

PEOPLE AND LAND IN NORTHERN MANITOBA

1990 Conference
at the
University of Manitoba

Edited by

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University of Manitoba Anthropology Papers 32

Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1992

People and Land in Northern Manitoba

University of Manitoba Anthropology Papers
The Department of Anthropology
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

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Printed and bound by Hignell Printing Ltd., Winnipeg

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

People and land in northern Manitoba

(University of Manitoba anthropology papers ISSN 0227-0072 ; 32)
Papers presented at a conference held at the
University of Manitoba, May 2-4, 1990.
Includes bibliographical references.

1. Rural development – Manitoba – Sociological aspects – Congresses.
 2. Land Use, Rural – Manitoba – Congresses.
 3. Manitoba – Population, Rural – Congresses.
 4. Indians of North America – Manitoba – Social conditions – Congresses.
 5. Indians of North America – Manitoba – Economic conditions – Congresses.
- I. Lithman, Yngve Georg. II. University of Manitoba. Dept. of Anthropology.
III. Series: University of Manitoba anthropology papers ; no. 32.

HT395.C22M37 1992 307.72'097127'1 L C92-098060-0

Front cover: Winter encampment, Nejanilini Lake, Manitoba, 1947 (HBC Archives)
Back cover: Norway House, Manitoba, on the Nelson River (R. Riewe)

Contents

Preface	
<i>Raymond E. Wiest</i>	vii
Acknowledgements	ix
Illustrations	xi
Introduction	1
<i>Yngve Georg Lithman</i>	
Part I THE NORTH IMAGINED	11
Northern Manitoba Hydro Electric Projects and Their Impact on Cree Culture	13
<i>Doris Young</i>	
'Going North' in Canadian Literature: A Journey Into Our Last Frontier	21
<i>Ruth McCleary</i>	
Part II HOW THE NORTH BECAME THE NORTH	33
River and Bay: Interpreting Manitoba's North	35
<i>Jean Friesen</i>	
Northern Manitoba 1870-1970 – An Historical Outline	43
<i>Gerald Friesen</i>	
Manitoba: The Dynamics of North-South Relationships	55
<i>John Loxley</i>	

Part III NORTHERN REALITIES – THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT	65
The Boreal Forest of Manitoba in a Global Context <i>William O. Pruitt, Jr.</i>	67
Northern Waters: The Discovery and Development of the Rivers of Northern Manitoba <i>Robert Newbury</i>	81
Part IV NORTHERN REALITIES – NORTHERN PEOPLE	97
What it Means for a Company to Work in the North <i>Paul A. Richards</i>	99
What the Corporate Presence Means to Northern People <i>L. Philip Fontaine</i>	109
Pursuing Aboriginal Land Rights <i>P.L.A.H. Chartrand</i>	119
Native Land Use in the North <i>Rick Riewe</i>	127
People and Land in Manitoba: Relationships Illustrated Symbolically in Clothing <i>Jill Oakes</i>	139
Part V NORTHERN RESOURCE EXTRACTION	143
Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting in Northern Manitoba <i>Alastair Walker</i>	145
The Economics of Large-Scale Resource Development in Northern Manitoba <i>George Chuchman</i>	153
Large-Scale Projects and Local People <i>Michael Anderson</i>	163
Smelters and the Environment <i>Michael Dutton</i>	175

The Northern Flood Agreement <i>Dave Young</i>	181
Part VI COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES	191
Developing an Economic Development Strategy for the City of Thompson <i>David M. Shefford</i>	193
Community Economic Development Strategies in Northern Manitoba <i>Adrian DeGroot</i>	199
Economic and Human Resource Development in Community Development Strategies <i>Oscar Lathlin</i>	205
Part VII NORTHERN PEOPLE AND NORTHERN RESOURCES	213
The Land as Cultural Resource <i>Y. Georg Lithman</i>	215
New Occupational Strategies for the North <i>Cam Mackie</i>	227
Wildlife Co-Management <i>Harvey Nepinak and Harvey Payne</i>	233
Part VIII PEOPLE AND LAND IN NORTHERN MANITOBA – REASSESSMENT	243
Workshop Report on 'Life Styles and Sustainable Development' <i>D.F. Malley, M. Smith and P.D. Watts</i>	245
People and Land in Northern Manitoba: Impressions from the Conference <i>J.K. Stager and M.E. Turpel</i>	263

Preface

During a conference held at the University of Manitoba in May 1990, a repeatedly heard comment was that it was left to "foreigners" to envision and organize a much needed moment of exchange among various levels of government, industry, researchers, non-governmental organizations, and affected people over what is happening in the North. The *Conference on People and Land in Northern Manitoba* was the brain-child of Y. Georg Lithman of the University of Stockholm and Visiting Professor of Anthropology at the University of Manitoba.

But why Georg? Many would recognize that his familiarity with the issues of northern Manitoba, and his reputation among those interested in northern issues, were crucial ingredients in the successful outcome of this conference. Yngve Georg Lithman recruited another distinguished Northern hand – zoologist Rick Riewe – to assist in the conference effort. As Georg reminded me, Rick could also be seen as a "foreigner" (along with many other University of Manitoba colleagues), with origins in Detroit. A perspective from afar may be a factor, but whatever the mix of ingredients, these individuals deserve much credit for a timely event and the recruitment of an outstanding roster of contributors. As the commentators have put it (Stager and Turpel, this volume), "This conference ... was a beginning ... in the direction of informed public discussion of the forces behind, and implications of, development and land issues in northern Manitoba".

This book is the direct outgrowth of that successful meeting of minds and the exposure of vast differences. It has been our hope to reflect the full diversity of the conference, even from conflicting perspectives. Included in the volume are those who speak with insight on the role of

business, government policy, non-governmental interest groups, academics, and Aboriginal communities.

The production of this volume has been delayed beyond the original good intentions. Many of the participants with their multiple commitments responded more slowly to our request for revised papers than we had hoped. Then Georg Lithman had to return to Sweden, and Rick Riewe took a position at the University of Alberta. Committed to see the project through, the Department of Anthropology appointed Robert Wrigley as manuscript and layout editor, and Sharon Gereaux to assist with manuscript preparation. In pulling the long-delayed project together, I enjoyed the able assistance of Ma. de la Salette Correia, Avis Mysyk and, of course, Jackie McIntyre, who supervised all aspects of the project, prepared the several manuscripts returned late, arranged details with the printer, and contended with the marginal financing of an ever-expanding project – all as overload, of course.

Since the papers were written nearly two years ago, *Native* is used by many of the authors despite a widespread preference for the word *Aboriginal*. While trying to achieve overall stylistic consistency, we retained the character of each contribution to preserve role, occupational, and disciplinary styles.

The University of Manitoba Anthropology Papers has been a forum for the presentation of working papers, selected theses, and projects of regional interest. The breadth of the present volume is truly in the spirit of anthropology.

Raymond E. Wiest

Acknowledgements

The conference, and now this book, have been made possible through support of numerous individuals and organizations. We hope the contributors to the conference who have their interventions printed here will find some of their time and effort repaid through this dissemination of their ideas and perspectives. However, the entirety of a live conference is difficult to capture in print; there are some whose significant contributions are not reproduced here for various reasons. Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon kindly opened the conference with his views on sustainable development in Manitoba. Conference workshop leaders were: Tim Ball, Professor of Geography, University of Winnipeg; Drew Bodaly, Fisheries Biologist, Department of Fisheries and Oceans; Norman Klippenstein, Graduate Student in Anthropology, University of Manitoba; Robert Sopuck, Director, Sustainable Development Coordination Unit, Province of Manitoba; David Stymeist, Professor of Anthropology, University of Manitoba; and Dave Wotton, Head, Terrestrial Standards and Studies Section, Department of the Environment, Province of Manitoba. Arnold Naimark, President, University of Manitoba, officially welcomed the conference; and those who chaired sessions were: John Finlay, Dean, Faculty of Arts; Scott Campbell, Director, Biological Sciences, Department of Fisheries and Oceans; Fred Stambrook, Vice-President (Academic), University of Manitoba; Richard Baydack, Professor, Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba; Charles Bigelow, Dean Emeritus, Faculty of Science, University of Manitoba; John Stager, Professor of Geography and Associate Dean of Arts, University of British Columbia; Mary Richard, Director, Manitoba Association for Native Languages; and Raymond E. Wiest, Head, Department of Anthropology, University of

Manitoba. Mary Ellen Turpel, Professor of Law, Dalhousie University, co-chaired the summary session with John Stager. Jill Oakes, Department of Clothing and Textiles, University of Alberta, organized a very stimulating evening fashion show for the conference. Assisting with the technical and practical aspects of the conference were Caroline Ackerman, Helen Lount, Karen McSwain, and Lisa Reshaur, all anthropology students at the University of Manitoba.

Costs for the conference and a good portion of this book have been defrayed through generous contributions from Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, Inc.; Manitoba Hydro; Northern Stores Inc.; Repap Inc.; the Province of Manitoba, through the Premier's Office as well as the Department of Northern Affairs and the Department of the Environment; the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development through the Regional Office of its Indian Affairs Branch in Winnipeg; the Office of the Dean (J.L. Finlay), Faculty of Arts, University of Manitoba; and the Office of the President, University of Manitoba. All of these important contributions are gratefully acknowledged.

As organizers of the conference, Rick Riewe and I would like to express our deep appreciation for the support extended by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Manitoba. From the time the idea of a conference about people and land in northern Manitoba was first conceived, to the final efforts related to this publication, Professor Raymond Wiest, Head of the Department of Anthropology, has given us whatever support we needed, academic as well as in more practical concerns. His commitment to the whole project has been a testament to his concern for making academic work relevant to society and for achieving intellectual clarity. Ms. Jackie McIntyre, Administrative Assistant of the Department, provided a truly invaluable administrative and economic structure for the whole effort.

— Y. Georg Lithman
March 1992

Illustrations

Photos:

Rick R. Riewe: pages xii, 12, 20, 31, 34, 53, 54, 66, 80, 107, 108, 118, 137, 138, 142, 144, 152, 162, 174, 189, 190, 192, 198, 204, 214, 225, 226, 232, 242, 244, and back cover.

Robert Newbury: pages 95 and 96.

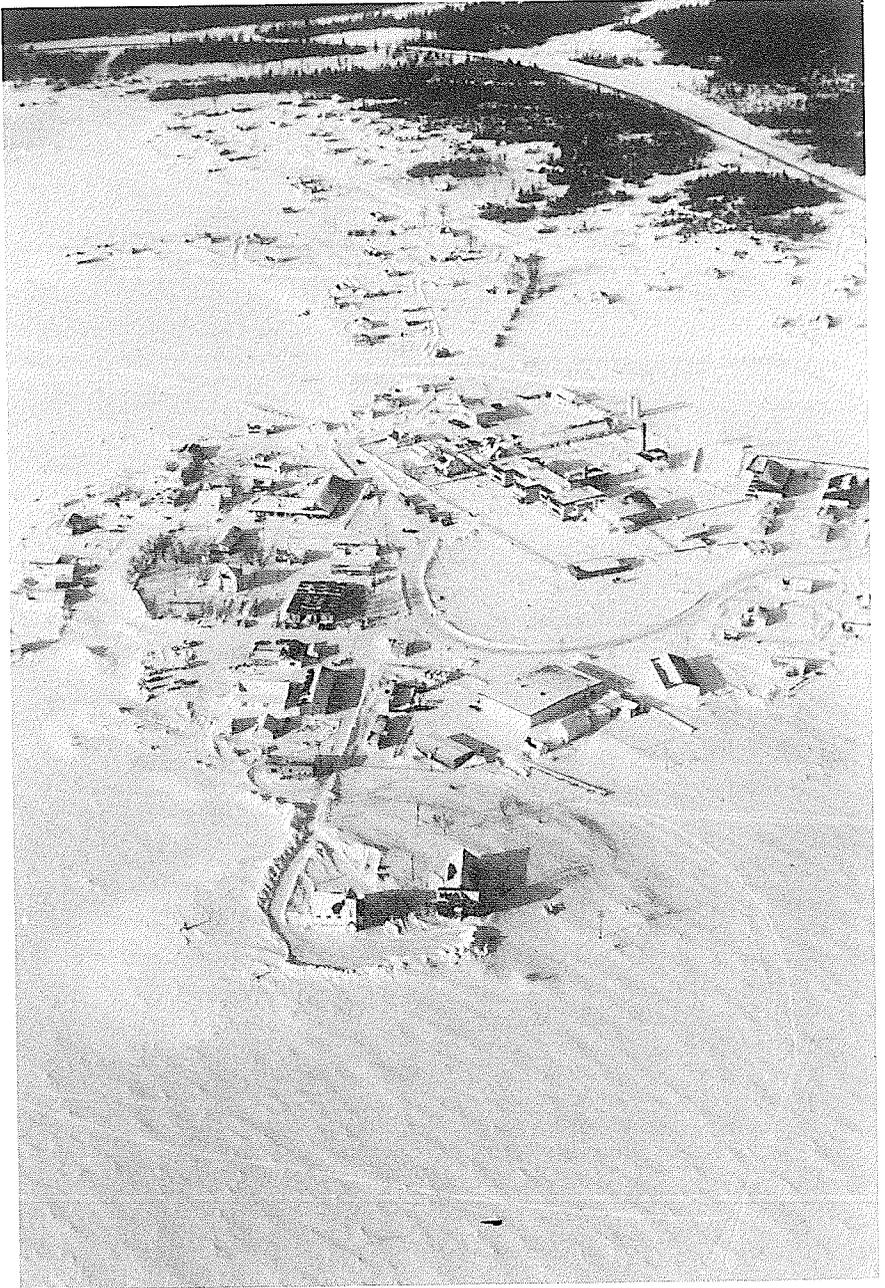
Robert E. Wrigley: page 262.

