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It's no light responsibility to be the head of the third-largest private police force operating in Canada. Raymond Anning's image fits the job. His voice is distinguished, his manner polite, his answers brisk and precise, his comments discreet — as one would expect from a man who spent five years in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and four years with the Metro Toronto force.

Anning is the president of the security guard company, Wackenhut of Canada, with at least 600 men at his disposal. Until recently, he was the head of Anning Services Ltd. of Toronto, which he founded in 1963. But this company has recently, as is the custom these days, become part of the world-wide operations of U.S.-owned Wackenhut. It has been grouped with two other, formerly Canadian security outfits — Trans-Canada Protection Services of Toronto and Argus Protection and Investigation Service of Windsor — and turned into the usual branch plant with Anning as its chief officer.

Privately-owned police forces provide many services. One of the best-known, but least important, is the private detective work familiar to anyone who has ever read a mystery story.

One of the least known, but most important, is the provision of uniformed private police for what an Anning's advertisement modestly calls "strike control."

When talking to the press, Raymond Anning manages to make "strike control" seem about as sinister as drinking milk. "The term strike control," he says, "is often taken to mean hostility to labor and unions and as being political. We don't interpret this term as strike-breaking. We strictly provide uniformed guards. We protect premises during a labor dispute. We are impartial as to who is right or wrong. Our only job is to see there's no damage to property. This is a right of any individual, even union members too."

That's when he's talking to the press.

But if that was all company bosses wanted, they could probably make do with the local Boy Scout troop. They want more for their money. Especially if they belong to the growing list of manufacturers who welcome strikes, so that they can hire scabs and break the unions in their plants. It's so much easier to deal with a man who has to stand alone in his dealings with management — like the unorganized, average white collar clerk, whose dreamiest idea of striking a blow for his own rights is to steal an extra five minutes for his coffee break.

Anning explains his "services" differently when he is talking to business executives.

At the top of an attractive leaflet put out by Anning Services Ltd., and intended only for the eyes of the upper-level administrator, there appears the name "Case No. 444." The "Client" is described as being "An Ontario Manufacturer". The headline reads: "Labor crisis resolved with aid of security team."

"Faced with a strike deadline only one week away, this company's labor lawyer recommended Anning's Labor Relations Divisions," the brochure begins. It explains that Anning's put uniformed security guards around the plant two days before the strike, and extended this around the clock the day the strike began.

"Since this was not a closed shop," the leaflet continues, "a number of employees wanted to continue working. But their attempts to cross the picket line were restricted. Nevertheless management decided that the company must continue to operate. Arrangements were made to transport, in Anning vehicles, the workers who wanted to cross the picket line and enter the plant."

This would seem to strain somewhat the Anning claim that its operations are "impartial".

The leaflet continues: "During the third week the company advertised for, and hired, additional personnel to fill the vacancies created by the strike. These people were also picked up at designated areas by Anning vehicles and driven through the picket line to the plant."

There is a name for men who are hired to cross a picket line during a strike. They are scabs, and if transporting scabs is "impartial", then union members might well wonder what Anning's would do if it decided to proclaim it was taking sides.

"Meanwhile the union was getting worried," the leaflet proceeds. "Realizing they didn't have enough pickets to stop this activity, they applied to other unions for assistance. Their request was answered, and soon there were some 300 pickets milling around in front of the plant. But despite this formidable crowd, both new and old employees continued to be transported to their jobs in Anning vehicles."

"By now the company was facing another problem. It could neither ship nor receive goods by transport because all transport drivers refused to cross the picket line."

Quite a problem. But Anning's had an answer for that one too.

"Why not," suggested Anning representatives, "let us supply you with drivers and you rent the necessary trucks?" This plan was agreed on and put into effect. All shipments were made without incident.

"The strategy applied by our client had a very demoralizing effect on the union and its members. After 19 weeks of strike activity, they signed an agreement on terms that offered them less than what they had been offered prior to the strike."

"Clearly, the company's investment in security assistance more than paid for itself by preventing property damage and helping to end a serious strike on terms favourable to management."

So much for the Anning claim that it is "impartial". There's a perfectly well-known word for this sort of activity and every worker knows it — strike-breaking.

The tactics summarized in this leaflet have become a sort of Schlieffen Plan for manufacturers.

During the 1970-71 strike at Bach-Simpson in London, Ont. (where Anning guards showed up on the first day of the strike), Robert Wilton, the company president, told the London Free Press that "the workers exercised their right to strike — and we chose to exercise our right to carry on somehow without them." The "somehow" consisted of hiring non-union labor the week after the strike began, as well as eliminating 33 strikers' jobs by ordering equipment from its U.S. affiliate in Chicago. When picket line action was stepped up, and scabs were unable to pass, the London police appeared on the scene and resorted to arrests and other activities that city alderman Andy Grant called aggressive support of non-union workers. He accused management of "using scabs to create and inspire trouble and violence on the picket line." Then in April, the courts issued an injunction severely limiting the number of pickets. In May, the union gave in.

