Regulation of Child and Adolescent Employment in Alberta.”

Interview with Peter Jany by author, Brooks, 30 November 2005.

Interview with Archie Duckworth, Brooks, 10 October 2007, ALHI.

Jason Foster, “Conflict and Solidarity: How the Lakeside Workers Won Their Union.”

Ibid.

O’Halloran interview.

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50 Coulter, “The Working Youth,” 89–90, outlines the Hudson’s Bay Company’s attempt to avoid paying the minimum wage by claiming that women workers required a three-year apprenticeship period.
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55 Hobbs and Sangster, The Woman Worker, 72.
57 Ibid., 435.
58 Excerpt from testimony at the Mathers Commission meeting in Calgary, May 1919, quoted in Warren Caragata, Alberta Labour: A Heritage Untold, 84.
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64 Equal Pay Coalition, "Pay Equity and Unions."
65 McCallum Miller interview.
68 Interview with Susan Keeley, Calgary, 11 September 2007, ALHI.
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70 Equal Pay Coalition, “Other Provinces.”
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73 Alberta Hansard, 3 December 1973, 1359.
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78 Interview with Susan Parcels, Edmonton, n.d., ALHI.
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80 Jackson, “Gender Inequality,” 9.
81 AFL Women’s Committee, Claiming Our Past, 13.
82 White, Sisters and Solidarity, 93.
83 Tom Langford, Alberta’s Day Care Controversy From 1908 to 2009 — and Beyond, 314.
84 Interview with Clancy Teslenko, Calgary, 16 November 2005, ALHI.
85 White, Sisters and Solidarity, 122. Also see Debbie Field, “The Dilemma Facing Women’s Committees,” 293.
87 Adriane Paavo, “Union Workload: A Barrier to Women Surviving Labour-Movement Leadership.”
88 AFL Women’s Committee, Claiming Our Past, 122.

10 Racialization and Work
1 Immigration Branch Records, “Immigration to Western Canada,” PR1977.0054/12, AFL files; NAC 7346, W.V. Bennett, Agent at Omaha, Nebraska to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, Ottawa, 17 January 1910, Library and Archives Canada.
2 Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 1 May 1947, 2646.
3 Immigration interviews are from Immigration Branch Records, PR1977.0054/12; NAC 7346.
6 Dickinson and Wotherspoon, “From Assimilation to Self-government,” 413.
7 Joan Sangster, Transforming Labour: Women and Work in Postwar Canada, 207.
8 The African-Canadian immigrants who came during the early twentieth century (1908–12) formed predominantly black communities such as Amber Valley, Junkins (Wildwood), and Keystone (Breton). Several family and community memoirs have been written about this period. Examples include Velma Carter and Wanda Leffler Akili, The Windows of Our Memories, 2 vols., and Gwen Hooks, The Keystone Legacy: Reflections of a Black Pioneer.
9 Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 22 March and 3 April 1911.
10 J. Brian Dawson, Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain: From China to the Canadian Plains, 44. Chinese workers came to British Columbia following the end of the Gold Rush in California. From British Columbia, many made their way to Alberta looking for employment during the building of the railroad.
12 Lisa M. Jakobowski, Immigration and the Legalization of Racism, 16.
13 Ibid.
14 Library and Archives Canada, Cabinet Documents, 1911 Order-in-Council, 12 August 1911, paper C-117932.
15 Charles Irby Collection, Charles Irby interviews, interview with Willie Toles, Amber Valley, 1970, University of California, Santa Barbara Archives.


19 “Unable to gain the respect of their white co-workers, they [the Winnipeg railway porters] formed a union of their own in 1917, the Order of Sleeping Car Porters — the first black railway union in North America.” Thus, ironically, western Canada, rather than the United States, was the site of the first North American segregated union. Sarah-Jane Mathieu, “North of the Colour Line: Sleeping Car Porters and the Battle Against Jim Crow on Canadian Rails, 1880–1920,” 5. Also of interest is Agnes Calliste’s “Sleeping Car Porters: An Ethnically Submerged Split Labour Market.”

20 Interview with Daniel Lafierre conducted by Leander Lane, 2009. Racialization, Immigration, Citizenship (henceforth RIC). RIC is a SSHRC-funded research project to develop an understanding of the formation of African-Canadian communities in Alberta from 1900 to the 1960s. Leander Lane is a descendant of the early black settlers in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

21 Jaswinder Gudwara, *Splintered Dreams: Sikhs in Southern Alberta*. After World War I, a small number of Sikhs began to farm in southern Alberta (near Lethbridge) and to begin to create a viable community that would include the few students who attended the University of Alberta. These South Asians remained few in number throughout the 1920s, when the only legal new arrivals were the wives and children of those already here.