Otineka Development Corporation Ltd., The Pas, Manitoba: page 212.

HBCA Photograph Collection, 1987/363-I-76/5 (N266), Photographer: Richard Harrington, 1947. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba: page 98, and front cover.

HBC's 1953 Calendar from a painting by Franklin Arbuckle:

HBCA Picture Collection, P-417 (N8263), Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba: page 6.



Norway House, Manitoba (on the Nelson River)

Introduction

Yngve Georg Lithman^s

Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnicity
Stockholm University, and
Department of Anthropology
University of Manitoba

A main purpose of this book is to direct attention to the many fascinating, complex, and sometimes worrisome issues related to northern Manitoba. At the same time, it also attempts to draw attention to our lack of knowledge about the kinds of lives people live there, what the consequences have been of the so-called developments that have passed over it in the post-war era, and about what the future massive forest and pulp operations now being contemplated will mean for people and the environment. The same concerns hold for the coming hydro-electric developments. We know very little about the long-term implications of the tremendous population increases over the last decades (although the population in absolute numbers is still modest). The infra-structural developments in roads, houses, and the like, will have their consequences for the future of the North and its environment.

It is easy to realize that social, economic, cultural and ecological issues are tightly intertwined in an environmentally sensitive setting such as that of the Manitoba North. The systematic exploration of this insight,

^sYngve Georg Lithman is a social anthropologist whose works about native issues in Canada include *The Community Apart* (University of Manitoba Press, 1987) and *The Practise of Underdevelopment* (Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, 1983). Dr. Lithman has also written about migration issues in Europe as well as popular culture.

however, has been extremely limited. The same holds true for attempts to predict what the future consequences will be of what is presently being done in the North. Are we devastating this region if we go ahead with the already existing plans for industrial, forest and hydroelectric enterprises, or are we simply creating wealth with marginally acceptable social, cultural and ecological impacts?

As is evident also in this book, there are many answers to these questions. It is also striking how little research and debate these questions have generated, notwithstanding the treatment of a few particular issues in, for example, environmental hearings. However, it may well be argued that a discussion on a comprehensive level about the future of northern Manitoba is now urgent if important developmental options are not to be foreclosed. Such a discussion should include to what extent the North can be allowed to be something else than a wealth creator for the South. It should also include whether – and in that case, how and in what ways – we should respect the northern environment and refrain from purposeful and massive changes to it. We must also be able to find a meaningful way of discussing people issues in the North. Native Peoples have lived there for thousands of years, and their present plight is a call upon all of us. Although there has been an expansion of the welfare state to include these communities within its realm, their future place is undefined. Many non-Natives now live in the North as well, working in government and industry, as businessmen, and in a plethora of other occupations. To many of them, the North is no longer a frontier, but a permanent home. Their communities, however, are oftentimes perilously dependent upon a single activity such as mining.

For many, the overshadowing concern with regard to the North is the environmental dimension. Indeed, a number of the other concerns are also included therein. Many would argue that we have already done far too much harm, as witnessed by mercury pollution, devastation of wildlife, mining-related contamination, reshaping of waterways for hydro-electrical purposes and forestry operations. The developments we have seen so far have been designed primarily for wealth extraction for southern interests; the quality of the northern environment has not

figured prominently in these activities. More and more we realise that there are limits to what we can do in northern Manitoba, and that each additional activity in larger or smaller measure will serve to restrict what can be done in the future.

How the environmental issues are closely related to people issues is, of course, most easily and dramatically illustrated with reference to the situation of Native People. So far, northern developments have largely served to marginalize them, instead of including them in the economic well-being of the country. Rather than providing employment and other opportunities for Aboriginal People, northern developments have had, as one significant effect, an increased non-Native presence in the North. If the present trend in development continues, the options for Native People to search for models other than the southern-derived ones will also be foreclosed. Northern Manitoba is not a limitless resource, and one use will tend to impede or inhibit other uses. At the very least, this is what many would argue, and it is an issue which must be addressed.

This book contains contributions from people of many walks of life, such as academics, business people, government officials, and others. Its themes include economics, the romanticism of the North, the cultural revitalization of Native communities, the fate of the boreal forest, civic developments in mining towns, and northern wildlife. Still, it is not intended as some post-modern "blurring of genres", nor is it meant to be a disjointed collection of papers with a vague common denominator called "people and land in northern Manitoba". Instead, it is intended to show how the issues to be faced in a discussion of the future of the Manitoba North are manifold, complex and multi-disciplinary.

The contributions to this volume stem from a conference, but they should not be read as a set of proceedings. Each paper was solicited as to contributor and topic, and the conference was structured so that a defined set of issues and perspectives was to be represented. The selections made by the conference organizers are of course open to discussion; however, the resulting conference, and now this volume, reflect our intentions to create a reasonably multi-stranded presentation of the difficult inter-related issues.

Northern Manitoba is not a given entity. In this volume it is used in a slightly intuitive sense to designate that part of Manitoba which is situated roughly north of a line sloping from Dauphin to Sagkeeng (Fort Alexander) - Pine Falls. In this sense, the north is fairly co-terminus with the boreal-forest belt, and becomes that part of Manitoba where there is basically no farming. But this in itself is not a sufficient delineation of Manitoba's North. Depending upon perspectives, it may also be defined, for example, with reference to economic pursuits, modes of communication and life styles. Nor should one make too much of the determination "Manitoba"; it certainly defines three of the boundaries of northern Manitoba, but at the same time it shares much of its history, shape, problems and future with other parts of the Canadian North. To the things that all of the Canadian North shares and which will most significantly shape its future, belongs the Canadian South - a political and corporate structure for which provincial boundaries are of reduced significance.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS

To Aboriginal People, the image of the North is oftentimes divided into two phases. One of these relates to those times when Native People felt that they still had a considerable control over their own destiny. The other relates to the times they are now living through, when their situation is characterized primarily by powerlessness and control is lodged with outsiders - the Southerners, Winnipeg, Toronto boardrooms, and Ottawa. The opening chapter contributes a personal account by Doris Young of how the first phase turned into the second. The hydro development that flooded where she spent some of her childhood, stands out as a key metaphor for the cultural and economic impoverishment of her people.

To Southerners, as witnessed in the following chapter by Ruth McCleary about images of the North in Canadian literature, the image of the North is almost the contrary, portrayed rather as a place to which the individual goes, or makes a journey. This journey entails the shedding of cultural baggage, and the individual has to survive northern

rigours in an individualised, existentialist way. To the Aboriginal People, the North is the area to be cultured, and the arrival of the South, as through a flooding, signifies the deculturation. The Southerners, on the other hand, see the North as non-culture – as nature – and a place to go to shed one's cultural baggage.

Northern Manitoba has, of course, been the homeland for Aboriginal Peoples for thousands of years. Looking back in more recent history, however, it is easy to illustrate how the Manitoba North has been heavily affected by both Aboriginal and non-aboriginal activities for centuries. It was a key area in fur harvesting, but its importance for the fur-trade infrastructure was also fundamental. The shipping through Hudson's Bay created a north-south communications network, the Winnipeg River an easterly one, and the Red River settlement, at the conjunction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers (where Winnipeg is today), was the largest settlement in the Canadian West until the latter part of the 19th century. And it is well worth remembering that history shows the Manitoba North not to be something only now beginning to be explored and exploited. Rather, the North may be seen as the initial vehicle through which the South was explored.

A couple of the papers in this volume, those by Jean Friesen and Gerald Friesen, both history professors at the University of Manitoba, deal with these and other themes related to northern Manitoba's past. One thing they share – and in this they set a common theme for the conference as a whole – is an insistence that "the North" is to be understood as a cultural, social and historical construct. It is not the North by isolation throughout history and today, but as one part of century-old sets of interrelationships.

A similar theme, although presented from a very different perspective than the historical one, is evident in economist John Loxley's (professor of economics at the University of Manitoba) discussion of northern under-development. Northern under-development is traced not to a lack of developmental options in the North, which would serve to include economically marginalised people in a more prosperous situation, but rather to how the political and economic institutional life in the South prohibits such options to be realized.

The discussions in this book are all taking place against the back-drop of environmental and ecological concerns. William O. Pruitt, a professor of zoology at the University of Manitoba, issues concrete recommendations about what prudence dictates us to do today in order to protect the boreal forest. Robert Newbury, a consulting hydrologist and former professor of engineering at the University of Manitoba, relates the shape and magnitude of hydro developments in the North to the powerlessness of many northerners, and demonstrates how little we care about the consequences of revamping the waterways. In both these contributions, the fundamentals behind our present ways of exploiting the northern environment are being questioned, and the links between environmental and people issues are clear.

Present-day activities in the North – industrial and others – are entrenched in a web where the opportunities for change will be coupled with very significant consequences. Tens of thousands of jobs, the existence of whole towns and large export incomes from paper and hydro sales south of the border are some of the contemporary realities. A Native population, largely disenfranchised from the opportunities in these economic fields, and fighting for the creation of its own resource base, is another. The fourth part of this book starts out with a presentation by Paul A. Richards providing a prominent industrialist's view of northern enterprising. L. Philip Fontaine, leader of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, argues that the North has always been and will always be the home to the Native Peoples; but how will it be possible for them to claim a fair recognition of their time-honoured presence when their interests compete against large-scale development projects?

One way in which Native People try to assert their presence in the North is through a pursuance of Aboriginal land rights. This is the topic of Paul Chartrand's contribution. Chartrand, a jurist and professor in Native Studies at the University of Manitoba, makes the suggestion that the settling of land rights is a vehicle through which Aboriginal People will be able to join the rest of Canada in a principled and fair manner.

This section of the book concludes with two papers discussing Native land-use patterns and their symbolism. Rick Riewe, a professor of zoology at the University of Manitoba, shows how extensively Native

Peoples utilise, or utilised, the land. The ignorant tourist may see an empty waste, the Aboriginal person an intensively used resource. Jill Oakes, a professor of clothing and textiles at the University of Alberta, carries the theme of people-land relationships into a discussion of its symbolism in clothing. (During the conference, Ms. Oakes' contribution was illustrated by a highly acclaimed "Northern Fashion Show".)

The next part of the book deals with a very different kind of land use. These five articles on northern resource extraction begin with the industrialist Alastair Walker's presentation of the Hudson's Bay Mining and Smelting operations in Manitoba. George Chuchman, a professor of economics at the University of Manitoba, describes how the present way of defining and costing hydro-electric needs creates an insatiable demand for the future utilization of the northern hydro-electric potential. Michael Anderson, executive director of an organisation created by fourteen northern Aboriginal communities, is concerned with how Native People get squeezed by resource-extraction developments, and how these impede upon or prohibit other alternative pursuits. An environmental concern which has moved high up on the agenda – emissions related to smelter operations – is discussed by Michael Dutton, a zoologist at the University of Manitoba. The final paper in this section, by Dave Young from the Northern Flood Committee, deals with the Northern Flood Agreement, the vehicle through which damage assessment and compensation related to hydro developments since the mid-1970s are to be handled.

Part six consists of three articles about northern community-development strategies. Being active on a day-to-day basis in such work, David M. Shefford and Adrian DeGroot, in their respective presentations of economic-development initiatives in the city of Thompson and local initiatives in community planning, testify to the insight that northern (non-aboriginal) communities will have to diversify their economic activities in order to reduce their exposure to vagaries of particular resource-extraction industries. In Oscar Lathlin's article, similar concerns are discussed from a Native perspective by the Chief of The Pas First Nation. All these articles demonstrate the eagerness with which

representatives of northern communities engage in attempts to secure and improve what the future may hold.

