

# 5200 march to support Dare Strikers

By PAUL CRAVEN

Kitchener, May 26th. More than five thousand workers and other supporters marched through the streets of Kitchener today showing their solidarity with striking workers at Dare Foods. Though the skies were grey and overcast, a spirit of militancy and excitement could be felt in the grounds of Victoria Park as busload after busload of unionists from all over the province arrived. The promise that had been made at the Kitchener rally of April 14 — that we would return, many thousands more, today — was fulfilled in the shape of more than two hundred Wafflers, unionists from dozens of Ontario locals, farmers, students, and other citizens.

The three largest unions in the province — Autoworkers, Steelworkers and CUPE — were very strongly represented, as were the Teamsters, U.E., S.E.U., Brewery Workers, and many more. Supporters came in numbers from all over the province: from Ottawa, Toronto, London, Sarnia, Hamilton, Brantford, Guelph, Windsor, Peterborough, Kitchener-Waterloo itself, and other towns and cities. Most of

those who came were aware that the strike was far from victory. We marched in protest against the tactics of the company and its professional strikebreakers, and against the repressive state which permits strikebreaking and backs it up with the courts and injunctions. The police, and almost unbelievably reactionary labour legislation. Indeed under provincial law the company can now apply to have the union local decertified, upon the vote of the scabs now in the plant.

The strike is a year old. It has movement in this province to come to the aid of the Dare workers; but now that support is evident, and growing. It began as a rank-and-file movement, spreading out throughout the province. The middle level union leadership became involved, and, following the demonstration by 1200 unionists on the streets of Kitchener last month, the pressure became so great as to overthrow the initial union leadership, and to bring in a new union leadership. The extent of involvement by the trade union movement demonstrated how wide-spread the growing

militancy and solidarity among organized workers in this province has become.

It was clear in the response to speakers at the rally that the workers of Ontario are increasingly committed to challenging the state, with its courts and police. Participants greeted the call for action at the political as well as at the industrial level. This demonstration was perhaps the first in a long series of actions that the organized workers in Ontario can be expected to develop, as their militancy and the urgency of their political demands increases in the months and years to come.

Following the march and the speeches, we adjourned to a hall provided by the Dare strikers for refreshment of body and spirit. Old labour and socialist songs rang out as old acquaintances were renewed and new ones covered. The mood of militancy that had characterized the day's events was not dissipated but increased by the time we left for home. The rally had sharpened our determination to carry on the fight against Dare through the nation-wide boycott, and to op-

pore strikebreaking and the provincial government's labour laws and practices. It had shown us

conclusively, in addition, that the labour movement in Ontario has begun to march again.

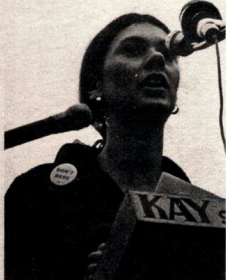


## BACKGROUND OF THE DARE STRIKE

344 members of local 173 United Brewery workers, in Kitchener Ontario have been on a legal strike against Dare Foods Ltd. since May 29, 1972. Some 75% of the striking union members are women.

This is now a battle for the survival of the union to ensure that employees get fair and just treatment from this anti-union employer.

Here is what Bev. Norris, one of the strikers has to say about the long fight.



Bev. Norris speaks to the Dare demonstration May 26 in Kitchener.

We went on strike on May 29th, 1972. Up until then we were bargaining for a new contract for about a month. We wanted a 40-hour work week, an 80c raise, and better working conditions. The company had even refused to clean our uniforms when they stunk so bad you couldn't get near them. They said it cost too much.

Dare finally offered us an increase of 55c for men and 48c for women over two years. The company refused to accept this ridiculous offer. We went on strike.

We had our pickets out morning, noon and night. Everything was going fine. Nobody broke any laws and no one gave us any trouble. A couple of days later Canadian Driver Pool came in to haul Dare's cookies from the plant. Now we were not only fighting the company but also Driver Pool, a firm of professional strikebreakers.

That's when the trouble started. The police came in and pushed our people out of the way while Driver Pool's trucks were crossing our legal picket line. Meanwhile, some strikebreakers were inside the plant taking pictures of our actions on the picket line for the company to use against us. It was the company that started it all by hiring Driver Pool.

Because we tried to block the scabs at the picket line we were handed an injunction by the Ontario Supreme Court. This did not restrict our pickets. It only meant that we could not harass anyone who went into the plant or try to stop trucks from entering or leaving the plant. What's wrong with harassing someone who's trying to take your job away?

After the injunction things were once

again quiet on the picket lines. At least the people on the picket lines were quiet. The company was busy provoking us by taking pictures, sending us letters and phoning people to come back to work.

A few weeks later violence broke out again because some picketers crossed the lines to scab for the company. The union got served with another injunction — this time more restricting.

The injunction stated that only four pickets were allowed at each of the four entrances. We were not allowed to interfere in any way with anyone or anything that went in or out of the plant. This gave the company a better chance to hire more scabs because people were not afraid to cross the lines.

This made us more angry and more militant. We decided to get a boycott going and we got the O.P.L. to support the boycott. Then we started to picket stores which handled Dare cookies. We picketed as much as we could. We are still doing this.

Then we started a button campaign. The O.P. offered to get buttons printed up for us — "Don't Dare". We also had bumper stickers made saying "I Don't Buy DARE COOKIES". As you can see we are fighting back in the best way we can, although the laws don't let us do very much.

I don't know if you have heard about the court cases against our people or not. There were seven who were charged with contempt of court for things such as smiling at scabs, attempting to bump, and yelling. The company calls this intimidation. But the company takes pictures, send us threatening letters, makes phone calls

saying this is your last chance to come back to work. Who is intimidating whom?

Six of our people were sentenced to jail. Lou Dautner, our International Representative — 60 days. Andrew Diamond, our Plant Chairman — 60 days. Paul Pugh, striker — 30 days. Wayne Zettler, striker — 10 days.

The charges against another striker, Pauline Breen, were dismissed. Three of these people are appealing their cases. If they go to jail we will fight even harder.

The bosses think we will weaken with our leaders gone. They are wrong! We won't give up no matter what happens. We will until the end.

Now that I have given you a brief history of the Dare strike, I hope you will realize the struggle we have on our hands. These anti-union firms such as Dare must be shown that they cannot abuse the right of workers. After 12 months on strike we are still boycotting Dare cookies and fighting in every way we can.