As a large, private police agency, Anning's cannot escape being in the public eye, and has to take the time to foster some sort of image of public service. Even its private leaflet, though clear enough is carefully worded.

Smaller and more obscure companies don't have this problem.

The two-year old Canadian Driver Pool Ltd. whose Ontario operations are headed by Richard Grange, also puts out a private letter for manufacturers. It doesn't pull any punches.

The letter — brought out in the Ontario Legislature by NDP leader Stephen Lewis — claims that Canadian Driver Pool has helped 43 industries to break strikes, and in some cases to maintain up to 80 per cent productivity while the strike lasted.

"Once the striking employees see that the company intends to stay productive without their help," the letter explains, "the morale of the strike has been broken and we have separated the hard-core unionists from the employees who are just worried about how they are going forward to meet their next monthly payments."

The brochure offers "an experienced strike security force... using latest electronic equipment," and says that

"these men have been trained especially for this type of work and operate with Doberman Pinschers which are trained for crowd control and plant security... The security team will also supply camera men who will record any acts which could be detrimental in any way to your company."

"This information is useful in presenting a case with regard to an injunction against the union."

The letter assures manufacturers that Canadian Driver Pool will supply drivers to see that products move safely in and out of the strike-bound plant, claims to have had "100 per cent success in all our strike activities," and denounces unions as having outlived their usefulness, so that "they have now become a detriment to both employee and employer."

Raymond Anning as head of a large operation, doesn't like to talk about the less well-known Canadian Driver Pool: "I would prefer not to answer the question. We have no connection with it. I have feelings about them but I would prefer not to state them." However, allowing for differences of writing style, their leaflets offer basically the same "services."

Canadian Driver Pool ceased to be obscure in rather dramatic fashion in the middle of October, when two unions on strike against two Toronto area companies discovered their phones were being wire tapped. The first discovery was

made by local 688 of the International Chemical Workers Unions, which is on strike against the Redpath Refinery of Canada and Dominion Sugar Co.; the second was made by the Steelworkers' local 7642, on strike against Kenroc Tools.

Both companies are making use of the "experienced strike security force" of Canadian Driver Pool, with its "latest electronic equipment."

The Chemical Workers found more than just wiretapping equipment. They discovered two plainclothes Toronto policemen at the scene and turned them in.

CDP president Grange admits he is providing trucking facilities at both strike-bound plants, and that he is using camera equipment, radio equipment and Doberman Pinschers at Kenroc, but, not surprisingly, denies any use of wiretaps.

However, Steelworkers' area supervisor Don Montgomery has demanded a government investigation of Canadian Driver Pool and suggests there is collusion between some police officers and the company.

Unions are not the only groups to find their opponents reinforced by private police.

Pinkerton's is a name that has become synonymous with strike-breaking in North America. Even though its founder, Allan Pinkerton, was himself a radical working man in



Strikebreaking: A great Canadian art



Scotland who had to flee that country to escape arrest for his Chartist activities, the company he founded in 1850 has shown no love for the working man. During the 1892 Homestead Strike at the Carnegie Steel Co., for example, 300 armed Pinkerton detectives headed for the strike scene on two railroad barges reinforced with heavy steel plate and were driven off by the strikers. The Pennsylvania state militia then broke the strike. No effective steel union was organized until the 1930s.

These days, Pinkerton's also turns its attention to the troubled university campus scene. Its thriving Canadian operation advertised in a house organ for university administrators like this: "Pinkerton's takes care of everything. You pay one fee and forget the details. Pinkerton's men and women have been preventing trouble since 1850. They've met all kinds of campus problems and know them well... And Pinkerton's is focusing its total attention on security... This includes a constant search for better ways to help you keep sources of trouble off campus, maintain crowd control, and assure thorough theft protection... Also, the campus drug problem is no stranger to Pinkerton's people."

Until quite recently, Quebec manufacturers didn't really need to rely on private police forces to help make sure workers saw things their way. For example, premier Maurice Duplessis was only too happy to put the Quebec Provincial Police at the disposal of companies. During the Lachute strike of 1947, 150 provincial police were sent in, clubs flailing, to help break the strike at the Ayers woolen mills after the Labor Relations Board conveniently deserted the union. At Asbestos in 1949, 100 provincial police were sent in immediately the strike began, and a savage struggle ensued — which the workers won. At the Louiseville strike in 1952, Duplessis' police went in armed with clubs, guns and tear gas bombs.