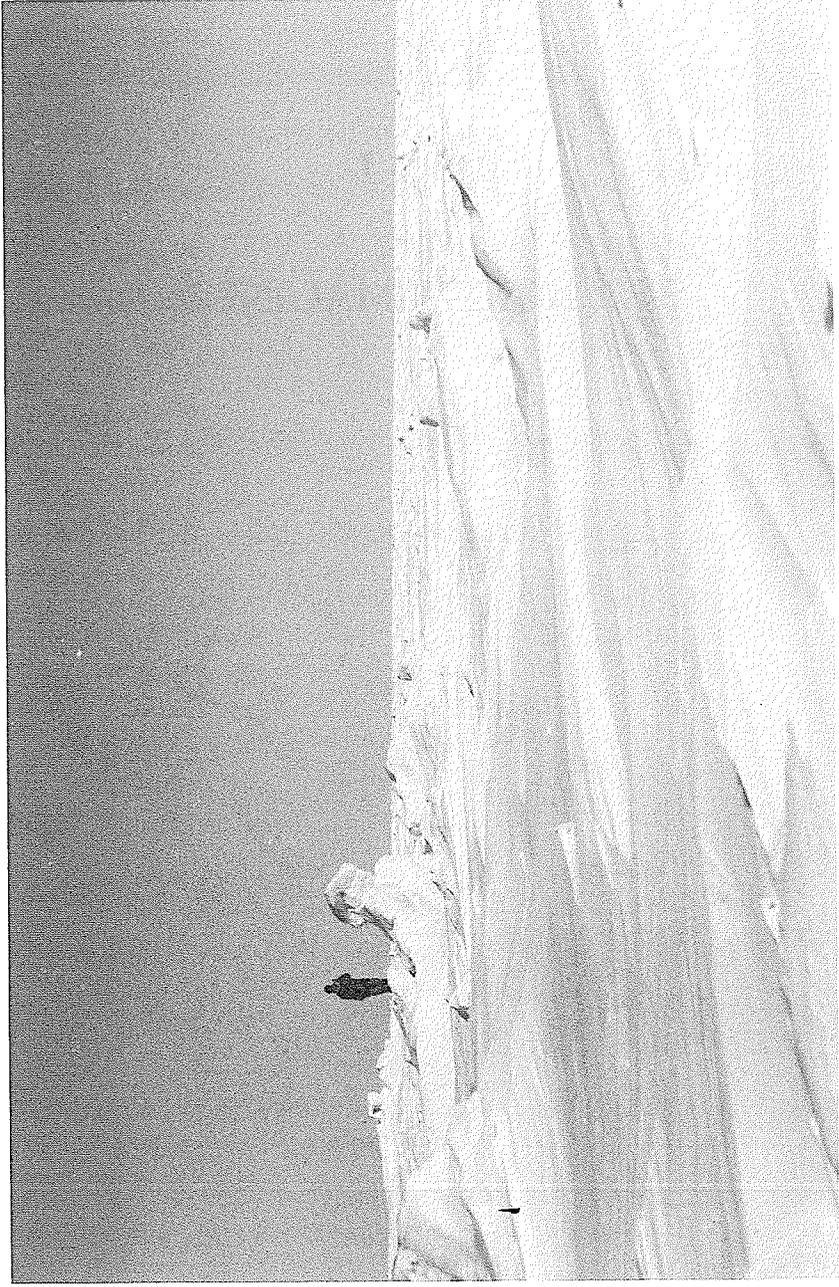
Part seven contains three articles providing some attempts at sketching alternatives in the North. Y. Georg Lithman outlines the need for a cultural revitalization of the northern Native communities through a renewed relationship to the land by way of environment-oriented economic development. Campbell Mackie makes a similar argument when he attacks stereotyped notions of what new jobs and economic development must entail today. Harvey Nepinak and Harvey Payne, the Chief of Waterhen First Nation and a wildlife specialist from the Province of Manitoba, respectively, present one of the successful attempts to turn the management of wildlife resources over to – in this case – the Native People who are also one of its prime utilizers.

The volume concludes with two papers with a wider scope than the others. D.F. Malley (Department of Fisheries and Oceans), M. Smith (K.B.M. Forestry Consultants Inc.) and P.D. Watts (a professor of biology at Lakehead University), offer a report from the workshop on "lifestyles and sustainable development" which took place during the conference. This theme was present throughout the conference – that the issues of the Manitoba North indeed raise fundamental questions concerning our future. More generally, J.K. Stager, a geographer with a wide experience of the North, and now with the University of British Columbia, and M.E. Turpel, a law professor at Dalhousie University with a Native background, provide a resume of some of the items they found most worthwhile to remember from the conference.

It is obvious that there are few ready answers to the many questions that can be asked about what the future will be like for the North in Manitoba. Cultural, social, economic, environmental and ecological issues join each other in complex ways. At the same time, it is obvious that considerable attention has to be given to both the betterment of the human condition and the protection of the northern environment. This will not be easy for a number of reasons. One is our relative lack of knowledge about the North. Another, and at least as important if not more so, is that there are competing interests in how the North should

change. The contributions to this volume, however, would tend to suggest that there are not only wide differences in this regard, but also areas of mutual concern. To most, it is obvious that new care has to be devoted to the way we interact with northern ecosystems, lest we jeopardize our own future. This is, of course, what the discussions of sustainable development are all about. "Sustainable development" may be a label with some drawbacks – some would argue that we should search for ways that focus on the creation of sustainable societies rather than suggest that we can carry on with development. In any case, the days when human hubris led us to believe that we were masters of the universe are gone. Maybe out of this will come the humility necessary for the care of the northern environment.

These themes permeate all the essays and transform them from being a random collection about Manitoba's North to something which has, in all its disparity, something of a unity of its own. If there is one further theme which also binds this collection together, it is that all the participants at the conference were united in their overall ambition to protect the Manitoba North, to recognize that there are values in its existence which vastly transcend those having to do with dollars and cents. There may have been considerable difference of opinion as to the limits of defensible resource exploitation. There was, however, the shared recognition that the North contains something that must be strongly protected, and that to do this necessitates an equitable position for northerners in the decisions for the future. It was also obvious that a sensible approach for the future will have to build on an informed and thorough debate of the environmental, social, economic and cultural issues associated with the North. This volume, it is hoped, will be one contribution to it.



Churchill, Manitoba seascape in winter

Northern Manitoba Hydro Electric Projects and Their Impact on Cree Culture

Doris Young[§]

I will be speaking about the cultural values of the Cree Nation, the socialization process, the economy, spirituality, and health. To connect these important institutions to the culture, it will be necessary to show:

- how the participation of the people was necessary to the survival of the community;
- the interdependence of the land and people, as well as to one another;
- how people and nature are an integral part of the whole;
- how roles are defined by necessary activities;
- that all persons must be respected, regardless of age;
- that work is done according to physical ability; and
- that water is the life giver of the Cree nation, and has a special significance for woman, who is also a life giver.

First of all, the Cree Nation occupies the northern regions of Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Saskatchewan, and small portions of northern British Columbia and the Northwest Territories. The Cree is the largest Aboriginal nation in Canada.

My community, The Pas Reserve, has a population of about 2,000 people and Cree was our first language. Our economic base was mainly

[§]Doris Young is of the Cree nation and her first language is Cree. She was raised at The Pas Reserve in Northern Manitoba. She is one out of a family of fifteen children.

characterized by hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering. Our cultural values were transmitted through our history, story telling, and daily living.

Our land was vital to our well being. Everyone participated in the economy of our community and there was order to this activity. For example, the women and children gathered the earth's abundant harvest in the fall. The men trapped in the winter, hunted in spring and fall, and fished in the summer. All the members of my community were useful and valuable, including women and children. Our interdependence on one another was an on-going life process. The earth was what gave us our life, breath, energy, and food. Our food was plentiful and our lives were meaningful and orderly. In all of our activity, we practised our traditional values of sharing, caring and respecting one another and our surroundings.

LEARNING NATIVE VALUES

My earliest childhood memories are the lessons that my grandmother taught me. She took care to teach us the spiritual riches of my culture. She maintained that all life is sacred. She taught us that the earth, the fish, as well as plant and animal life, were as important as men, women, and children. In my culture there was no hierarchy system. We were all important.

I remember my grandmother's first and last function of each day were to pray. She was thankful for life. She would put her scarf on her head and bow her head to say her prayers. This spiritual outlook influenced me in a deep and meaningful way. I knew that my grandmother was sacred, just as the earth was sacred. I loved them both in a very special way. Today, I too am conscious of the sacredness of life.

My mother, on the other hand, taught us the practical things about life – how to work and how to relate to one another in a kind and respectful way. Her teachings were also centred around caring, sharing, kindness, and being respectful of one another.

This socializing process could be seen clearly during the gathering season. Every fall, the women and children of my community would go out to gather the abundant harvest of berries and moss in preparation for the winter season. Women and children were the gatherers and we worked side by side, in a co-operative way. Gathering season was also the time when we caught up on the summer's news. My mother and aunts enjoyed each other's company and during lunch break they would exchange stories about life in general. There was an order to the way in which the work was carried out. We all contributed to the berry pot. Each person, even the young children, was expected to put their berries into the pot. At the end of the day we would feel that we had made a substantial contribution to our food supply. When we were allowed to play, we did so knowing that our job had been done. We enjoyed ourselves.

Berry-picking season was always a time for working, learning and having fun. Prayers were said and tobacco was offered before we picked. My mother taught us discipline and diligence in our work, as well as giving back to Mother Earth. When we worked, we worked. We were not allowed to be noisy until our job was done. I learned that it was not good to carelessly grab a handful of berries and shove them into my pail. We learned to be clean pickers. When I pick berries now I think about how the plant feels if I were to pull its branches too harshly. We were taught at a very early age to be clean pickers and to be respectful to the plants.

We were also taught silence. My mother would tell us to sit down and just listen, be quiet for a while, listen to what is going on. Through silence, we learned the value of being attentive to our surroundings, to feel the inter-connectedness of Mother Earth and to the universe. I learned how to look and see how much life the bush actually had. I learned to be respectful to the plants and to be kind.

The berry-picking season also gave us children a chance to climb trees and have lots and lots of fun. Swinging from the very top of the trees was great. Sometimes we weren't heavy enough to bring the tree all the way down to the ground, so an older sister or brother would have to rescue us and bring us safely to the ground. We learned to get along

and to care for one another. This was a valuable teaching because the berry-picking area was also filled with danger. We were always mindful of bears, or of the fact that one of us might wander off in the wrong direction and get lost. I always remember being told to take care of one another and we did. If we were fighting and quarrelsome, someone always told us that this was not good behaviour. I remember the kindness with which we were told, and we listened. Today, I now tell my children to take care of one another.

Every fall we also gathered moss to keep the babies dry and warm, and to prevent diaper rash as well. Once the moss was picked, it was hung on the trees to dry. The children would then have time to play again. Moss picking was a very important job and everyone was expected to contribute to this activity. The moss was left on the shrubs for a few weeks and when we went back to pick up our moss, it would always be there. No one ever took it. We always seemed to know which was ours and which wasn't. We were respectful of others and did not touch their moss. My mother taught us to respect someone else's property. She always knew just how much moss to gather, as we had enough to last us till the next gathering season; no more, no less. She knew how to conserve and passed this knowledge down to us.

Water is a very important and sacred item to Aboriginal People and is a component of our spiritual ceremonies. Some significant reasons are these:

- all living things are dependent on water;
- human beings are mainly made up of water;
- life begins by the breaking of the water, just before a baby is born;
- women are life givers and are crucial to the survival and continuation of our culture.

It therefore follows that in my culture, women are the carriers and protectors of water. At our ceremonies, women bless the water and carry it around to each person to drink so that we are all blessed by this sacred gift.

I now understand why the women in my family carried the water from the streams and rivers for our cooking, drinking and washing. The

pails were heavy and I would often complain about this. My mother would help me by taking some of the water out of the pail, but she didn't take away my responsibility. I still had to do my share and carry some water. Before we took the water, my mother would be silent in prayer. She gave thanks to the Creator for the gift of the water that we would be using. Today, I give thanks to the Creator whenever I see the river or the lakes.

OUR LAND AND VALUES

When I was young, my community was a safe and healthy place to live. We were relatively happy and confident people because we were able to sustain ourselves from the land. The land from which we received our food supplies was also the place where we learned our traditional values of caring, sharing and respecting. The socialization process in which we learned and accepted these wonderful values was so evident in everything that we did. We learned to use these tools in our work and in our play.

THE IMPACTS OF THE FLOODING

The flooding of our land altered our culture and changed our lives forever. Our economy, as well as our physical and spiritual health, has been drastically affected. The land where my mother gathered our berries and our moss was destroyed. The land where my father trapped was flooded. The lakes where my father fished are now contaminated. The hunting is less and less plentiful.

First of all, when my father lost his trapping area, a big part of our economy was gone. It's been about 30 years now since the flooding took place, and only recently has my reserve received some compensation for this loss. The lucrative summer fishing is all but a memory. Hunting has been affected in that the moose have moved further and further away. We find that it may now be dangerous to eat moose because they too appear to be contaminated. It is most distressing to read notices not to eat moose, particularly the liver because of

mercury contamination. The liver was the delicacy that we all looked forward to eating. Gathering berries or moss as a vital economic activity of the community is a dim memory.