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# Brantford expressway fight enters sixth year

In the year 2006, the citizens of Brantford will at last be able to ride on their very own expressway! Of course, with the predicted energy crisis, they may not have very much fuel to use (perhaps they could be rationed to one ride per year) or the automobile may no longer be the most popular mode of transportation. But then they could always turn it into a public park (way) or possibly charge a admission to people to get to see one of the remnants of the "dinosaur age".

The story of how the people of Brantford were duped into believing enormous 100 piles of concrete and steel representing progress will certainly be worth seeing in those future years.

The Citizens Committee on the Brantford Expressway is trying to bring some common sense to those who would completely accept this future nightmare. That the city fathers would actually propose and plan such a monstrosity shows lack of foresight at the very least. At the worst it shows that developers will be profiting from the destruction of homes of working people and the elderly, and it shows white arrogance at its very worst in planning this road over land owned by the people of the Six Nations without any consultation!

On May 3rd, 1973, the consultants hired by the city of Brantford (Damas and Smith) brought forth their long-awaited Transportation Study for the citizens at a public meeting. To no one's surprise, their study urged the rapid completion of the Brantford Expressway No. 2, which THEY had earlier designed. The only alternative to completing the Expressway was a "do-nothing" approach which, according to

Mr. Smith, would result in chaos, noise and air pollution, and increased traffic congestion.

In fact, Mr. Smith neither presented nor had he seriously studied any real alternatives in terms of looking after Brantford's future transportation needs. Public transit systems were dismissed because they are too costly. (They create a deficit; expressways don't—they just cost money!) Mr. Smith admitted that the expressway was one of the terms of reference given to him for his study. So we are in the incredible situation of having "experts" tell us we need an expressway when in fact they have been told to incorporate it into their plans by our city authorities. Then when we argue against the expressway, the city "fathers" tell us the "experts" say we need it.

For three years now the Citizens Committee on the Brantford Expressway has been fighting to have a more sensible hearing on the Brantford Expressway. The city both approved and announced the Expressway scheme at the same time in 1968 without any public involvement of the people of Brantford in its planning or in looking at alternatives. The project will bisect our city (already cut in half by a natural barrier—the Grand River) and will have increased, dividing existing communities and neighbourhoods, pass within 38 feet of the front door of St. Joseph's Hospital, and provide all the noise and air pollution such facilities normally create. Then Brantford will have hit the big league.

The citizens of Brantford have been hampered (I'll recently) at all points from getting a public hearing. A. A. Kennedy, former chairman of the Ontario Municipal

Board, granted the Committee a full review in the fall of 1970. This was delayed and then the city and the province went to the Court of Appeals (spending \$27,000 in the process where Mr. Kennedy's ruling was overturned. The Citizens Committee then wrote to Premier William Davis many times asking to meet with him and with the Hon. Gordon Caron, Minister of Transportation and Communications to discuss the Expressway.

Finally in January of this year they were given the opportunity of meeting with Mr. Caron and several weeks later he announced that public meetings would be held (they are presently scheduled for June 4, 5, & 6) under the chairmanship of Dr. Earl Berger (himself a consultant attached to the provincial government).

It has been almost next to impossible for the Citizens Committee to get information on the expressway from City Hall—information that legally should be available to all citizens. (A pro-expressway committee has recently been formed under the chairmanship of an alderman on the expressway from City Hall—information that legally should be available to all citizens.) The public meeting on May 3rd on the Transportation Study appeared designed to persuade public opinion before the hearings that the Expressway is a necessity. The news media in Brantford have been pushing the pro-expressway position giving detailed coverage of the transportation study. They gave very little detail of the public meeting on the study where a large portion of the audience was opposed to the expressway and the people were very angry at the consultant's lack of positive alternatives to the expressway.

It is very interesting to study the route of this magnificent monstrosity—from a 100 acre land-bank assembly, through the heart of a working class community over Indian land, to a large regional shopping plaza to be completed in 1974. Obviously someone is going to profit handsomely from the Expressway.

Another interesting sideline is the manner in which the city is allowing property it has purchased for the route to deteriorate so badly that everyone else in the area is begging them to buy their house too thus lowering property values to allow them to buy out the poor for less. And where are these people moving to? Why to the suburbs now being developed in the northern part of the city? So the Citizens Committee must ask—does this gain for a few private developers and land speculators justify the economic cost for the majority of Brantford's citizens?

The premier of Ontario, William Davis, said, "We must place our reliance on means and methods other than those which will encourage and proliferate the use of the passenger car as the basic means of transportation" (Brantford Expressor, June 8, 1973). With the forecasts of a major energy crisis in the very near future, it is more important than ever to look at alternatives to the private automobile for transportation. The Citizens Committee hopes that the upcoming public hearings will seriously look at alternatives and will begin a pattern of people-involvement in the planning for their future.

Elfrieda Neumann

# A more realistic look at Canadian History Book Review

An Unauthorized History of the RCMP by Iorine and Caroline Brown

Until the October 1970 crisis most Canadians thought that Canada was one of the politically most free and open societies in the world. Secret early hour arrests without warrants with troops patrolling the streets in peacetime might occur in eastern European countries but not in Canada.

The Unauthorized History shows that the Canadian government in 1970 had ample precedent for such actions and that the RCMP which had been set up as a paramilitary organization was well indoctrinated and oriented to carry out such actions.

The Northwest Mounted Police was formed in 1873. The Force was most useful in securing the prairie land from the Indians, keeping them on reserves, and making the west safe for land speculators and the CPR robber barons. From the railroad building period in the 1880's and for the next 50 years the force was noted for activity in smashing strikes and curbing trade union activities. The newly formed provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta retained the NWMP as provincial police.

During the World War I period the force was used for breaking strikes, running down anti-conspicuousists (3,885 arrested in 1917), and enforcing the War Measures Act. The force gained much government support from breaking the Winnipeg General strike in 1919 and its authorized strength increased after this.

As early as the 1920's it was becoming clear that the RCMP (and particularly its Intelligence Branch) was becoming a menace to political liberty. Section 98 of the

Criminal Code (covering guilt by association) was described by Frank Scott as making "Canada one of the most repressive countries in the world." During the great depression of the 1930's the RCMP was heavily active secretly deporting non-Canadian-born "agitators" and "communists". RCMP informers were hired for labour camps. The image of the RCMP was permanently tarnished in the 1930's and the response to this was improved public relations in the World War II period and following.

