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game outside the hunting season, and they are seldom arrested as long as the meat is for their own use. In Labrador, however, the laws have been applied as harshly to Indians living in the bush as to whites with well-paying jobs.

The main controversy is over the hunting of caribou by the Indians of Northwest River. Caribou forms an important part of the diet of many Labradorians—Indian, Inuit and settler alike—as long as the herds are plentiful. There are several distinct herds, and over the past few

*Most families had to give up the migratory way of life and settle permanently in one of the villages.*

years the caribou have been plentiful in the north. But in the south the stocks have been low. The Wildlife Department have gone as far as to place a closure on the Mealy Mountain herd. This herd has never recovered from overhunting in the 1950's, not by Indians, but by Goose Bay residents (many of whom are reputed to have been service men). Hundreds of animals were slaughtered, and the meat left to rot. However, Indians feel that when they are trapping in the area they should have the right to kill for meat. They mistrust the government's methods of game management.

Over the past few years there have been so many encounters between Indians and Game Wardens that the Indians feel they are being harassed, and that the government's real aim is to make them give up going into the bush. They have been tracked by airplanes and helicopters. Some have had their guns confiscated while they were in the bush and left to return to the village by themselves.

One man was arrested for having shot a goose and bear while he and his group were on their way out of the bush in the spring. The group had run out of all other food supplies. His gun was confiscated and he was charged with hunting out of season, but after the case for his defense was prepared by a lawyer (the first time a Labrador Indian had legal advice in such a case), the

charges were dropped at the last moment.

At Northwest River there have been frequent police raids, with house to house searches for game meat. The issue finally came to a head two months ago when the Minister of Tourism for the province, Tom Hickey, was slated to meet a group of Indians at their camp in the Mealy Mountains. Instead of Hickey, police arrived and arrested the Indians and a Catholic priest who was living with the group in order to learn their language. Hickey stated that the group was "trying to set him up" by getting him into a camp where there was game

meat and making it look like he condoned their activities.

The affair backfired on Hickey, however, as soon afterwards the opposition Liberals passed a policy resolution to recognize in principle the concept of aboriginal rights and the right of native people to their own culture. Soon after this Hickey's own Conservatives passed a similar resolution. In subsequent talks with the Indians Hickey quietly backed down and agreed, not to recognize the Indians right to hunt, but to turn a blind eye to it.



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dollars in grants, tax-cuts, and cheap loans. Even its 40-acre Bridgewater plant site was donated.

Of the approximately \$125 million invested by Michelin, two-thirds can be traced back to one level or another of government. Of the roughly \$40 million remaining, how much represents cash and how much represents machinery is not known. It is known, however, that a substantial portion of the machinery in the Nova Scotia

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plants is second-hand equipment used previously in Michelin's European operations.

Despite the influx of multinationals, the "boom" period of the 1960's did not produce a "take-off" in the provincial economy. Instead a small industrial enclave emerged which had its very roots in the general underdevelopment and backwardness of the Maritime economy. It is now painfully clear that the expected development did not occur. In February, 1977, for example, real unemployment in Nova Scotia ran to 20% of the work force.

#### **Pictou County Mafia**

However, the emergence of this small group with its connection to international capital has had at least one unexpected consequence. Recent years have witnessed the growth of a powerful lobby that has come to be known as the "Pictou County Mafia". Gathering its members from amongst multinationals in the province, this power group has influenced considerably the course of labour relations in Nova Scotia.

Since 1972 the group has worked systematically in the courts and legislature to have the union certification process altered so as to make it more difficult for a union to be certified by the Labour Relations Board. In 1973 the Joint Labour Management Study Committee, an organization designed to facilitate co-operation between local management and labour is resolving conflicts between the two bodies, came close to collapse as a result of the group's activities.

Michelin management and policies have been central to both the lobbying and court actions that have affected the direction of labour relations set by local management and labour groups. The company's industrial relations practices have grown out of the long authoritarian tradition of Michelin's French operations. Family owned and controlled for the past 85 years, the company projects an image of moral strength, integrity and responsibility. It is also fiercely anti-union.

Michelin is explicit about unions with its new recruits. "Good companies don't need a union," they are told during the induction period. Moreover, there is not much in its industrial relations practices which serves to foster organization amongst its employees.

#### **Industrial Relations Practices**

Michelin selects its employees with care. Faced with a high application rate, the company can afford to pick and choose. It is assumed that by locating in an area where the work force is widely dispersed, with few industrial skills and facing a high unemployment economy, the workers who get hired are not likely to cause much difficulty. The fact that the company pays well and insists that each employee pass aptitude and personality tests lends the employee a sense of prestige and a feeling that the job is worth having.

Many Michelin employees express dissatisfaction and frustration with their work place. In part

this appears to result from a system Michelin has refined which removes all the standard means an individual has at her/his disposal to make meaningful her/his situation.

This system incorporates the following elements: undisclosed methods of promotion, advancement and transfer; minimal guidelines for specific jobs; no standard pay increases; and unpredictable demotions and dismissals. Add to these, such things as no titles for top manage-

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ment, restricted association among workers, no specific names to departments, various codes, few stated rules, lack of standard grievance procedures and an all-pervading security system, and you have a worker who is kept in the dark.

*This article is based on the "Round One" publication, The Five-Legged Sheep, Michelin Tire in Nova Scotia by Michael Belliveau and Barbara de Marsh, 1977.*

