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Old Unions and New Social Movements

William K. Carroll and R.S. Ratner

BASED ON EXTENSIVE STUDY of union organizations and activists in Greater Vancouver, this article offers a two-fold critique of the thesis that "new social movements" have supplanted the labour movement as the key collective agents of change in late-modern societies. In the first section we briefly review the claims of new social movement theory and point to some of the analytic difficulties in positing a sharp distinction between "old" unions and "new" social movements. We then present comparative case studies of two pan-union labour organizations active in the Lower Mainland, followed by findings from in-depth interviews with activists in these groups, and comparisons between the political orientations of labour activists and those of activists in new social movements. We find evidence of a labour movement increasingly open to popular struggles outside its own immediate orbit, sensitive to the needs of diverse and marginalized constituencies, tactically prepared if not psychologically predisposed to yield a leading role in any such coalitions, and capable of grasping the connections between social movement activism and everyday life activities. The future of the labour movement very much depends on putting these political sensibilities into practice through a deepening of solidarity with other progressive movements — whose own futures are themselves implicated in labour's prospects.

GRÂCE À L'ÉTUDE approfondie des organisations et des militants syndicaux dans la région métropolitaine de Vancouver, cet article offre une critique à deux volets de la thèse selon laquelle des «nouveaux mouvements sociaux» remplacent le mouvement ouvrier en tant que principaux agents collectifs de changement dans les sociétés post-modernes. Dans la première section, nous résumons brièvement les revendications de la nouvelle théorie des mouvements sociaux et indiquons quelques unes des difficultés analytiques qu'entraînent une nette distinction entre «vieux» syndicats et «nouveaux» mouvements sociaux. Nous présentons alors des études comparatives de deux organisations ouvrières actives dans le Lower Mainland, suivies de travaux provenant d'interviews avec des militants de ces groupes, et de comparaisons entre les orientations politiques de militants syndicaux et celles de militants de nouveaux mouvements sociaux. Nous remarquons l'existence d'un mouvement ouvrier de plus en plus ouvert aux luttes populaires extérieures à son d'intérêt immédiat, sensible aux besoins de clientèles diverses e marginalisées, tactiquement prêt sinon psychologiquement prédisposé à céder un rôle dirigeant dans toute coalition du genre, et capable de saisir les liens entre le militantisme social et les activités quotidiennes. Le futur du mouvement ouvrier

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dépend largement dans la réalisation de ces sensibilités politiques à travers une solidarité croissante avec d'autres mouvements progressistes — dont le propre futur est lui-même déterminé par les perspectives du mouvement ouvrier.

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LABOUR / LE TRAVAIL

L/LT is a bilingual semi-annual review dedicated to the broad, interdisciplinary study of Canadian labour history. Holding to no rigid position on the definition of labour, the Editorial Board hopes to foster imaginative approaches to both teaching and research in labour studies through an open exchange of viewpoints.

The Board feels that Canadian history lacks a sufficient understanding of the lives of workers. Productive human energy has played a vital role in the development of Canadian society. Our common life has also been richly endowed with the cultural contributions of generations of working men and women. It will be the constant endeavour of *L/LT* to rectify an all too general Canadian ignorance of these legacies.

The Board welcomes the submission of articles dealing with the following: trade and industrial union organization; social and cultural aspects of the lives of workers; questions relating to labour in politics and the economy; the impact of labour problems on local communities and on various ethnic, cultural and national groups; biographical treatments of union leaders or radicals associated in some way with the labour movement; labour ideologies of reform or revolution; and comparative studies of labour in other countries which shed light on the Canadian situation.

Articles should be submitted to the *L/LT* office in duplicate. If they have been prepared on a word processor or computer, please provide appropriate information and include a disc. Upon receipt they are reviewed by the editor and if the article fits the journal's editorial mandate and is felt to be of reasonable quality, a file is opened and the manuscript is sent out for review. The referees generally include both members and non-members of the editorial board. When the referees' reports are received, the editor compiles them, makes a final decision upon the manuscript based on the referees' views, and reports to the author. The author always receives the readers' reports and is invited to respond to them. Articles may be rejected, accepted without revision (rarely), accepted with revision (frequently), or accepted subject to substantial revision and resubmission to one of the original readers to insure that the revisions are adequate. Upon acceptance of an article authors are asked to sign our permission to print form.

La revue *L/LT* se consacre à l'étude interdisciplinaire de l'histoire des travailleurs et des travailleuses du Canada. Les articles sont publiés dans les deux langues officielles du pays. Le Comité de rédaction n'établit aucune définition particulière du *travail* et désire plutôt que la revue serve de carrefour afin de permettre un fructueux échange d'opinions entre les diverses écoles d'interprétation.

La rédaction est convaincue que l'histoire canadienne ne peut se passer d'une connaissance du monde ouvrier dans toutes ses dimensions. La société canadienne n'aurait pu se développer sans la contribution de générations de travailleuses et de travailleurs. Pour remédier aux oublis du passé, *L/LT* se propose de faciliter la reconstitution de cette histoire et de la rendre plus accessible.

Afin d'atteindre ces buts, nous sollicitons des manuscrits sur des aspects du monde ouvrier tels que: les syndicats de métier et d'entreprises, les non-syndiqué(e)s, les conditions de vie des travailleur(euses), les mouvements radicaux et réformistes liés au monde ouvrier, l'impact politique, économique et social du syndicalisme, les idéologies ouvrières, ainsi que les études sur les travailleuses et travailleurs de tous les pays dans la mesure où elles contribueront à la connaissance du milieu canadien.

Les textes doivent être soumis en deux exemplaires. Les articles rédigés sur ordinateur ou sur machine de traitement de texte doivent être accompagnés du disque et des informations nécessaires. Les textes sont soumis à un comité de rédaction. S'ils sont conformes aux principes éditoriaux et de qualité raisonnable, un dossier est ouvert et le manuscrit est envoyé au comité de lecture. Celui-ci inclut des membres du comité de rédaction ainsi que les lecteurs ou lectrices externes. Sur la réception des rapports d'évaluation, le rédacteur de la revue prend une décision finale basée sur les critiques reçues et les transmet à l'auteur. Les personnes qui soumettent des textes reçoivent toujours les rapports de lecture et sont invitées à y répondre. Les articles peuvent être refusés, acceptés sans révisions (rarement), acceptés avec révisions (fréquemment), ou acceptés après révisions de fond et une resoumission à l'un des membres du premier comité de lecture. Lorsqu'un texte est accepté pour publication, les auteurs signent les formules de consentement à la publication.

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