The RCMP Quarterly particularly in the 1930's specialized in publishing right wing and racist propaganda. The June 1937 issue reported a speech by a Col. Eggardt to the Presbyterian Synod at Vancouver which included the time worn phrase, "Communism, part of a Jewish conspiracy..." One of the ironies of World War II was that the RCMP was at times forced to treat its old friends of the extreme right wing as enemies and the communists as friends.

The RCMP campaign against the left was renewed with great vigour in the late 1940's with the beginning of the cold war. The Gouzenko case of 1945 saw the arrest, detainment and questioning of 13 persons by authority of a secret Order-in-Council. The Korean War brought in a period of obsession with internal security. There occurred many thousands of secret security investigations by the RCMP which resulted in firings, demotions, and failures to gain promotion in the government service with the employees in the dark as to the reasons for their personal disasters.

In the 1960's the RCMP turned its attention from hunting communists to the harassment of the Peace Movement, U.S. draft dodgers and discontented farmers. RCMP spies were put on campuses and draft dodgers illegally deported. Apparently the RCMP continued its cooperation with extreme right wing groups notably the "Anti-Service" and the "Canadian Intelligence Service".

Habitual racist acts against natives by the RCMP since its inception are noted "...the instruments of racist oppression". The Fred Quid case, where an Indian in a drunken stupor was repeatedly kicked by a constable and so severely injured that he died, is outlined in detail. The "Muskego Affair" where one of four teenage Indian boys was shot to death in a Saskatchewan roadblock makes most interesting but horrifying reading. These cases illustrate the racism of, and the cover-up tactics used by the RCMP.

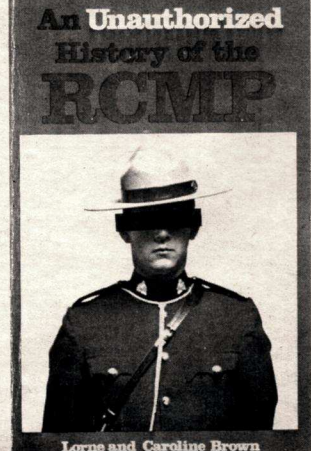
The Unauthorized History points out that, since the administration of justice is the constitutional respon-

sibility of the provinces, the provinces could maintain their own police, as Ontario and Quebec do instead of using the RCMP. The authors conclude "...all police forces are at best a necessary evil and... the RCMP may not even be necessary".

This history is a "Must" for left-wing Canadians. It should also be freely available on the library shelves of all secondary schools in Canada to round out the background material available to students.

Gavin McEwen

James Lewis & Samuel 88862-036-5 \$196  
The first book that separates fact from myth on the RCMP and its 100-year history



## CORRECTION

The Editors of the Waffle News wish to make it clear that the trains crossing the picket lines outside the strand Hershey Chocolate plant in Smith Falls were not run by members of the union brotherhood of Railway Trainmen as reported in the last issue of the Waffle News.

A formal apology for this embarrassing mistake has been sent to the CBRT and all local groups have been made aware of the error.



# WAFFLE NEWS ARCTIC SUPPLEMENT

SUPPLEMENT

JUNE 1973

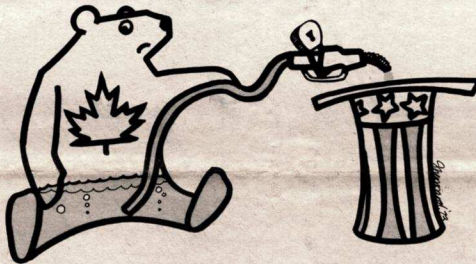
## US ENERGY CRISIS SPILLS OVER

The authors of the recent Deutsch Report on energy for the Ontario Government talk about how the U.S. energy crisis "spills over" into Canada. They could not be more right, and the future promises lots more of the same.

Since President Nixon relaxed American oil import quotas Canadian exports have jumped dramatically from under 400,000 barrels/day to 1,200,000 barrels/day. This represents nearly 60% of total Canadian oil production. That is presumably what the continental energy deal — which we have no intention of entering into according to the Trudeau government — is really all about. We also export about 50% of our natural gas. Despite this high out-flow of gas and oil to the United States, relative to Canadian supplies, the huge size of the American market is such that its dependence on Canadian imports — except from a "security" point of view — is minimal. Even the most optimistic forecasts do not presume that any more than 10% of the oil and gas consumed in the U.S. at any time will be Canadian.

Therefore, while playing a strategic but relatively minor role, Canada watches the life index of her oil and gas reserves diminish. The life index indicates how many years current recoverable reserves will last at the present rate of use. A National Energy Board (NEB) report published in December, 1972 stated that "production of oil from all sources in Canada will not be able to supply the potential export and domestic market demand after 1973".

In the face of this realization the response has been to accelerate the pressure to develop frontier areas, and the off shore reserves of the Atlantic Provinces, especially the Arctic. Consequently, we find in the same NEB report unrealistic predictions of large quantities of oil flowing from the Mackenzie Delta by 1980 when to date the only substantial discovery of oil in the whole North occurred five years ago



at Alaska's Prudhoe Bay!

Accompanying the increase in exports has been the decline of estimated reserves of oil and natural gas over the past three years. This admission is from a report of the Canadian Petroleum Association. In other words the rate of production has started to outstrip the rate of discovery.

The deficiency of the United States in oil and gas will probably lead them to turn their attention towards other fuels. It is likely that environmental safeguards will be postponed in order to facilitate

the use of "dirtier" fuels such as coal. Over the short run then, Canadian coal deposits could very well be coveted.

Of even greater significance, over the long run, will be the development of nuclear and breeder reactors. The major fissionable fuel necessary for these processes is uranium. Outside the Communist bloc, Canada ranks second, behind the U.S., in uranium production. As oil and gas supplies become even more scarce the United States will want to import increasing quantities of Canadian uranium. Alternatively, it may finance massive hydro-electric developments to produce enriched uranium. McGill University economist Kari Levitt suspects that this may be what the James Bay project is really all about.

Where will it end? When the U.S. decides to harness solar energy, will we find that IT&T has a 99-year lease on the sun?

It's time for a change. The United States, with 6 percent of the world's population, cannot continue to consume one-third of the world's resources, and Canada should not help it to do so. The Science Council of Canada puts it this way: "Canadians as individuals, and their governments, institutions and industries, should begin the transition from a consumer society preoccupied with resource exploitation to a consumer society engaged in more constructive endeavours."

Clearly it is only in the setting of an independent socialist Canada that such issues can be resolved.