But Quebec, too, has its "security" companies that offer "special services."

When the Steelworkers tried to organize the 350 employees of Boa-Ski in July 1969, management called in the Canadian Federation of Independent Associations, and its "security" arm, United Business Security. Without union accreditation, CFIA head Lucien Tremblay called a meeting "to prepare the demands of the employees." Tremblay "explained the collective agreement that would be presented to management," the minutes of the meeting declare. A unanimous vote authorized him to negotiate. Tremblay did his negotiating with his friend Ubald Brunet of UBS, who had been made Boa-Ski's "director of personnel." Not surprisingly, they managed to agree.

Disillusioned, the workers voted to dissolve their CFIA union in December and went on strike. Boa-Ski locked them out. The workers were forced to accept the CFIA and go back to work.

Tremblay and Brunet had negotiated before, with similar results — Lord and Company, Victoria Precision Works and Canadian Structural Steel, where Judge Crowe of the Labor Relations Board ruled that "there is proof that the employer and the CFIA connived together, without even bothering to hide it, with the intention of dominating or preventing the formation of an employees' association."

But the strike Ubald Brunet is proudest of is the 1957 Murdochville struggle against Noranda Mines. "If the police can't protect us," he said during a strike 11 years later, "we'll take care of that ourselves. After all, I broke Murdochville with 1,700 guys..."

The "security" game is big business these days. It's very much part of the trend towards American controlled, multinational corporations. The largest firm in both the U.S. and Canada is Pinkerton's; next in line is Burns International Security Services, which operates in Canada

under the name SIS Protection Co. Each employs more than 30,000 men and women.

Wackenhut is in third place with some 10,000 nattily-uniformed guards. With 88 offices, it shows the flag in most states of the United States, in Brazil, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Columbia, Ecuador and Italy, as well as Canada. It was natural for Wackenhut to move first into Latin America, the historic scene of U.S.-dominated Banana republics. It's also natural that Wackenhut is now moving into fresher fields by opening a European office in Rome early this year, and its Canadian operation in August.

As is usual, Wackenhut did not have to start at the beginning in Canada. It looked around for some ripe pickings in this country, and came up with Anning Services, Trans-Canada Protection and Argus Protection and put them all together in one package.

Raymond Anning, as head of the new subsidiary, obviously sees nothing wrong in being U.S.-controlled. "Our having been acquired in no way jeopardizes the operations of Canadian business," he says. "There are now I think four companies that are American controlled. Pinkerton's is the oldest and no one has had any fault to find in their connection. There's been no adverse effect on Canadian industry or security."

It's not surprising the Canadian business, itself ripe for any U.S. offer, finds nothing wrong in American control and nothing wrong in "strike control" police. Workers are of another opinion, regardless of whether the security company is Canadian or American — the U.S. control just adds a further twist of the screw.

Ontario Liberal MPP George Ben is also of another opinion. He recently asked for a government regulatory body to make sure that security firms did not "become extensions of reactionary U.S. influence."

Ben said he was concerned that "the Wackenhut group appears to be in the business of acquiring control of such companies throughout North America and the implications are obvious. The possibility of the growth of private armies... is enough to give all thinking politicians concern."

He also raised another interesting angle. He wondered whether there is "widespread CIA and FBI infiltration of these agencies, or is there likely to be."

Raymond Anning denies the threat but admits the pervasive presence of ex-policemen. "The accusation about the FBI and the CIA is unfounded. There is no connection between Wackenhut and the Bureau. But it's true many of its members are ex-agents, the same as in Canada where many in the security field are former RCMP."

Wackenhut in the U.S. was, in fact, founded by and is run by former FBI agents. In Canada, a similar pattern holds true. Anning himself, now president of the new Canadian Wackenhut subsidiary, is former RCMP and Metro Toronto Police. Of the other two companies that sold out to Wackenhut along with Anning's, Argus owner John Forrest, now a vice-president of Wackenhut of Canada, served with the Ontario Provincial Police; Trans-Canada head Robert Cullen, now Wackenhut Secretary, served with the Peterborough Police.

It's a trend as common, and as alarming, as the easy passage, notably in the United States, between the Defence Dept. and the Private arms industries.

A good deal has been heard recently, of these private police forces, and a good deal is likely to continue to be heard. Whether anything will be done is a rather different question. When the strike-breaking leaflet of the Canadian Driver Pool Ltd. was brought out in the Ontario Legislature, Tory Labor Minister Gordon Carton said the thing was "abhorrent", and promised he would not let the matter rest.

The matter rests.