Our physical health has been affected because we no longer eat balanced meals. We have not been able to bridge the costs between the food we harvested from the land and store-bought food. The expense is too much for many community members who are now unemployed. People buy whatever they can afford and sometimes it's not always what's healthy. As well, we have not adequately learned to convert the nutrition of our former diets into the present way of shopping at convenient stores and shopping centres. Both my mother and grandmother had diabetes, and so have many, many others in my community. My mother and grandmother both died from diabetes complications.

Many people became welfare recipients. This position broke their pride and their generous spirits. My community suffered, as families became quarrelsome and agitated with one another. The welfare system does not encourage sharing; in fact I have seen people being chastised because they had shared their store-bought food with others. Besides, the welfare money can never be stretched adequately to share our groceries with other members of our community. Many people have not come to terms with this situation. Shopping from a grocery store also does not provide the same satisfaction to a hunter in providing a meal for the family. The hunter is, in fact, removed entirely from the process.

Our connectedness to the earth became less and less because it's hard to feel connected to the earth when one is picking up food from store shelving, or when one turns on the tap for water.

Our spirituality was also altered because we no longer practised the values we learned when we were out on the land. Going to the store for food doesn't teach us about the universe in which we live, or how to care for it.

There's a gap in our generation with respect to our culture. My children don't know what living off the land means. Urban living prevents my children from knowing how to be connected to the earth. Picking berries is now a fun day, and is really no different from going

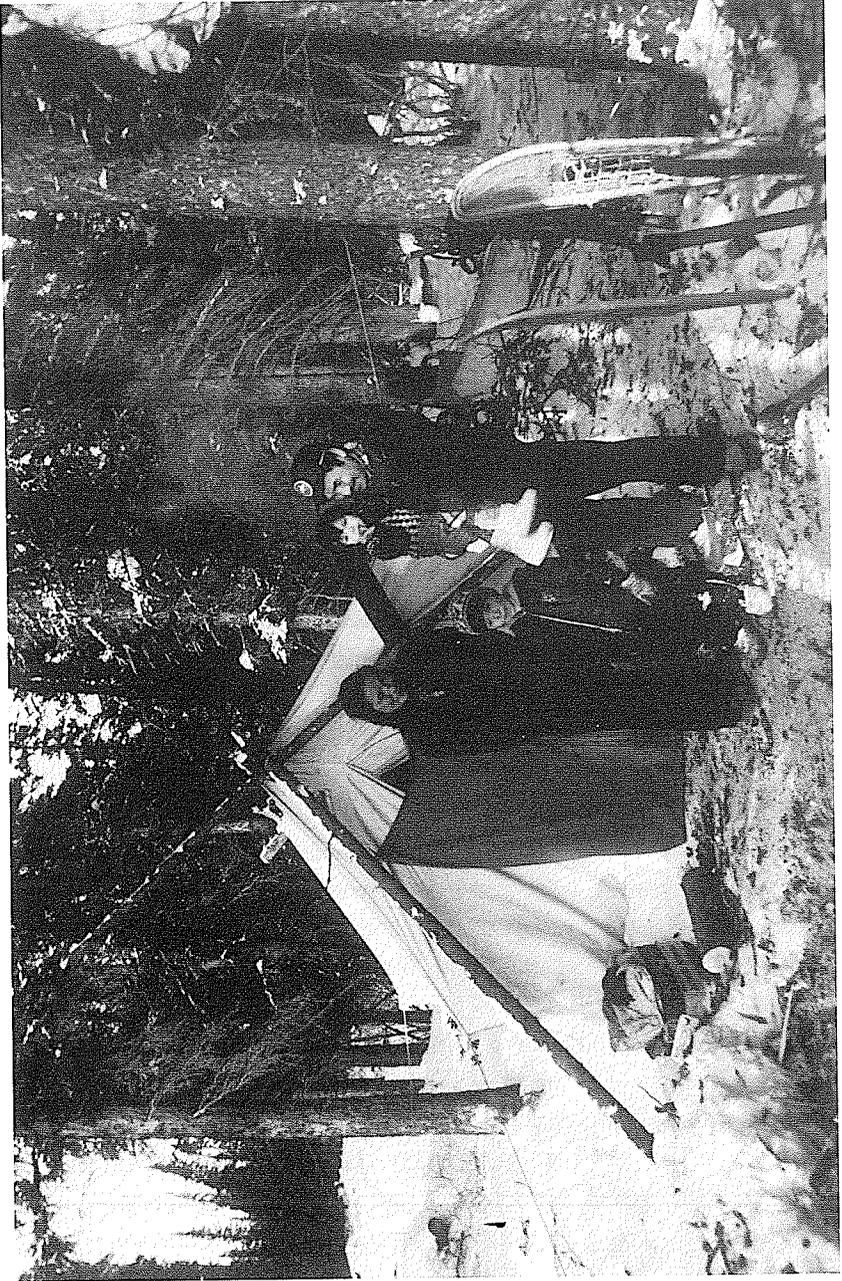
to a city park for a picnic. It's not the same as knowing that our winter supply of food is dependent on that activity. The utility of picking berries is not the same today. The generation gap is, in fact, substantial when one considers the socialization process that is learned from living off the land. It's harder for my children to have a humanistic view of the land.

CONCLUSION

There is a saying that when you destroy nature, you are destroying yourself. I believe that this is true. When our land was destroyed, my culture was immeasurably altered. The lessons that my family taught me about life, when I was young, were lessons that were related directly to Mother Earth: the plants, the animals, the fish, the water. Our socialization process was thus connected to our relationship with the universe. We learned to be respectful and to care for Mother Earth and one another. We learned to share the abundance that she provided. Yes, the flooding of our lands altered our culture and changed our lives forever.

In spite of all of our best efforts, there is a gap between myself and my children. The tragedy of this gap is that we will never share the same kind of understanding about life from the universe that my mother, grandmother and great-grandmother were able to share with their children. There is also a large gap in my own life knowing that that part of my culture has been destroyed. My generation appeared to be the last to know what living off the land really means. For this, we are immeasurably poorer.

The Aboriginal People have paid a high price for these mega hydro projects. Our spirituality has been weakened. Our communities were healthy, confident and economically independent. Today, many members are on welfare and feel bitter and angry. The dams and the electricity have not made life better. Although we are working hard to restore what we have lost, the job is difficult when our lands are continually being destroyed.



Woody Elias and his family on their trapline

'Going North' in Canadian Literature: A Journey into Our Last Frontier

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I am going to begin this paper with the assumption that everyone here has gone North, had an experience that he or she tells stories about, but in spite of these stories, still misses the land's beauty, the people's hospitality, the adventure of learning a new way of life. Since I am a southerner, I was surprised that three years in Labrador could give the South – my home – so foreign an appearance when I returned to it. I had forgotten, for instance, that people used garages. The size of them, especially the ones for two and three cars, were larger than most northern homes. I had also forgotten about the traffic. While skidoos are unbearably noisy, they are friendlier machines than cars – people stop them anywhere to visit. The most important thing I had forgotten, however, was money. In the city one never goes without it, for even the simplest of things – a cup of tea – must be paid for.

From my culture shock, I began to realize that 'going North' had a very profound effect on me. It had been more than a three-year fling with 'roughing it in the bush'. Other southerners who had gone North

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shared my nostalgia. They too wished to return, but for one reason or another couldn't. When I decided to try and name why the North had been so affective an experience, I began to read northern literature. Then I found a radical difference between my experience and what characters in the novels had experienced. Unlike the protagonists of *The White Dawn* by James Houston, *White Eskimo* by Harold Horwood, and *The White Shaman* by C.W. Nicol – their titles alone suggest that 'going North' is a significant 'White' journey – I was still alive; I had not frozen; I had not drowned; I had not been attacked by a polar bear. Instead, I had a rewarding three years teaching school, learning from the students how little I knew about what it means to live in a land and off a land that is in the truest sense their home. The North, they taught me, had something to do with being a Canadian.

History, however, provides a factual basis for the 'deadly' view that popular northern literature (written by southerners) reflects. Many of the sailors, for instance, died in the search for the North West Passage. In the volumes that describe that journey (it took centuries) and the novels that describe the adventures of fictional heroes, there is a common thread: everyone was looking for a mythic place. The explorers wanted to find the gateway to Cathay; the heroes were looking for a new land, a new life, a new Self. Although the explorers found the Passage, it wasn't as rewarding as finding Cathay itself would have been. Similarly, the heroes did not, by the mere fact of their presence in that land, become new human beings.

Both these views of the North, the historical and the fictional, treat it as a frontier which fails more than it succeeds. The young student in *The White Shaman*, for instance, goes North as a research assistant. He gives up his scientific rational mind, undergoes a shaman's transformation, and creates a new Self. At the end of the story, however, he is shot. Ultimately, the author is saying, Peter cannot become a new person. The old order, therefore, is restored in the novel's conclusion.

While none of us has been shot for returning to the South with altered values, the novel describes the kind of loss or 'death' we experience when we do return to the ordered and controlled southern world. Nature, for instance, is becoming irrelevant in the city. In the

supermarket, it already has: all the vegetables are always in season. Consequently, there is no natural order left to what we eat and when we eat it. In contrast, life on the land reflects the 'time' of the land. I think that a good name for a northern short story would be: "It must be April, there's a caribou in the freezer".

Contrary to the popular southern notion that in the North anything goes, nothing in my experience went unless the weather or the season allowed it. There was order, definitely, but it was usually not made by humans. And that, I speculate, is the freedom that attracts those of us who like to escape now and again from the restraints that organized, institutionalized urban life and work represent. In that sense 'going North' is an escape, a flight into a geographical frontier where life is simpler – and harsher – than it is in the South. If that escape, however, is only an escape, then the freedom it represents is false. One cannot take it home when one leaves. It is a freedom that is dependent on place. That is one reason why so many heroes are killed-off at the end of their fictional journey. Their author doesn't know what to do with them in the South. In researching a thesis that would explain the Canadian fascination for our last geographical frontier, I realized that I had to learn the difference between the frontier myth and the frontier fact.

In America, it was the West where one went to escape from the East and conventional living. A lawless land, the individual was literally free to kill to assert independence and to protect life. Unlike the settler who broke the land and with neighbours began to build a community, the frontier-type had to keep moving. As long as he could kill, literally, he did not have to conform or surrender any of his Self, his sense of individuality, to the new community.

In Canada, however, the West was not as wild and killing was a criminal act. Like his American counter-parts, though, the Canadian frontier-type desired more freedom than the average person. To find it, he went North. It became his escape – the frontier that gave him as much freedom as could be had without discovering what it was inside that made him keep running away. A novel that explains how this escapist or transient mentality works is *But We are Exiles* by Robert

Kroetsch. In the story, a young man, Peter Guy, an ordinary guy, hitchhikes West to meet his fiancée in Banff. En route, he is picked up by another young man, Hornyak, who, as his name vividly suggests, is old enough to be sexually experienced. Together, the two make their way across the prairie, with Hornyak acting as Peter's mentor. When they arrive in Banff, however, and Peter walks into his fiancée's bedroom and sees that Hornyak got there first (he sees his reflection and his fiancée's in the mirror), he passively leaves the room and starts to go North. A nice Canadian boy, he'd rather switch than fight. He gets a job as a navigator on the Mackenzie River and for six years spends the summers running the river and the winters minding his own business in a northern community. He does not return South, nor communicate with his family, and for six years he lives as if his past had never existed. When Hornyak suddenly reappears as the new owner of Peter's boat, Peter finally acts. Still a nice Canadian boy, he does not kill him outrightly; instead, he engineers an accident. At first, even Peter is not really aware that he is a murderer. When Hornyak's body finally surfaces, so does enough evidence that Peter's guilt becomes obvious. Then he is obliged to admit, yes, he did kill Hornyak. He also admits, at least to himself, that he has wanted to kill him ever since he saw his reflection in the mirror in Banff.

In the novel's conclusion, it is clear that what Peter actually saw in the mirror was the man that he himself had become during his prairie journey from innocence to experience. Because sexual initiation is a form of death – one gives him/her Self to an other – what Peter ran away from was his fear of death and guilt. He was afraid to affirm responsibility for having killed his own innocent Self. By 'going North', he not only repressed that truth, he blamed Hornyak for his fall into experience. He also blamed Hornyak for stealing his fiancée when Peter, in fact, gave her to him because he did not want the responsibility that love and marriage – also forms of self-surrender – represent.

A realistic story of the transient in the North, Kroetsch does offer a solution to Peter's fear of death and guilt. In the novel's conclusion, Peter symbolically throws Hornyak's body overboard and takes his place in the canoe – what was Hornyak's temporary coffin. He is ready, his

action suggests, to die also; this time, to give up or to kill his false innocent Self and create a new one – one that is capable of bearing guilt and personal responsibility.

The novel paints a pretty grim picture for those of us who 'go North' simply because we enjoy its physical beauty and lifestyle. We don't go there to escape from anything but the city. Yet the North shocks us (at least it did me) into seeing the city and the South more clearly than I had before. Death, for instance, is much more visible in the North than in the South. Life there is occasionally violent; the law is sometimes taken into people's own hands. As well, a death in a small community touches the whole community. No one escapes from its reality. Ironically, 'going North' will probably take the southerner closer to death than ever before. And that, in my opinion, is precisely why the North is so important an experience. Its brutal honesty cannot be ignored.