## 10 years research needed on ecology

If potential disaster is to be avoided, we need at least a decade of intensified ecological research before we begin "rational" exploitation of northern resources.

That is the view of leading environmental scientists who last year participated in the **Workshop on People Resources and the Environment North of 60**, a forum dealing with the impact of the current forced pace of northern development on the Arctic environment. And yet we have this eagerness of the federal government to build gas and oil pipelines and a highway down the Mackenzie Valley corridor.

What best illustrates the government's approach is the manner of the Prime Minister's April 72 announcement on the Mackenzie consultation whatsoever with the Department of the Environment. Scarcely any environmental impact studies had been made; work had not even been completed on surveying the right of way nor of determining the source of construction materials to be used. In fact, a 25 mile section of the road, common to the Dempster Highway and built the previous winter, melted

away with the spring thaw. The shoddiness of the entire operation leaves little room for hope that pipeline construction would be approached in a responsible fashion.

In defending their environmental records, government and industry have pointed to the increased level of research activity over the last two years. Given the minimal ecological effort in the past decade, however, it is simply not possible now to assess the impact of development activity in time, especially when vastly greater sums are being expended on oil and gas exploration. Even now there is only a minimal effort in such critical areas as the Beaufort Sea, where a wide variety of birds and mammals are found and where oil exploration is proceeding at an accelerated rate.

The principal defence offered by the government in pressing the Mackenzie pipeline route in opposition to an Alaska pipeline is the expectation of oil spills down the British Columbia coast. This concern, however, is scarcely justification for risking disaster in the Mackenzie corridor, where dangers are potentially, even greater. In fact, the government's po-

sition is motivated much more by a misguided policy for resource development than by environmental concerns.

Present knowledge of Arctic ecosystems is simply too limited to permit informed prediction as to the results of resource development.

The Arctic region is much more vulnerable than southern Canada to environmental damage.

In assessing potential impact of southern technology on the north, an especially acute problem is the susceptibility to land erosion. Any break in the surface layer of the permafrost, such as may result from seismic lines, vehicle trails, or even local heat from buildings, can spoil the surface vegetative insulation and lead to melting and slumping of the subsoil, with years of progressive erosion. In one instance, a foot deep trench dug to protect Inuvik from a forest fire has progressed to a twelve foot deep, fifty foot-wide gully which continues to expand. This sort of destruction in turn can lead to a greatly increased silt load of major waterways; access roads, in particular (continued on page 4)

Movement  
For an  
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Socialist  
Canada

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ONTARIO

# Playing for oil, gas and jobs

In the oil and gas business the hunt for more is called a "play". One of the really big plays is going on right now in the Canadian Arctic. Considerable gas has already been found in the Mackenzie Delta, enough when combined with Alaska gas from Prudhoe Bay to have created a frenzy of interest in a gas pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley Corridor to serve American markets. Since the American courts have so far blocked the building of the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline to remove Prudhoe Bay oil, the result has been to create the possibility of an oil pipeline as well down the Mackenzie Corridor.

Americans stand to benefit from these projects — but will Canadians? The answer is that direct benefits are small, while indirectly mechanisms of de-industrialization are set in motion which promise to put working people in a distinctly worse position.

Exploring for oil and gas and bringing it to well-head creates few jobs directly. Building pipelines creates some jobs, but on a one-shot basis. And if direct employment is small in general, it is even less for the native people — usually in the low-paying jobs. For instance, during the construction of the Pointed Mountain Pipeline, only 30 native people were employed for a maximum of three months, while 320 workers were brought in from the South. In 1970, after the Federal government had invested \$9 million in the Panarctic company, it had employed only 6 natives at \$1.75 an hour.

Tax revenues, which might potentially be used to encourage industrialization, will be slight. Oil and gas companies don't pay corporate income taxes, except in theory, and royalties have been set particularly low in the North West Territories — at between 5% and 10%, compared to 16.7% in Alberta and 20-22% in Alaska — to encourage exploration for high cost gas

and oil.

The first potential de-industrialization effect arises with respect to the financing of the pipeline. The proposed gas pipeline will partly be financed inside Canada, to that extent it will take capital away from manufacturing and limit potential jobs in that sector. It will partly be financed by importing capital and, therefore, will drive up the value of the Canadian dollar on the foreign exchanges. That, in turn, increases the cost of ex-

ports, decreases the cost of imports, and by both routes destroys jobs. To offset this latter effect, capital imports would have to be fully offset by importing pipe, etc. The pipeline consortium now appreciates this point and argues that this is what will be done. Of course, to the extent that goods are imported for the favourable effects on employment which the consortium constantly cites, are reduced.

Now the ultimate raison d'être for all this develop-

ment is the voracious U.S. appetite for oil and gas. The Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline is primarily intended to carry Prudhoe Bay gas but Mackenzie Delta gas can be piggybacked. At least 95% of the gas will initially go to the U.S. This alienation of Canadian resources for the U.S. market cannot have any other long-run effect than to raise energy costs in Canada. The American industrial base is strengthened, while Canada's industrial potential is eroded. This is

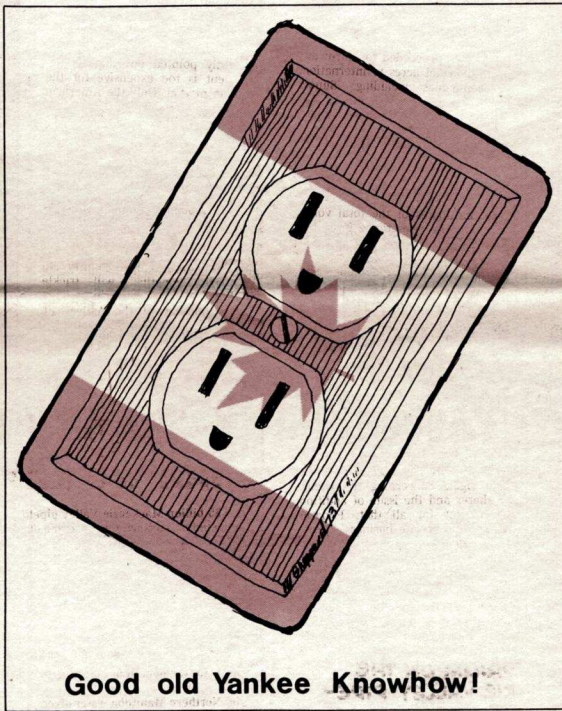
a second, and potent, de-industrialization effect. (In Ontario even the Davis government is worried and they don't worry easily.)