24 Emily Murphy, *The Black Candle*.


26 Dawson and Ting, *Chinese Experience*.

27 See “Calgary’s Chinese Community,” a website developed by the Applied History Research Group at the University of Calgary, at http://www.ucalgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/calgary/chinese.html. Comments taken from Brian Dawson and Nicholas Ting’s research.


29 Joan Sangster, *Transforming Labour*, 213.


33 Notes from a speech given by Dick Bellamy to the Unitarian Fellowship in the 1950s, R12294-0-2-E, Library and Archives Canada.


35 Interview with Hazel Proctor, Calgary 2001, ALHI.

36 Notes from a speech given by Dick Bellamy.

37 Ross Lambertson, “The Dresden Story.”


41 PAA, AFL fonds, 77.54/10/307, E.A Mitchell, Assistant Executive Secretary, AFL, to Dr. Seth Fisher, president, AHRA, 28 October 1968. The association had a membership base that included academics, trade unionists, and
other concerned citizens. For more information on the origins of the organization, see “Canada’s Human Rights History — Alberta,” http://www.historyofrights.com/ngo/alberta.html.


45 Interview with female participant, Edmonton, 2009, rIC.

46 See Dan Cui and Jennifer Kelly, “A Historical Exploration of Internationally Educated Teachers: Jamaica Teachers in 1960s Alberta.”

47 Interview with oil worker from Trinidad, Edmonton, 2007, rIC.

48 Interview with female participant, Edmonton, 2008, rIC.

49 Ethnic Survey, interview with Norma Ellis, RCT 875-32, Glenbow Archives.

50 Ironically, those who entered Alberta during its boom period and found work were also those most likely to overlook language and vocational training. They were affected most harshly by the recession in the 1980s.

51 A.H. Richmond, Comparative Studies in the Economic Adaptation of Immigrants in Canada.


53 The Employment Equity Act (S.C. 1995 c. 44) defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non- Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” Categories in the visible minority population variable include Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, and Japanese. As part of its Project 2012 joint research project with the AFL, the Alberta Labour History Institute has produced an excellent booklet, Fighting Back: The 1995 Calgary Laundry Workers Strike, by Allan Chambers. Various interviews with Lakeside Packers workers, Brooks, ALH.

54 Interview with Peter Jany, ALH “Road Show,” 2005.

55 Interviews with Lakeside Packers workers.


57 Ibid.


60 Interviews with members of Workers of Colour and Aboriginal Workers Committee, Edmonton, 2010, rIC.

61 Ibid.


63 Shibao Guo and Per Andersson, Non/Recognition of Foreign Credentials for Immigrant Professionals in Canada and Sweden: A Comparative Analysis.


69 Ibid.

70 Sarah Carter, “Britishness, ‘Foreignness,’ Women and Land in Western Canada, 1890s–1920s,” 43.

Conclusion: A History to Build Upon

1 Bob Barnetson, The Political Economy of Workplace Injury in Canada, 11.


3 Information from Alberta Federation of Labour, 23 July 2010, posted on Injured Workers All Across Canada, in response to “WCB Provides Generous Bonuses to Its


6 Information from Alberta Federation of Labour, 23 July 2010, posted on Injured Workers All Across Canada, in response to “WCB Provides Generous Bonuses to Its Employees by Reducing Benefits to Injured Workers,” 21 July 2010. Material on the carnage against workers in Alberta has also been compiled by Mike Hruska of Edmonton for the Alberta Democratic Renewal Project. This material, which draws on government reports, ILO documents, and newspaper reports, is unpublished but is available from the Democratic Renewal Project, http://drproject.ca/contact.php. For a national perspective, see Bob Barnetson, The Political Economy of Workplace Injury.

7 Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, calculations based on Statistics Canada, Labour Force Historical Review 2009 (Table 078), Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2010 (Cat. No. 71F0004XVB).

8 These are the figures claimed by these organizations on their websites rather than independently verified figures.


10 The effects of the cutbacks on the poor are demonstrated in the essays in Gordon Laxer and Trevor Harrison, ed., The Trojan Horse: Alberta and the Future of Canada, and in Trevor Harrison, ed., The Return of the Trojan Horse: Alberta and the New World (Dis)order.


15 Asbjørn Wahl, “Building Progressive Alliances.”


18 The Alberta Federation of Labour’s most recent commentary on its political objectives and the strategy that it hopes to follow to pursue them is found in Alberta Federation of Labour, 2011 Convention, Political Action Paper, 1 May 2011.