What Kroetsch's novel points out, then, is how destructive the southern Canadian fear of death and guilt is. It inhibits/prohibits personal change. Who or what Peter Guy will become from his self-surrender we don't know, for the story ends at that moment in his northern journey.

If *But We are Exiles* talks about 'going North' from a 'macho' transient's point of view, Margaret Atwood's novel *Surfacing* talks about it from a 'victim' female's point of view. Her heroine, whose identity is so ambiguous she has no name, is also afraid of death, although she too does not initially know it. She 'goes North' (this time to the near-North) across the Ontario border to Quebec to find her missing father. He has left a series of drawings that she finally figures out are copies of Indian rock paintings. When she dives into the lake to find them, a dive that symbolizes her search for the past, she finds her father's drowned body, though she does not recognize it. Instead, she confuses its distorted shape with a foetus that she aborted years earlier, but had forgotten. Like Peter Guy, she too had tried to repress a truth she did not want to face. Again 'going North' forced her to see it.

Atwood treats the Canadian problem of false innocence more comprehensively than Kroetsch. Her heroine blames her abortion on her lover, women's sexual exploitation on men, and Canada's economic-

political weaknesses on America. No one but no one in Canada is responsible for anything. We are all someone else's victim. Once the heroine 'sees', however, that she is as guilty as anyone else, her false innocence is shattered, her victim theory collapses (she stops blaming her ex-lover), and like Peter Guy, she is left facing the problem of what to do next.

What is of particular interest in Atwood's treatment of the North is that her heroine undergoes the psychological death that Peter Guy only begins at the conclusion of *But We are Exiles*. Copying the pattern of descent that the shaman makes when he enters the world of the dead, Atwood illustrates what it means to die psychologically. Her heroine stops thinking. That, she decides, is the source of man's destructiveness. He kills because his mind likes controlling 'other' lives. She begins to intuit all that she should do. She removes her clothes in the lake and watches her 'false body' float away. She eats plants in the woods; she cannot eat from the garden because human logic created it. Her purpose in transforming herself into an animal is to become a truly innocent creature – a victim – as opposed to a guilty human being. While she has, in effect, internalized the frontier, left the North as place, and entered 'the North in man',¹ the psychological frontier, she is still trying to escape from the fact that humans do kill. What is significant about her attempted escape this time is that it is in the right direction.

As the breakdown between her and ordinary reality progresses, she ceases to identify even with animals. She becomes a tree, then the place that grows the tree. She becomes 'the North' in her own mind, her irrationality reducing her to the spiritual condition that the shaman achieves when his trance takes him into the world of the dead. When he perceives his body as a skeleton, he is psychologically dead. Then the spirits speak to him. When Atwood's heroine reaches that point, she too sees the dead, first her mother, then her father. In contrast with the shaman, however, her ancestors do not speak to her, nor does she with them. Atwood's point, I assume, is that they have nothing to tell her because the heroine must create their meaning for herself. First of all, however, she must re-create herself.

Her conflict – how to integrate who she was in the past with who she might become in the present – is the problem that we also face when we return South. The North does not teach us what to do with the truths we discover there, it merely points them out. When Atwood's heroine decides at the end of the novel to return to the South, she decides (like us) to live in a technological, unnatural, and often indifferent human world. She cannot become an animal or a spirit. She is caught (also like us) as a human being who must choose continually between two realities. Sometimes her mind and its logic will win; sometimes her feelings and intuition will direct her. Whatever her new Self will be, it will be complex and it will demand that she be free and creative enough to make compromises. She will not, therefore, be the same person she was at the beginning of her journey.

So far I have discussed only the North and its effect on individuals. I would like also to point out how valuable the North's truths are to our Canadian identity as a whole. Just as the novels' characters were afraid to face their past, so is there a reluctance in our national character to face our country's past. How far back in time the Canadian mind can go – or wants to go – is a question that Peter Such explores in his novel *Riverrun*.

Through a method of storytelling that combines history with the author's own dreams, Such becomes a shaman/artist who tells the story of the Beothuks' extinction from their point of view. His novel's purpose is to take the Beothuks out of government files and put them into the Canadian memory – to bring them back to life. His dreams are his journeys into the world of the dead. There he meets his first parents, his Beothuk ancestors, just as Atwood's heroine met her biological parents. Like her, he too must create their meaning. Extinct, because they could neither escape nor adapt to the arrival of the Europeans, the Beothuks' story challenges the Canadian fear of the past. To accept responsibility for their extinction is to put oneself in Peter Guy's place, looking at Hornyak's body. They also represent a 'lost' part of ourselves. *Riverrun* is an important northern story because it illustrates how literature can absolve guilt creatively.

By remembering the first people that the Europeans met and killed when they came to Canada, we become more honest Canadians than the falsely innocent ones we often claim to be. Our identity needs rounding out. We need to stop running from ourselves and pay the past what we owe it – a place in our present lives. *Riverrun* shows us how to do that. It also shows us how the psychological frontier – 'the North in man' and the frontier that we take with us when we leave the geographical North – is an exciting frontier to explore. How well we use it depends on our challenging our individual fear of death and our ability to change current values. What Such's journey into the North of his mind revealed to him is not necessarily what our personal journeys there will reveal to us. Everyone has his and her own 'northern' truths to discover.

To conclude, I would like to read a poem from a volume entitled *North of Summer* by Al Purdy.² The collection describes the poet's journey to Baffin Island in 1965. His journey was perhaps more similar to ours than the other examples I have been using. He didn't become a shaman; he tried but his mind was far too rational. Neither did he meet any dead Beothuks or find any bodies that he had wanted to forget. He did see the North realistically, however, and at the end of his journey he felt confused by the meaning of his experience. The volume's concluding poem, "The Country of the Young", describes his persona meeting A.Y. Jackson in Pangnirtung. Already an old man, Jackson knows that to know 'the North' well, the poet will have to go home and think about it.

THE COUNTRY OF THE YOUNG

A.Y. Jackson for instance
 83 years old
 halfway up a mountain
 standing in a patch of snow —
 to paint a picture that says
 "Look here
 You've never seen this country

it's not the way you thought it was
Look again"
And boozy traders
lost in a dream of money
crews of homesick seamen
moored to a China-vision
hunting the North West Passage
they didn't see it either
The colours I mean
for they're not bright Gauguin
or blazing Vincent
not even Breughel's "Hunters in the Snow"
where you can get lost
and found in 5 minutes
– but the original colour-matrix
that after a giant's heartbeat
lighted the maple forests
in the country south
You have to stoop a little
bend over and then look up
– dull orange on a cliff face
that says iron deposits
olive leaves of the ground willow
with grey silver catkins
minute wild flower beacons
sea blue as the world's eye –
And you can't be looking for something else
money or a night's lodging on earth
a stepping stone to death maybe
or you'll never find the place
hear an old man's voice
in the country of the young
that says
"Look here"

NOTES

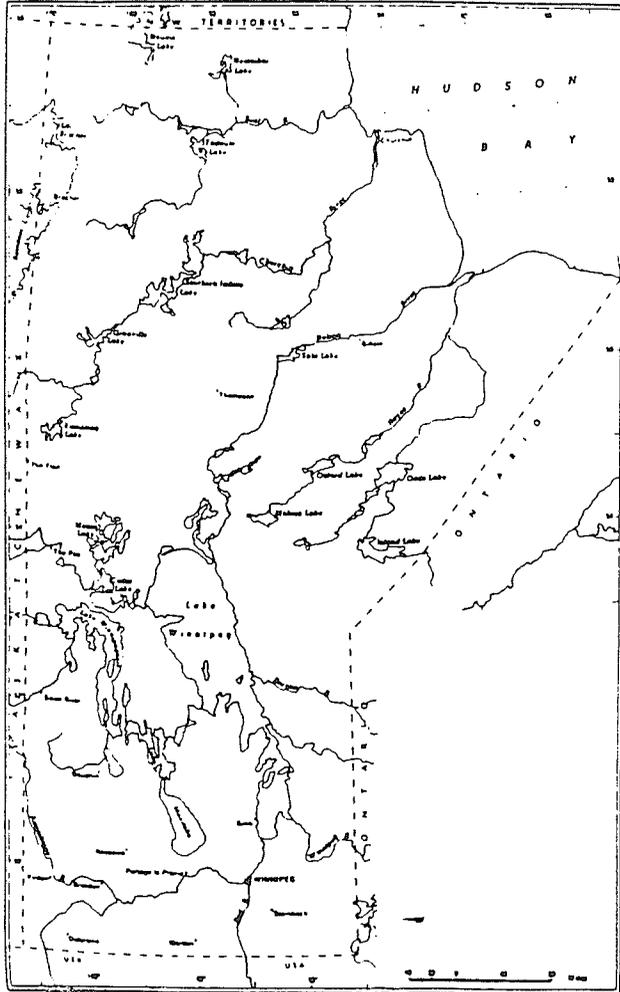
1. Otto Rank, "Life and Creation" in *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero and other writings*, ed. Philip Freund (New York: Random House), pp. 140-142. Rank also discusses the difference between the neurotic's and the criminal's response to life and death in "Life Fear and Death Fear" in the same edition, p. 275. In "Self and Ideal" Rank explains how the neurotic personality type creates an 'ideal Self'. This essay explains the psychological process that the narrator of *Surfacing* will experience if she chooses to continue her recreation.
2. From *North of Summer* (1967) by Al Purdy. The poem also appears in *Collected Poems by Al Purdy* by Al Purdy. Used by permission of the Canadian Publishers, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto.

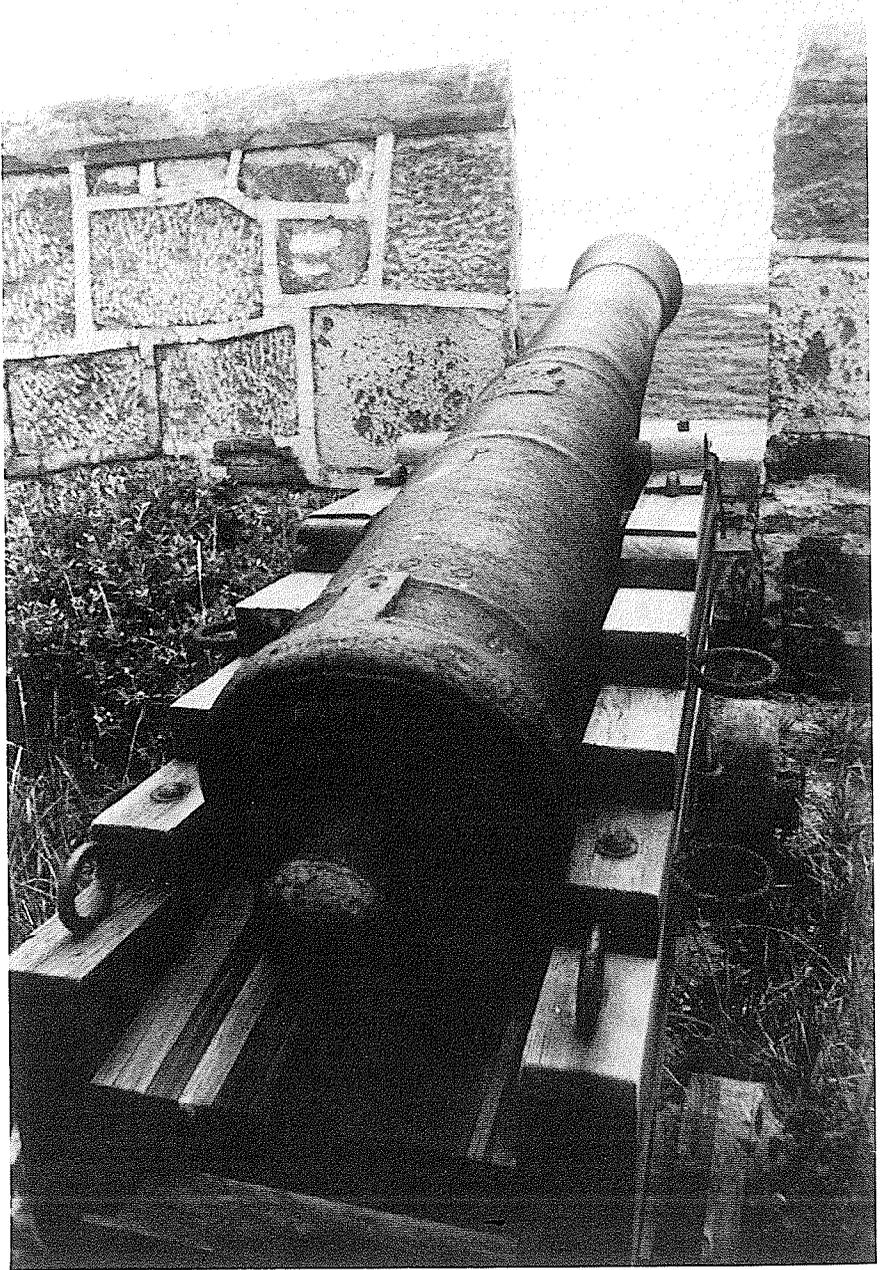


Spruce on a small island

PART II

HOW THE NORTH BECAME THE NORTH





Canon at Fort Prince of Wales

River and Bay: Interpreting Manitoba's North

Jean Friesen[§]

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Most of us think of our country, Canada, in a linear sense. We see it as stretching from east to west rather than encompassing half a continent and reaching from sea to sea to sea. We have all commonly absorbed a historical founding myth which views the Hudson River and the St. Lawrence River as the great entrances to the new continent. We give little thought to the historical place of the Mackenzie and Yukon, and the welcome they offered to the first peoples. Indeed, we follow an historical narrative which looks at the North rarely, and then only in the immediate late 20th-century terms of Arctic sovereignty, as the storehouse of national resource wealth, and occasionally in terms of what might be called a "muscular wilderness nationalism" where the North serves as the testing ground of Canadian 'manhood'.