There is another de-industrialization effect that grows out of the export of Canadian oil and gas to the U.S. The oil and gas embodiments little Canadian labour, but its importation by the United States encourages the latter, given its serious trade problems, to insist that Canada buy back manufactured goods which embody relatively more labour. The result is then the destruction of jobs in Canada and, this third de-industrialization mechanism may be very much in evidence in Canada in the balance of this decade.

Finally, resource development in this country tends to become a mania, absorbing energies in a cumulative fashion, and reducing our capacity to consider alternatives. In the contemporary context, that means never getting around to working out an industrial strategy, and thereby not achieving our potential for industrial growth for more jobs and more diversified employment opportunities. Instead we have the Donald Macdonalds who think that the only way to create jobs is to give free rein to the multinational corporations — indeed, to bribe them the better to rape us. This fourth de-industrialization effect, this imposition of binders, is ultimately the most powerful of all.

It's clear that a lot of people — in fact, the great majority of Canadians — have little to gain and much to lose from resource projects like the Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline. For the working people of this country, what is at issue are their jobs and future livelihood.

Indeed, how long can Canada itself survive as a sovereign nation if we're really prepared to build a present-day version of the Panama Canal?



**Good old Yankee Knowhow!**

## 10 years

(continued from page 3)

cular, are known to contribute heavily to the slation process. As a result, gravel beds are filled in and spawning grounds disrupted.

Such scarring can be expected to occur on a large scale if the Mackenzie highway is allowed to proceed. Construction will require some 320 million cubic yards of gravel, ex-

traction of which could have serious effects on the valley environment.

An oil pipeline poses special dangers. The oil is hot. Any melting of the permafrost could lead to sagging of the subsoil, and buckling of the line, with disastrous results. One senior Wildlife Official has stated that "one pipeline break could cover the Mackenzie Delta with a layer of black crude oil that could never be removed."

Even without cracks in the pipeline,

major oil spills can be expected in northern operations, if the oil industry's sloppy record is any indication. Drilling off the Alaska coast has resulted in a spill every week or so; in Canadian territory, Panarctic, a supposedly government controlled operation, has managed two blowouts, one of which was not controlled for over a year. Fortunately they were gas wells — had they been oil, the results would have been devastating. Given the increasing pace of explora-

tion in the Mackenzie Delta, Arctic Island, and Beaufort Sea, the potential for an unprecedented disaster is real.

It is for reasons such as these that an increasing number of Canadian environmentalists and conservationists are calling for a moratorium on Arctic development. The original people of the Arctic have survived because of their respect for their fragile environment. It is folly to risk irreparable ecological damage for quick-buck development.



# Native rights - past and future

## THE LIBERAL POSITION

The Minister of Northern Development, Jean Chrétien, states his willingness to discuss the settlement of treaties. He recognizes the fact that information and study are necessary to solve "Northern Problems". Yet he does not accept the need for a freeze on development until land rights are settled.

When does his or Trudeau's government see the native northerners' "problems" being solved? After the take-over by southerners, and the destruction are accepted as status quo? That implies no land settlement in any meaningful sense of that term, but instead a situation in which native people will have lost all linkages, not only to culture, but to a basic and viable means of support. The paternalistic treatment of native people has meant a saturation of outside ideas and interests which has robbed them of the basic right to survive as a people.

How to discuss development issues in a northland which many still consider an uninhabited region at the disposal of whomever? What priority to place on several thousand native peoples who live and have lived in the north for so many centuries that they, at least, can't possibly remember having "discovered", "explored" and "taken over" a "new" world?

There is an anthropological context to northern development which has received no consideration. More immediate is a technological situation in which no one has more to lose than a people whose traditional livelihood, not to mention culture, is dependent on a land and species which mean nothing to the resource developers of the south.

## JOIN THE STRUGGLE

The forces pushing for the Mackenzie Corridor development are huge. Jim Laxer calls Canadian Arctic Gas Study "the most powerful array of corporate and state power ever gathered on behalf of any project in this country's history". The Trudeau Government is more than ready to sell out.

But the project can be stopped... If enough public pressure is brought to bear on the government.

The pipeline cannot be started without prior approval for the export of gas to the U.S. by the National Energy Board and the federal cabinet. NEB hearings are now expected to start this fall and last for up to a year.

The Waffle is committed to:

- organizing public meetings across the province
- supporting the moratorium and working with other groups that support it
- demonstrating to Ontario workers that resource developments of this type promise to de-industrialize Ontario
- preparing a submission to the NEB
- presenting the socialist alternative

Join us in this Struggle

The federal government has made it clear that aboriginal rights will no longer be recognized. In law, aboriginal rights are those property rights which recognize the original use and occupancy of lands by the native peoples of this country. (Property rights have always been recognized by English and Canadian law, the theory having been originated in the 17th century by Great Britain Spain and the Netherlands. It meant that though the "discovering nation" had rights to govern, the native peoples retained property rights to the discovered land. Rights which, by the way, could only be surrendered to the Crown, either by purchase or conquest.)

The theory of aboriginal rights in Canada is embodied in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which created a "reserved area" for Indian hunting ground where white settlement was proscribed. As pressures increased the Proclamation provided that these Indian lands could be sold, but only to the Crown. This led to treaties with the Indians, meaning that the government recognized these rights if only to gain access to the lands which had been accepted as native peoples territory. The government paid the Indians to forego and surrender rights to territories which they claimed through aboriginal rights.

However at the present time, a large number of native people (particularly the Metis and Eskimos) have not been treated with. Indians living in the Mackenzie Valley are covered by Treaties 8 and 11, signed in 1899 and 1921. They guarantee that a native family of five has rights to one square mile of land if they choose the reservation and 160 acres to each Indian living off the reserve. These treaties have never been honored.

Aboriginal rights are not created by treaties; rather, treaties are recognition that aboriginal rights do exist. So non-treaty status Indians,

the Metis and the Inuit (Eskimos) still have valid claims based upon the law of aboriginal rights.

Apart from this, native peoples who have rights to much northern land were never consulted about northern development. Oil and gas exploration permits were granted over protest in areas such as Banks Island where the Inuit has crucial and delicate trappings rights granted to them some time back by the Northwest Territories Council.

A report by Peter Usher, ex-researcher with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, noted that Bankslanders were outraged when they discovered the government has granted exploratory permits on the land over which they held exclusive trapping rights. The report deplores the government's "consultation" process, which in fact: "informs people of pre-existing plans and suggests ways in which they could adapt to them".

Government-chartered planes hop from settlement to settlement giving brief, fancy presentations on the advantages of a particular program (often giving only half the truth about it) and then flying off before the native people have a chance to discuss or react to the plan. These propaganda campaigns, under the guise of "consult with, inform and educate" are becoming more and more unacceptable to native people.

The government has played down the conflict with the Bankslanders and attributed the situation the problem only too clearly and that the

Department discovered that "the existence of explanation, persuasion, and showing of color films by the Department".

As the National Indian Brotherhood has said: "the victims of mistakes will be the native people who depend on the land for life". And since they surely know the land best, they should be the first ones consulted in planning for northern development.

The Indian Brotherhood in the N.W.T. has called for a land freeze and a halt to Mackenzie Valley construction while the native peoples research treaties and formulate their claims.

Brotherhood president James Wah-Shee says "We have not surrendered the land yet - it is ours until we are compensated in land, cash, and mineral royalties".

Land study and treaty research will continue for the next year and a half, at which time the native people will take their case to the Federal Government and perhaps the Supreme Court.

It is ironic that a few years ago, before there was interest in exploiting the resource riches of the North, no one in the south really cared about the land. Aboriginal rights was an uncontroversial and even irrelevant issue to southerners. And the native peoples assumed, as they had always assumed, that the land was unquestionably theirs.

Are we instead going to see just another conquest of a people's native land by alien business interests - and aided and abetted by the state which is supposed to be representing the people?

## The Socialist Alternative

"This is an issue which affects all Canadians and to which the only solution is a socialist one - of national resource planning under public ownership, of full recognition of native aboriginal rights, of community control and work-place control of decision-making and of a healthy and clean environment to which all Canadians are entitled."

Resolution passed by Ontario Waffle Provincial Council, March 31/  
April 1, 1973

## The Arctic Supplement

This supplement was prepared by Pat Deutscher, Lawrence Fast, Linda McKeil, Joey Noble, Jane Pascucci, Ellie Prepas, Murray Randall, David Suarez, Tom Sheppard and Mel Watkins under the auspices of the Toronto-Waffle Arctic Research Committee. For more information write 541 Arlington Ave '3, Toronto.

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RT. HON. PIERRE TRUDEAU,  
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA,  
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS,  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO,  
CANADA.

# Difester in 1975

May Day has traditionally meant for socialists and progressive trade unionists the world over a day of celebration and remembrance for the international solidarity of the working class. This year, the East Metro Waffle decided to host a May Day meeting and social, with the theme "The Right to Strike and the Survival of the Labourer." For the Waffle strike is itself under attack from many fronts. The reactionary labour legislation of this province itself severely limits, and in many cases absolutely outlawed, the use of the strike weapon, while in the United States, the United Steelworkers, under the infamous leadership of I. W. Abel, have agreed to suspend strikes for a period of at least five years.

Two hundred trade unionists and Wafflers came to the Teamsters' Hall in Toronto this May Day to reaffirm their belief that the right to strike is the essential backbone of the organized labour movement and of socialist labour strat-

egy. Al Campbell, SEIU organizer and London Waffler, led off with a speech which emphasized the history of May Day and the importance of the tradition which that day of solidarity symbolizes. Bev Norris, currently on strike at Dare Foods in Kitchener, spoke on that strike and its importance for the labour movement. For she said, are the use of court injunctions and professional strikebreakers to render the strike weapon ineffective, and the threat of deportation and the death of that particular local. She made a strong appeal to trade unionists across the province to come to Kitchener on May 26, ten thousand strong, to demonstrate the solidarity of the Ontario labour movement in its support for the Dare strike. Kent Rowley of the Canadian Council of Unions gave a stirring speech based on his own long experience in the labour movement, calling for a socialist labour strategy to combat the efforts of the state to break strikes and smash the

labour movement. Cec Taylor of Local 1005 of the Steelworkers in Hamilton voiced his disgust with the no-strike agreement accepted by the American branch of his union, and called on Canadian workers to retain the indispensable right to strike. Historian Leo Johnson called on those present at the meeting to pledge themselves to solidarity in the true tradition of May Day.

The international implications of the First of May were not forgotten. Spyros Draneos, a speaker from the Pan-Hellenic liberation movement, spoke movingly of the repression of the labour and socialist movements by the fascist military dictatorship in Greece. Angelo Principe, the President of ADI, reminded the gathering of the thousands of immigrant Italian workers in Toronto, and spoke of their role in building a socialist labour movement. The meeting voted unanimously to send a telegram to the CNTU, the FTQ and the CSN, the three Quebec labour organizations which formed the Common

Front, pledging solidarity with their struggles and calling for the immediate release of their three leaders, who at that date were still in Quebec jails for disobeying an anti-labour injunction. The meeting closed with all present rising to sing together Solidarity Forever.

Then the bar was opened, and the more festive and celebrative part of the evening began. As enormous quantities of beer and sandwiches were consumed, small groups of unionists and Wafflers formed and discussed in the spirit of the evening the issues that had been presented. Songs were sung, as some of those present displayed unsuspected talents in music. By the time the evening drew to a close, all present had committed themselves to a reunion in Kitchener on May 26, to put into practice some of the feeling of solidarity that had been expressed. And we pledged ourselves, too, to a further reunion, next May Day — but next May Day we will be thousands strong.

Paul Craven

## Crucial Agricultural - Political

### Resume of Part I

Rural Canada is in a state of crisis. Rapidly rising farm costs combined with relatively static farm prices are shutting down 20,000 farms every year. The Canadian farmer is too inefficient. The multinational corporations which control the food market are unable to optimize their profits in a surplus economy. As a consequence the government has attempted to switch consumer demand from low-profit natural foods to high-profit "gimmick foods" by this market-oriented strategy. The farmers and the consumers are both so far organized and therefore unable to light back.

Farmers have attempted to organize as far back as 1874 when the Grange was imported from the USA. The individualism and conservatism of many of the farmers and the organizational rivalries has made organizing difficult. Counter-structures such as co-operatives and credit unions have been successful in pressuring governments into establishing marketing boards but these have, in the long run, been hamstrung by governments favourable to agribusiness. Here Sieve Paulsson of Ottawa continues the analysis of Canadian agriculture which he began last issue.