Manitobans today probably share many of these perceptions, but in their history they have been offered a rather different sense of themselves. I propose (within the constraints of the next ten minutes) to examine the work of succeeding generations of Manitoba historians and to look at their perceptions of the North in Manitoba's past. For those who are not historians, I should underline that one of the common

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working assumptions is that all history is ideas; all history is interpretation. The historian seeks facts, a process which has been likened to the work of a fisherman. Since there are as many historical facts as there are fish in the lake, the job of the historian is to choose where to set the nets (that is, to define a topic), to select facts from the many caught in the nets, and to re-arrange them into the 'story'. Each historian will develop a story in his or her own way. History does and should change with the generations and according to the place and class of the historian. The history we learn in school will not be necessarily that which will sustain us in old age.¹

Manitoba's first generation of European or non-native historians was largely Scots educated – Alexander Ross, J.J. Hargrave and Donald Gunn. They were retired fur traders (or connected to the Hudson's Bay Company) who wrote from the experience of long careers in the Northwest. They saw little distinction between North and South. The Atlantic and Hudson Bay were their geographical references. They came from an era when Norway House, Fort Prince of Wales, and York Factory had been the seats of government and the source of economic direction for much of the western woodlands, plains, and subarctic. They saw Manitoba's North as the heartland of an empire which stretched to the Pacific, which had defeated a French economic invasion at the Bay in the 17th and 18th centuries, and by river and land from Montreal in the 18th and 19th centuries. Manitoba history for them was the history of the fur trade and of a victorious imperial company, the Hudson's Bay Company. It was an economic system tied to London, of course, but also to a recognisably new society of Orkney traders, Métis and Aboriginal labourers, Highland settlers, and European missionaries which eventually found its focus at Red River, but which existed in microcosm across the North at Fort Alexander, Cumberland House, or Norway House. The basin of Lake Winnipeg, its north-south routes for canoe, York boat, and eventually steamboat, gave a unity of economic interest, of communication links, and of kinship ties which was reflected in the historical interpretations of the "first" generation.²

After Confederation in 1870, Manitoba shrank. The old fur-trade empire was divided into Keewatin and the North West Territories, while

the Red River Settlement and the Portage Plains became the postage stamp province – merely a stepping stone in Ontario's westward expansion. The triumph of Ontario could be seen (and indeed is still visible) in the cultural landscape of the stone courthouses and modified Gothic buildings of Carman, Neepawa, Portage, and Brandon, which now became visibly different from the thatch, wood and bark of the fort-and-mission architecture that characterised The Pas, Grand Rapids, or Berens River.

Similarly, the historians of this age, Rev. Dr. George Bryce, Chester Martin, and the Manitoba Historical Society, were concerned with nation building and with creating in Manitoba the foundations of a province in the image of others – British, agricultural, modern and industrial.³ They drew on the iconography of Lord Selkirk and the fur trade, but in reality the North to them became distant and even racially and culturally distinct. The main communication route was no longer Lake Winnipeg and its rivers, but the Canadian Pacific Railway. Economic direction came from the East and the historians' political attention was focused on Winnipeg and its commercial ambitions to dominate a western (not a northern) agricultural empire. The influence of this generation of historians endured in schools and the popular imagination until the second World War.

From the 1950s to the 1970s the interpretation of Manitoba's past was dominated by W.L. Morton, native born and educated here and at Oxford. His one-volume study on *Manitoba*, written in the 1950s and revised and reprinted several times, begins with the European view of the northern and maritime frontier of Manitoba, with the work of Jens Munk and other European explorers, and it emphasises the importance of Manitoba's fur-trade empire.⁴ But Morton himself took great pride in having walked behind the plough and welcomed the imprint of agriculture and civilisation (he equated the two) on the landscape. There is, in a sense, a contradiction in Morton's work, for although he separated the North and South in moral terms, he strongly reiterated the significance of what he termed the unity of the Bay and the Plain in Manitoba's past. And in his other writings, Morton, more than other Canadian historians, envisioned a northern identity which differentiated

us from Americans or Europeans, and which gave the strong rhythm of the northern seasons to Canadian life.⁵ It was not a view that found much favour in Toronto, but it is a striking example of a particularly Manitoban interpretation of historical experience.

The third generation of historians, from the 1960s to the 1980s, is more numerous and diverse. Few are Manitobans, but all have added immeasurably to our understanding of northern Manitoba in the 17th and 18th centuries. With the relocation of the Hudson's Bay Company archives to Winnipeg, A.J. Ray, Jennifer Brown, Irene Spry, Frits Pannekoek, Sylvia Van Kirk, John Foster, and others created an academic field of fur trade studies with its own internal debates, journal, and scholarly conferences.⁶ Through the creation of Lower Fort Garry, the National Film Board, and other creative works, some of this material found its way into the popular imagination.⁷ In a sense these historians took the fur trade and the North out of Manitoba and placed it in its own academic world. But their most significant contribution has been to uncover the historical experience of many ordinary northerners since the arrival of Europeans. Indians became labourers, traders, interpreters, wives, consumers and producers. In European eyes they took on a differentiation of language, economy and territory, and became either partners of European traders or the epitome of economic man, depending upon the historian's interpretation of the massive documentation of the fur trade.⁸

In the 1980s we can discern a transition to a new northern history. Paul Thistle's work on The Pas, John Milloy on the Cree, the new Historical Atlas of Canada, Rick Enns on the economic context of Treaty 5, Martha McCarthy's history of Grand Rapids, and Leo Pettipas' *Oldtimers* share some common assumptions.⁹ All take as a given that their focus is northern and Native; most live in Manitoba but work outside the framework of academe and are responsive to the new imperatives of northerners themselves. They have contributed to the *Native History of Manitoba Series*¹⁰ and produced bibliographies and reports. Two years ago Tony Lussier, President of Keewatin Community College at The Pas, organised a successful northern-history conference whose proceedings were subsequently published in *Manitoba History*.¹¹

This year there will be two northern-history conferences, both at The Pas; one to commemorate Rev. Henry Budd, the first ordained Indian minister of the Church of England, the other to celebrate the life and times of Henry Kelsey. And perhaps even more significant are the community and family histories from Pukatawagan and Norway House.

Yet I argued that these were transitional works, for I believe that there is a new northern history yet to be written – one which will turn the world upside down. It will begin in the North, perhaps with Glacial Lake Agassiz, as the "People of the North Wind" began to occupy what is now Manitoba. It will concentrate not on the fragments of these cultures but on their achievements. It may follow the 'songlines' (as Aboriginal Australians might say) they created as they imprinted their visions and names on the rocks, rivers and inland seas of the tundra and boreal forest. Here the Europeans will be portrayed as being absorbed into the political framework of Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwa, and Chipewyan in the 17th and 18th centuries. The role of alcohol and European diseases may assume a much greater significance, while the message of Christian missionaries will be viewed from the perspective of an Aboriginal religion, which was intrigued by the new mythologies, but resisted the racial discrimination and Christian imperialism that accompanied the Christian gospel. Aboriginal and household economies will remain paramount in this interpretation of the pre-1870 period, although changes in fur-trade organisation and the introduction of steamboats will suggest the transitions to be made in the employment and daily life of many northern peoples.

As northern historians recreate the lives of the 19th century, perhaps they will see the Treaty Period (whether in the 1870s or later) as the significant transition of modern times. Although perceived by Indians in symbolic terms and as a form of political alliance, the treaties (and later the Indian Act) were used by Europeans to open the way to a long period of forced change, which involved tremendous loss of resources, self-government, religious freedom, and family cohesion.

This is the kind of history I anticipate could emerge, and it is one which, like all history, will be a form of empowerment for northerners. But it will be more than that, and it will carry a wider significance. It

is a story which has an international context. It offers parallels with the experience of other Aboriginal societies who saw similar invasions by European merchant, Christian imperialist and paternal governments, and who, in spite of resistance, were to suffer periods of great loss as did those in Manitoba's North. It places Canadian history in the broader global context – not an inconsequential development for a discipline which, since the 1960s, has been increasingly turned inward.

Secondly, it offers a far richer and more intellectually complex understanding of our past. The child of Manitoba who can re-unite the Bay and the Plain, who can recount the legends of Nanaboujou, who delights equally in an understanding of the Aboriginal spiritual world, the political ideas of Louis Riel, and yes, even the intricacies of the Manitoba School Question, is the child of a far richer inheritance. And, if we look at the dramatic demographic shifts that will occur in Manitoba in the next two decades,¹² we should recognise that it is this historical and intellectual perspective that will enable that child to understand the new world of Brandon and Winnipeg as well as The Pas.

NOTES

1. E.H. Carr, *What is History*, New York, 1962, is the classic expression of this perspective.
2. Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement; Its Rise, Progress and Present State*, n.p. 1856; J.J. Hargrave, *Red River*, Montreal, 1871; Donald Gunn, *History of Manitoba From the Earliest Settlement to 1835 and From 1835 to the Admission of the Province into the Dominion*, Ottawa, 1880.
3. George Bryce, *A History of Manitoba, its Resources and People*, Toronto, 1906. For the Manitoba Historical Society, see the article by G.A. Friesen, "The Manitoba Historical Society: A Centennial History," *Manitoba History*, no. 4, 1982.
4. W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, Toronto, 1957.

5. W.L. Morton, *The Canadian Identity*, Toronto, 1961.
6. The Hudson Bay Company magazine *The Beaver* functioned in the 1970s as the journal of the fur trade. The North American Fur Trade Conference meets regularly and publishes its proceedings.
7. See particularly the series *Daughters of the Country*, which was largely written and produced in Manitoba and deals with the historical experience of mixed-blood women.
8. One of the significant debates in fur-trade history has been among formalists, characterised by the work of A.J. Ray, who argue that Indian trading practices quickly came to resemble those of the 'economic man' of classic economic theory. That is, they responded in a European manner to the dictates of supply and demand.
9. Paul Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840*, Winnipeg, 1986; John S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy, and War 1790-1870*, Winnipeg, 1988; The Historical Atlas of Canada, vol. I, *From the Beginning to 1880*, (ed.) R. Cole Harris, Toronto, 1987; R. Enns, "The Fur Trade at Norway House 1796-1875: Preliminary Considerations in the Discussion of Treaty 5", Winnipeg: Thesis (M.A.), University of Manitoba, 1989; Martha McCarthy, *Grand Rapids, Manitoba*, Papers in Manitoba History no. 1, Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation, 1988; Leo Pettipas, *People of the Northwind*, Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation, 1988.
10. The *Native History of Manitoba Series* is produced by the University of Manitoba Press, but is governed by a separate Board composed of Janet Fontaine, Elijah Harper, Doris Young, Raoul McKay, Gerry Friesen, George Schultz, Emma Larocque, and Wayne Moodie.
11. *Manitoba History*, 1989. Special Issue, *The North*.
12. Current studies indicate that in the mid-1990s, one in four people entering the labour force of Manitoba will be Aboriginal.



*"Ambassadress of Peace" – A Chipewyan woman makes peace with the Crees, 1715"
Hudson's Bay Company 1953 Calendar from a painting by Franklin Arbuckle*

Northern Manitoba 1870-1970 – An Historical Outline

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Dame Veronica Wedgwood, the great English historian, once described her excitement at discovering that there might be a form in the seemingly infinite patterns of human experience, that jumbled backgrounds could actually fall into place to create a meaningful picture, that a period full of detail might exhibit an architecture. She went on to say that this discovery was accompanied by 'the parallel recognition that truth has more than one face'.¹ Her words clarify my own reaction to the assignment of reviewing the history of northern Manitoba from 1870 to 1970. I have discovered forms that were unknown to me, and that truth, indeed, has more than one face. The following pages will offer a brief outline of the region's experience and it will emphasize that there are two northern histories, one Aboriginal and the other European-Canadian.

How did the North become the North? European-Canadians would reply differently, depending on the age in which they lived. In the 1860s, a pivotal decade in the history of North America, *les pays d'en haut*, or the North, or the Northwest (the terms were interchangeable)

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offered the scattered and divided British colonies of central and eastern Canada an escape from political deadlock and an economic opportunity. Therefore, the North was not just an after-thought in Confederation but one of its central purposes. The North at that point comprised all the lands west and north of lakes Huron and Superior; it provided Canadians with a reason to be a nation.²

The linking of North and West, as in the popular references to the Northwest, ended in the 1880s and 1890s when the prairies, as potential wheatbelt, seized the popular imagination at home and abroad. Thus, from then until the 1940s, the North withdrew to the line of the boreal forest. For most of this time, it was not central to Canadian thought because the great national task was the settlement of the prairies. It did enjoy a certain reputation, as the attraction of the Group of Seven paintings and of Grey Owl demonstrated, and it entered Canadian consciousness as a result of economic developments in the 1920s, but its position did not really change.³

I believe that the location of the North shifted once more as a result of World War II. Across Canada, the introduction of new technology, money and people made a great difference to northern Canada. In Manitoba, the differences took the form of air bases at The Pas and Churchill, an electronic communications station at Churchill, new weather stations and radio services, roads and trucks, and stores and wage labour, as well as the institutions of a growing provincial empire. These new events and institutions actually divided the North in two from the 1940s on: the Middle North, or provincial north, as in Manitoba, which was above 53° latitude, and the Arctic, which was north of 60°.⁴

Aboriginal Canadians probably perceive the evolution of the territorial term North quite differently. As early as the 1860s, European-Canadians observed that some Native families (Indian and Métis) were moving away from settled parts, in this case Red River, because they were driven out or because they wished to continue a hunt-based existence.⁵ In 1895, Father Morin described a similar exodus from the Edmonton area, arguing that the Métis preferred the "freedom" and the "solitude" of the more northerly communities like Athabasca and

Mackenzie.⁶ From this perspective, the Aboriginal North was defined by a traditional economy and community. I suspect that, for many, this type of North, a place that was beyond the reach of modern communications, ceased to exist at some point between 1940 and 1970.

The political history of the North will, in Native terms, focus first on the signing of treaties in the 1870s and the adhesions of 1908-10. The treaty implied a relationship between relative equals, despite the overriding sovereignty of the Crown. Native political history shifted dramatically in character in 1876 with the Federal Government's passage of the Indian Act, which removed Indian autonomy completely, and reduced Indians to the status of "wards of the state" or children. As a result, the context of the Indian Act constitutes a second subject of study. The third context of Native political history began with the Natural Resources Transfer of 1930. By this agreement, control over public lands and natural resources was transferred from Ottawa to the provincial governments. This was followed by a much more interventionist administration of the North, including direct provincial supervision of traplines, fishing, hunting, and timber cutting. The fourth major theme in the political history of the Aboriginal North began when Indians regained the right to vote (they had voted in the first Manitoba election of 1870) and to hold provincial and federal office; it is only since 1952 in provincial elections, and 1961 in federal elections that all Manitoba Indians have been able to participate in this formal process of choosing the governments and policies that shape their lives.⁷

The European-Canadian version of northern political history began with the boundary definitions in 1870 and 1881, the 1884 court decision on Ontario's boundary claim, and the 1905 creation of Saskatchewan. During this period, indeed from the 1870s to 1912, most of the Manitoba North was known as the District of Keewatin, not that this made much difference, since it was ruled from Winnipeg by the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba. The territorial definitions changed when Robert Borden became Prime Minister. To repay Manitoba's loyalty to Conservatism, Borden extended the province to 60° North in 1912, thereby adding 180,000 square miles (466,164 km²) to the original

70,000 (181,286 km²). The extension created a province about the same size as its western counterparts.

A third phase of European-Canadian political history comprises the establishment and operation of local governments and municipalities, as in The Pas, Pine Falls, and Flin Flon. They were created between 1912 and the 1930s, an era when provincial administration of resources commenced and when an extensive campaign to provide health and educational services in the region was launched.

A fourth phase has been labelled by Robert Robson, the age of "wilderness suburbs". In this most recent period, government and business have collaborated in the creation of megaproject-type communities, which differed from their southern cousins only in location, or so it was hoped.⁸

This brief note represents an outline of two versions of northern political history. It is nothing more than the skeleton, however, and would require much research to fill in properly. Politics is only a part of a proper history, we must remember, and should be supplemented by discussions of economic developments and cultural change. Again, Aboriginal and European-Canadian versions will differ.

The remarkable diversity of Native economic adaptations after 1870 is the first striking theme in Native economic history. Trapping, fishing, logging, freighting, and farming all supplemented the returns of the traditional hunting and gathering in the two generations stretching from 1870 to the First World War. The Native economy was at once separate from and integrated with that of Whites and, in this period, it sufficed to ensure survival, though it was far from offering plenty.⁹ Moreover, the Indians had less control than ever before over their lives. Aboriginal wage labourers, of course, might expect to be at the mercy of their employers because they had little power to resist, except by walking away from their jobs. However, even Aboriginal People who followed traditional hunting and trapping practices were noticing the effects of White intrusions on animal populations, as was the case along the route of the Hudson Bay Railway.

The second phase of Aboriginal economic history extended from 1914 to 1940 and was marked by great fluctuations in fortune. Fur

prices plummeted in 1920-21, rose sharply after 1924, and collapsed again during the Depression. The pressure on wildlife resources increased substantially, to the point that depletion of some species became a worry. The creation of the muskrat marshes at the Saskatchewan Delta in the late 1930s was one expression of this concern, and the absence of alternate wage work in the 1930s affected Native as it did White families in Manitoba. One-third of all Indians in Canada received some form of relief payment in 1937, often grudgingly it should be noted, and tuberculosis approached epidemic proportions.¹⁰

The third period in an Aboriginal economic history extended nearly to the present. It was distinguished by the continuous weakening of the traditional mode of household-based economic production and its replacement by various forms of government transfer payments, along with Aboriginal involvement in wage labour in the growing settlements in both the mid-North and in the South. Government-inspired economic experiments, from tourist camps, fisheries and handicrafts on the one hand, to timber cutting and local construction on the other, marked the transition to Native dependence on the state as the source of economic innovation, but the lack of political commitment and of bureaucratic continuity did not serve either administrator or administrated well.¹¹

How different would the European-Canadian economic history appear? It is possible to base such a narrative on transportation technology, so fundamental is it in the northern history of European-Canadians. One might begin with the canoe and York boat, both of which provided adequate means of carrying furs to the Bay and conveying a limited array of trade goods to Native hunters before the 1860s.¹² The railway-led transportation revolution that re-ordered the North American continent in the mid-nineteenth century, and much of the globe as well, made possible the movement of tonnes of goods in every season. It was pivotal in the history of northern Manitoba. Its first impact was the abandonment of the historic Bay route to London, and thus the York Factory-Norway House axis, in favour of the steamboat and rail link between Winnipeg, Minneapolis, and the Atlantic. From the 1870s to the 1890s, the railway of the southern prairies also sustained a steamboat connection between Winnipeg, Grand Rapids, and the

Prince Albert-Edmonton territory to the northwest. As the railway advanced, the steamboat retired, and by the late 1890s, the Regina-PA and Calgary-Edmonton branches, built north from the Canadian Pacific, had undercut the steamer traffic.¹³

The rail revolution then launched the next phase of northern Manitoba's economic history. The cause was the Hudson Bay Railway, which had been devised by Winnipeg businessmen in the 1880s to sustain an independent (from central Canada, that is) economic outlet to Europe for western trade. The 1880s attempts were unsuccessful, but the plan was revived after 1900. Under pressure from parkland farmers, Laurier blessed the project briefly. As a result, a rail line reached The Pas by 1908. There it stalled, only to be rescued by R.L. Borden, who pushed the line toward the Bay before the war intervened. Mackenzie King was Prime Minister and, again, subject to pressure from prairie farmers, when the line was finally completed in 1929. The grain terminal opened two years later.¹⁴ The Hudson Bay Railway was crucial to European-Canadian economic history not only for its encouragement of frontier agriculture, which was itself notable in the 1920s (more in Saskatchewan than in Manitoba), but for its contribution to new frontiers in northern Manitoba. Those economic frontiers included forestry (based in The Pas), mining (Flin Flon, Sherridon), and hydro-electric development (Grand Rapids), all of which were utterly dependent on the existence of this very rail line.

The most recent period of European-Canadian economic history is that since World War II, and has been designated by Morris Zaslow as the era of megaprojects in the provincial norths. Lynn Lake, Thompson, Leaf Rapids (mine developments), and the Churchill Forest Industries adventure (timber and paper) all could be categorized as megaprojects. It is noteworthy that each was associated with extensions of the Hudson Bay Railway. Another group of megaprojects was based on the hydro-electric potential of northern rivers, first on the Saskatchewan, then on the Nelson River.¹⁵

Other themes than transportation itself also figure in the North's European-Canadian economic history. One is the history of the workforce – unions, worker turnover, and the psychology of an age-

stratified and boom-bust type of community. Another is the history of outside ownership (chiefly American). A third concerns the vicissitudes of a single-enterprise town based on an export staple.¹⁶ Still another type of economic history would consider European-Canadian treatment of the local environment.

Beyond politics and economics, there is another kind of history that asks about the psychic adjustments or cultural adaptations that a community undergoes. Very little of this story has been told. If the descriptions of Aboriginal beliefs prepared by fur trader George Nelson in 1823 are even partially accurate, we have a long road to travel before we will understand how Manitoba's Native People reacted to the assertions of Christian missionaries during the nineteenth century. Should this be a story of continuity in Aboriginal religion, or of drastic readjustment? One suspects that the former, continuity, is closer to the truth, and that syncretism will be the dominant theme, but the history is yet to be written.¹⁷

Finally, what of the cultural history of northern Manitoba's European-Canadians? Morris Zaslow has argued that the northern experience in Canada was not a recapitulation of the American frontier experience. That is, the Canadian experience was not as individualist as the American. Instead it was directed by large, hierarchical corporations and powerful governments. Canadians never attained emancipation from their metropolitan controllers as did the inhabitants of the American West, according to Zaslow; rather, the Canadian North and Northwest were supervised by police and civil servants from the early days, and the Native People were not exiled to reserves but, for better and worse, were left to continue their traditional economies until the pressures of resource depletion and modern society drove them into settlements.¹⁸

W.L. Morton, Manitoba's premier historian, would add that neither the North nor Manitoba as a whole ever created, or could expect to become, a separate and distinctive culture. Manitoba was a part of a larger community. Nevertheless, Morton talked of the "action and reaction of settled south and wilderness north", of the "natural selection" that created a special breed, the Manitoban, and concluded in the first edition of his definitive history of the province: "Manitoba, like Canada,