The Ontario Milk Act establishes the Ontario Milk Commission, a three-man cabinet-appointed body, and gives it control over the dairy industry, including the power to create marketing boards, delegate powers to them and withdraw those powers, and override any decision of a marketing board. Thus the OMMB (one of two marketing boards under the OMC) is a powerful instrument which the government not noted to say the least/ for its tough line on big business.

In practice, there is little need for the OMC to use its veto power let alone the more drastic means available to it, since a price ceiling on milk is imposed by the fact that a small group of distributors completely dominates the market in which processors must sell.

The leader of this group is Kraftco, the world's largest dairy firm. Kraftco is larger than such well-known industrial giants as General Motors and has more assets than the company with its subsidiaries processes about one quarter of Ontario's industrial milk, and accounts for three-quarters of the distribution of milk products in the province, by obtaining additional supplies through contracts with smaller processors and through imports. The major processors also exert influence on milk prices through one-third membership on the Advisory Committees on Milk and Cheese, which the OMMB is required to consult before making decisions on price increases.

Of greater importance than price control in the Ontario system is the implementation of "orderly marketing" through the quota system. Under the quota system, producers and processors are licensed by the OMMB and hold quotas, based on their share of the milk market in 1965, which determine how much milk they are entitled to produce or process.

The two major weaknesses of the quota system as implemented by the OMMB are that the quotas are transferable, and thus themselves become marketable commodities, and

that certain "specialty" items (such as Colby cheese) are quota-exempt. Thus the large processors and producers can increase their production by buying into the quota of smaller participants, who are thus in effect given a cash subsidy to shut down; in addition, large processors who monopolize the production of specialty items, can circumvent quota restrictions, while smaller plants have to shut down for part of the year for lack of milk to process.

The effects of this quota policy have been dramatic: of 51,000 dairy farmers in 1965, 19,000 left the industry by 1972, and 32,000 dairy cows, only 42 were left in 1971, and the milk surplus of 1965 has been turned into a shortage.

In the meantime, the control of the agribusiness multinationals has increased inexorably. In Ontario dairies purchased by Beatrice Foods, the third-largest after Kraftco, or Borden's dairy processor in the U.S., and Kraftco building a new plant at Ingleside, Ont., with the help of a \$250,000 interest-free forgivable loan from the same government which controls the OMMB.

### The National Farmers' Union and the Kraft Boycott

The National Farmers' Union was formed in 1969 by uniting the provincial farmers' unions; its objectives were to gain collective bargaining rights for farmers and to form alliances with labour and with consumers to exert pressure against corporate power at all companies. It has been successful in uniting farm organizations such as the Canadian Federation of Agriculture by a policy of direct membership restricted to farmers and the families of the CFA's member organizations including the OMMB and the National Dairy Council (see page 22b), and by a consistency high level of militancy.

In its four years of existence, the NFU has grown into the largest direct-membership farmers' organization, and has organized some 10% of the nation's rural population.

The NFU has gained some major victories recently, winning a referendum among P.E.I. potato growers which opens the way to collective bargaining, and the Ontario Milk Commission endorsement of the principle of collective bargaining from the federal minister of Agriculture and three provincial governments.

In Ontario, the NFU has been consistently critical of the OMMB and has pressed for direct negotiation with processors over prices and conditions of sale. An important basis for this is the NFU's determination with respect to the importation of milk for processing, and talks have been held with Borden's. But the NFU has remained intransigent, refusing even to meet with NFU representatives.

In the summer of 1971, the NFU held a mass meeting and picketed Kraft's Ingleside plant to pressure for a price increase for industrial milk and protest against the Ontario

governments aid to Kraftco while farm-owned co-operative cheese plants were facing bankruptcy.

After milk-truck drivers refused to cross the NFU's picket line, despite threats from the OMMB's field man, the OMMB at first allowed milk to be diverted to local plants, but the OMMB withdrew after pressure from the OMC and Kraftco changed its mind and ordered the milk to be delivered to the OMMB. The OMMB then withdrew the Labatt-Brascan conglomerate, meanwhile initiating action to obtain an injunction against the NFU.

This event was a clear demonstration of where the OMC-OMMB sympathies lay and in its wake the farmers involved in the Ingleside action resolved to press for collective bargaining rights. As a result of these events, the NFU initiated a boycott against Kraft products.

### The Kraft Boycott

Although hampered by financial troubles and loss of membership through rural depopulation, the NFU has continued to pursue the boycott. Urban support groups now exist in many cities, and actions such as food giveaways and informational picketing of supermarkets have made many thousands of consumers aware of the boycott.

The Ottawa boycott committee estimates that it has now reached some 70% of the city's consumers through leaflets and direct contact; the response has been overwhelmingly favourable.

The best indication that the boycott is having its effect is that Kraftco, which has long refused to debate the boycott or even acknowledge its existence, has now been moved to announce it as "unlawful, illegal, and un-Canadian," a paraphrase of Ronald Reagan's description of the California grape boycott. Some other signs of success: many university boycott committees have succeeded in removing Kraft products from their caterers and vending machines; Steinberg's has been induced to switch its house brand from Kraft to Black (Diamond, name, manpower, and expressions used without authority); and demand from non-labour unions (although the CLC and OFL bureaucracies steadfastly refuse to acknowledge the boycott); the FMCA has been persuaded to withdraw from a projected Kraft advertising campaign which would have urged consumers to save Kraft candy bags to send young children to OMC's YMCA summer camps.

The Kraft boycott is at present the only action which attempts to build an urban-rural alliance against the agribusiness interests which exploit farmers, workers, and consumers alike.

In addition, the boycott is a vehicle for bringing to the attention of urban Canadians the dimensions of the rural crisis. Forty percent of Canada's Gross National Product is con-

tributed by the agricultural sector and its ancillary industries.

The future of two million farm people and of countless working people in small towns and agricultural industries depends on the outcome of the agribusiness power play. Thus it is imperative for socialists to express solidarity with rural Canada by actively supporting actions like the Kraft boycott to the fullest possible extent, and to develop an understanding and analysis of the issues involved.

The rural crisis is not a secondary issue for Canada, but one which is central to the struggle for independence and socialism.

Second of two parts — Sieve Paulsson

## Publications

New this month: Farming and manufacturing in eastern Ontario — 5,000 word study available for 50 cents each from Ottawa Waffle, Box 4291 Station E Ottawa.

Programme for Ontario trade unionists — Waffle Labour Committee Ontario Federation of Labour Convention 1971 — 25 cents

Canadian Resources — a supplement prepared by Wafflers and published in Last Post — 10 cents

The Wage Manifesto for an Independent Canada — Industry — (on the Canada-U.S. auto pact) — James Laxer Last Post 1971 — 10 cents

The Wage Manifesto for an Independent Socialist Canada — 25 cents

The Waffle, Canadian Independence, socialism, and culture — two talks by John Smart and Robin Mathews given at Ottawa Waffle Educational Centre, 1972 — 50 cents

Papers on building the Waffle — Bramford workshop, December 1972 — 50 cents

Waffle Bookstore — The Waffle maintains for sale a library of books on Canadian independence and socialism. Current titles in stock include: The Education of James Gordon to Watkins to You, Silent Surrender, Close the 49th Parallel, Etc.

Bumper stickers — 50 cents each 25 cents to Waffle groups in bulk AVAILABLE FROM: Ontario Waffle, P.O. Box 339, Station E, Toronto.

**SAVE EARTH  
STOP THE PIPELINE**

# WAFFLE CALENDAR

## JUNE - JULY 1973

June 23-24  
Provincial  
Education

"The nature of the state and socialist strategies for change"

at Glendon College  
York University Toronto

1. The educational is open only to Waffle members and to individuals specifically invited by local Waffle groups. Registration cost will be \$5.00.

2. Glendon College is at Lawrence and Bayview in Toronto. Take Bayview south of the 401 to Lawrence and watch for signs.

3. To pre-register send \$5.00 and your name and address to

Julia Bass  
2 Sultan St. 201  
Tel. 964-1416

You will receive an advance reading list, copies of any papers submitted before hand and information on billets and day care.

July 14-15

5. Waffle members are invited to submit papers before hand which they wish discussed at the seminar. You can submit a short precis of a longer paper instead if you wish.

June 26-27

"Public ownership of energy resources - Stop the Mackenzie Valley pipeline" Public rally and workshops sponsored by Toronto Waffle, Rally Tuesday June 26 - Speakers include Doris Jantzi, Jim Laxer, John Richards MLA, Mel Watkins.  
Workshops Wed. June 27 on - native people's rights - ecology - public ownership of energy resources - Mackenzie Valley pipeline - James Bay project

Time and place (both nights)  
7.30 p.m.

252 Bloor St. West Toronto  
(St George subway stop)

For: information: 698-5163 or 630-2158

Waffle Council meeting (details to be announced by mail)

## Resources and deindustrialization in Ottawa

The Ottawa Waffle sponsored a successful series of three public meetings on resources and de-industrialization during April. On April 3, 150 people heard Boyce Richardson on the James Bay project and viewed his film on the same subject "Job's Garden".

On April 17, Sam Raddi of Inuvik and Dr. Peter Usher of Parrelton, Quebec spoke on the Mackenzie Valley project. Raddi, president of the Committee on Original People's Entitlement (a Mackenzie valley native people's organization) spoke on the environmental costs of the project. The attitudes of the federal government and the oil companies were examined critically by Dr. Usher, a former researcher with the federal government.

On April 24 the final meeting featured James Laxer of Toronto on de-industrialization. Marilyn Hindmarch of Ottawa gave the results of a local Waffle study on farming and manufacturing in eastern Ontario. Geoffrey Ursell of Winnipeg, a Moose Jaw sang his songs of independence and socialism.

Attendance at the three meetings was 350 and 40 new people signed up on the Waffle mailing list. John Smart

## The Political Economy of Canada

The Toronto Waffle Course on the Political Economy of Canada was such a success that an edited version of the lectures is being published by McClelland and Stewart. It will be available in September and the response to advance publicity indicates that it will be a best-seller.

For twelve weeks this winter and spring the Waffle course was the event to attend on Sunday nights in Toronto. Lectures covered such topics as: class divisions, the history of capital in Canada, trade unions, women, Quebec, the government and the state, resources, manufacturing in Ontario, socialist movements in Canada, contradictions and alternatives in Canada's future.

312 people signed up for the whole course and at least another 40 bought single tickets each night. Attendance on a single night never dropped below 250.

On a questionnaire distributed on the final night of the course, 27% of respondents rated the course as excellent and another 66% said it was good. 71% rated

the discussion groups as interesting or stimulating.

The questionnaire provided many thoughtful comments on how to improve and after the content of future courses. Typical of comments from non-Wafflers were:

"Educational and thought provoking for a person beginning to question our value system"

"Provided background necessary to combat stereotypes of socialism"

"It helped clarify my feelings and attitudes in defining socialism"

"Enjoyed this very thought provoking series"

The best indication of audience reaction to the course is that 77% intend to come to future series of this type.

One third of respondents were Wafflers and it is estimated that over 50 new members joined as a direct result of exposure to the course.

The course was also a success financially, leaving the committee with a

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THUNDER BAY  
Harvey Lintsky  
459 Tupper St.  
344-9548

surplus. This money will be used to start up the next course which is already being planned for the fall of 1973.

Ralph Cook

## WAFFLE ORGANIZER

Wanted by the Ontario Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada:

a full time provincial organizer for a trial period of three months beginning in July 1973. Salary \$100 per week plus expenses.

To be directly responsible to the provincial executive and to work closely with the Organisation and Membership Committee in co-ordinating a drive for new memberships in the local groups that already exist (emphasis on those groups outside Toronto and Ottawa).

The organizer would work with individual Wafflers in centers where formal groups do not exist in order to bring new groups into existence and also, relate to the Resources and De-Industrialization Campaign in the building and sustaining of local groups and the growth of a membership.

Any member of the Waffle, no matter where he or she lives is eligible.

Applications should be sent in writing to:

The Secretariat,  
Ontario Waffle,  
P.O. Box 339,  
Station E, Toronto, Ont.  
Competition closes July 5, 1973.  
Interviews will be held July 8 in Toronto.

ONTARIO WAFFLE  
Box 339, Station 'E'  
Toronto, Ontario

ONTARIO WAFFLE NEWS  
Box 4291 Station 'E'  
Ottawa, Ontario

I wish to apply for membership in the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada. Minimum Fees (\$5 for Income Earners and University Students; \$1 for non-income earners) include subscription to Waffle News. Applications must be approved by the local Waffle group where one exists.

I wish to subscribe to Waffle News at \$3.00 for 12 issues.

I wish to donate to the Ontario Waffle or to the Ontario Waffle News.

Name .....

Address .....

Union or Professional Organization .....

Telephone ..... Date ..... Amount \$ .....

(Make cheques payable to Ontario Waffle or Ontario Waffle News)