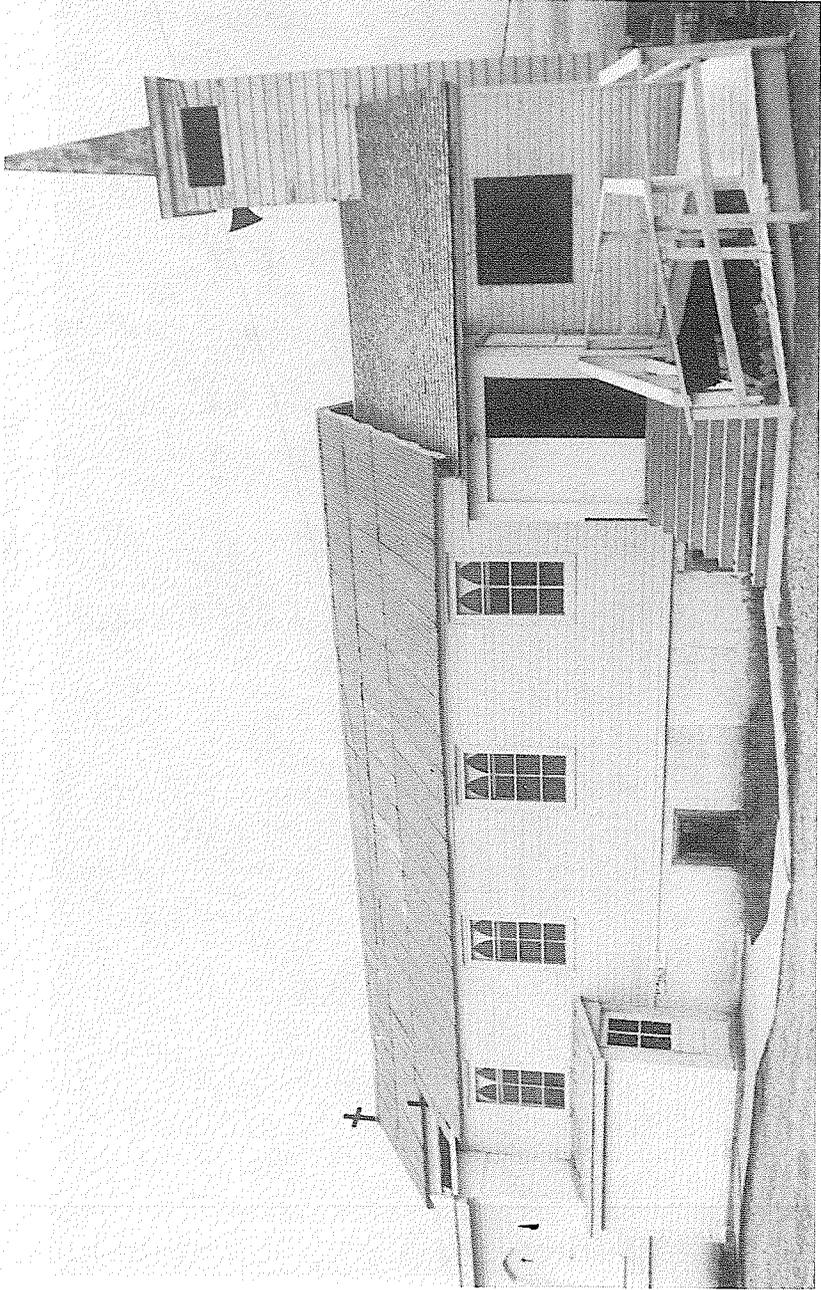
was the response to the challenge of the North, a challenge not quickly or easily met. And those who remained and met that challenge, generation on generation, might hope to see in the life of their country, by work of hand or word of spirit, some stubborn northern flowering".¹⁹ We might say that this was just rhetoric, that Professor Morton was leaning toward the romantic in these closing lines of a deeply felt book. But there are several truths in his words. First, all Manitobans are northerners, and all Manitoba is North, as we have seen in one version of Canadian geographical perceptions. Second, one crucial part of Manitoba history does lie in the interaction of its South with its North, especially for European-Canadians. In the preceding outline, I have sketched the skeleton for several other generalizations. Drawing upon Veronica Wedgwood, I have suggested that the truth of the northern Manitoba story has at least two faces, Aboriginal and European-Canadian. And, fourth, I have suggested that the form of the story, the architecture or pattern, probably requires that divisions be drawn in the decade of the 1870s and again in the 1925-1945 span. Such a periodization separates the era of Aboriginal dominance in the North, the age before 1870, from an age of Native and European co-existence, the 1870s to the 1930s. The story since World War II, as in the rest of Canada and other formerly peripheral areas of the world economy, is one of global integration.

NOTES

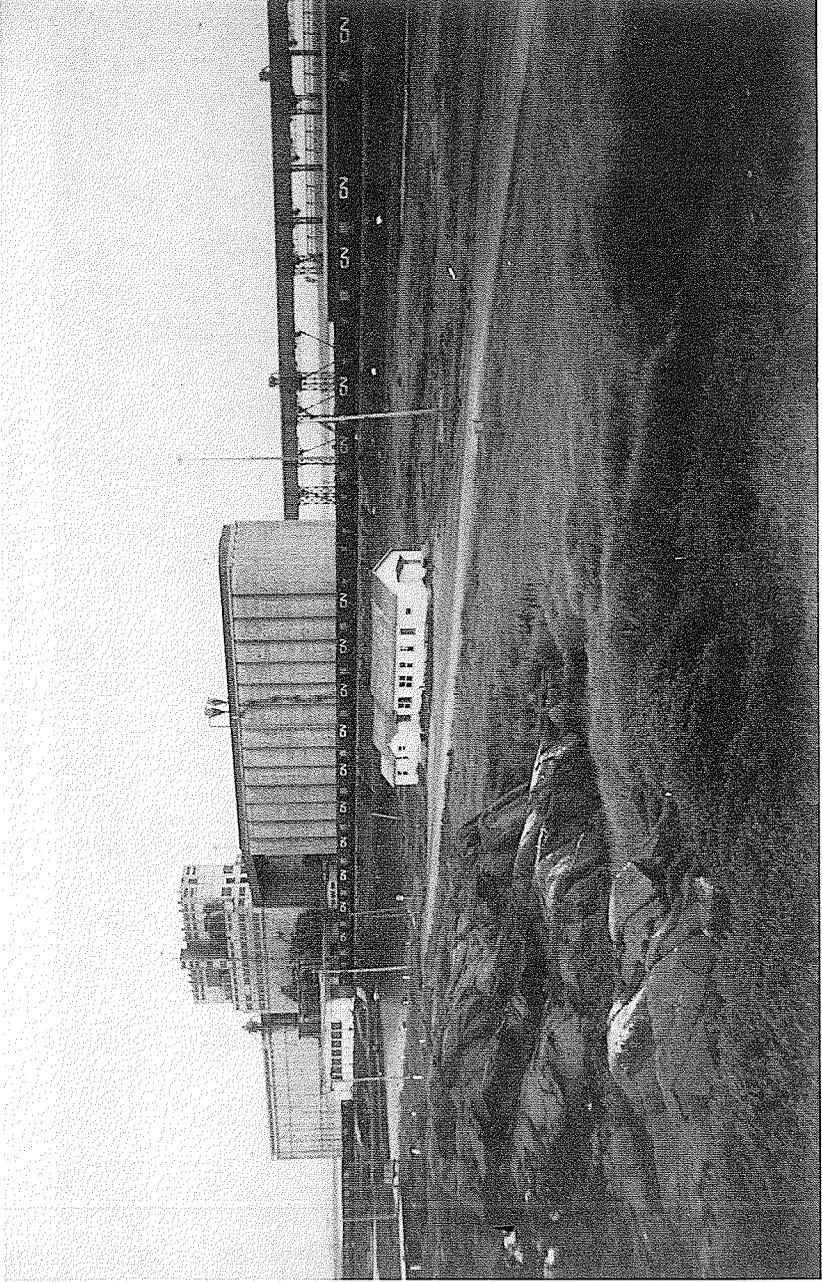
1. C.V. Wedgwood, "The Velvet Study" in her *History and Hope: The Collected Essays of C.V. Wedgwood*. (London 1987) p. 15.
2. Doug Owsram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West*, (Toronto 1980).
3. Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North 1870-1914*. (Toronto 1971) pp. 28-29.

4. Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada 1914-1967* (Toronto 1988) is organized on this interpretation. The idea of provincial empires is addressed by Larry Pratt, "The State and Province-Building: Alberta's Development Strategy" in Leo Panitch, ed. *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power*. (Toronto 1977).
5. Gerhard Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation: Migration and Persistence of the Red River Metis, 1835-1890". Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers*, 1988.
6. Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North...* p. 23.
7. John S. Milloy. "The Early Indian Act: Developmental Strategy and Constitutional Change", in Ian Getty and Antoine Lussier *As Long As the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*. (Vancouver 1983); and Frank Tough, "Native People and the Regional Economy of Northern Manitoba; 1870-1930s", Ph.D. dissertation, York University, 1987.
8. Robert Robson, "Manitoba's Resource Towns: The Twentieth Century Frontier", *Manitoba History* 16, (1988); and R. Robson, "Wilderness Suburbs: Boom and Gloom on the Prairies, 1945-1986". *Prairie Forum* 13, 2 (1988). Local histories have been published by many Manitoba communities. Examples include *The Pas: Gateway to Northern Manitoba* (1983) and Valerie Hedman, Loretta Yauck and Joyce Henderson, *Flin Flon* (1974). Government reports are also helpful. One excellent example is Martha McCarthy, *Grand Rapids, Manitoba* (Papers in Manitoba History, No. 1, Manitoba Government, 1988). A useful overview is provided by John Kendle, *John Bracken: A Political Biography* (Toronto 1979).
9. Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto 1990); Frank Tough, "Native People..." (Ph.D. dissertation); and Stuart Raby, "Indian Treaty No. 4 and The Pas Agency, Saskatchewan, N.W.T." *Saskatchewan History* XXV (1972).
10. Frank Tough, "Native People..."; Arthur Ray, *Canadian Fur Trade...*; and Morris Zaslow, *Northward Expansion* pp. 167-73.

11. John Loxley, "The Great Northern Plan" *Studies in Political Economy* (1981); also John Loxley, "Economic Planning Under Social Democracy", in Jim Silver and Jeremy Hull, eds. *The Political Economy of Manitoba* (Regina 1990).
12. John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978.
13. M. McCarthy, *Grand Rapids...*; Theodore Barris, *Fire Canoe* (Toronto 1977); Gerald Friesen, "Imports and Exports in the Manitoba Economy 1870-1890" *Manitoba History* 16 (1988).
14. Howard A. Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet: A History of the Hudson Bay Railway* (New York 1976); Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North...* pp. 88-100 and 218-23.
15. James B. Waldram, *As Long as the Rivers Run: Hydroelectric Development and Native Communities in Western Canada* (Winnipeg 1988); Philip Mathias, *Forced Growth: Five Studies of Government Involvement in the Development of Canada* (Toronto 1971); James A. McAllister, *The Government of Edward Schreyer: Democratic Socialism in Manitoba* (Kingston 1984).
16. Rex A. Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry* (Toronto 1971); M. Zaslow, *Northward Expansion...*
17. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Robert Brightman, eds. *"The Orders of the Dreamed": George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823* (Winnipeg 1988).
18. Morris Zaslow, *Northward Expansion...* pp. 367-75.
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Anglican church at Churchill, Manitoba



Churchill, Manitoba grain terminal

Manitoba: The Dynamics of North-South Relationships

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The purpose of this paper is to examine changing perceptions of the North and of North-South relations. It begins by looking at some of the views of the North as presented in the first reports on northern Manitoba in 1916/1918, but I should make it clear from the outset that I am not an historian. To paraphrase the Premier, paraphrasing the Bruntland Commission – economics is what I do.

1992 will be the 80th anniversary of the northern territory being added to Manitoba, when 178,000 square miles [461,000 square km] were brought into the province. This marked the beginning of a profound change in how the region was perceived. To that point in time, the European view from the South was that the North was "a vast stretch of rock, water and muskeg";¹ "a back door and a closed one at that"; "a barren, inhospitable and practically worthless district"; "an obstacle in the way, one to be overcome in the shortest and most expeditious manner possible"² – "a hinterland".³ By 1917-1918 this

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perception had changed completely. J.A. Campbell, the first Commissioner of northern Manitoba, who was actually based in The Pas, observed that: "Northern Manitoba is now beginning to have a really definite meaning to the people of Canada as a vast territory with immense possibilities just in the initial stages of its development". "There exist there natural resources of great richness and variety".⁴

Speaking of the mineral potential of the region, J.B. Tyrell remarked that: "The people of Canada have begun to realize that there is in northern Manitoba a great country which is worth exploring and developing for the natural resources which it contains".⁵

The North, then, was seen as the key to industrial development in the province as a whole and was referred to in those terms. It was argued that "in order to round off the industrial life of the community, new resources had to be tapped, and that the Northland, in all probability holds the key".⁶

The main instrument by which this would be brought about would be the railroad to Churchill, which was expected to do for the North what railways had done for the South. It was already clear by 1917, therefore, what directions northern Manitoba would take.

People were talking about mineral deposits and the development, in particular, of copper. They were envisaging forestry development; they were anticipating hydro development and were even specifying the major sites. With a few exceptions, what has followed was more or less predicted at that time, although obviously, the rich variety of mineral deposits was not outlined in any detail.

In addition to this mineral-hydro-forestry development of the North, there was a vision which included agriculture. People were enthusiastic about its prospects. They also had in mind a more balanced, integrated development of the North in which agriculture would play a key role even where the main emphasis was on minerals. As early as 1917, Tyrell speculated that: "If I should be alive twenty years hence and should have the good fortune to be able to revisit this country, which I have watched from its economic birth, I shall confidently expect to see in it towns and villages which will be centres of profitable mining industries and also a prosperous farming community which will not only

be raising a food supply adequate for the use of the country itself, but also for export to assist in feeding those who live in cities or districts less favourably situated".⁷

So there was this view of the North as an integrated economy, serviced by its own agriculture. There was also an early recognition of the potential of tourism.⁸ Thus, by the end of the First World War, there were already clear economic visions for the North, some of which have dominated and continue to dominate North-South interactions.

The most striking aspect of this early report on the North's potential though, was that with the single exception of a reference to the role of an Indian man in discovering a huge deposit of copper, Native People were singularly absent. And, indeed, in describing the North as a 'hinterland', there was a suggestion of it being inhabited not only by a sparse population, but perhaps also by an inferior civilization.

The second theme was that as early as 1917/18, the main purpose of developing the North was considered to be resource extraction rather than improving the well being of people who happened to live there. Implicitly, already, there was a suggestion that development of the North would be for the common good, meaning the good of the society beyond the North (i.e., that it would be driven by imperatives other than the needs of northern Native People).

Thirdly, the State was expected to play a key role in developing the North, focusing at that time, of course, on the railroad. And finally, there was an emphasis throughout this Report on large-scale production. This was the form that developments were going to take, with important implications for the Native inhabitants. Hendry, writing in 1918, already foresaw the hydro developments on the Nelson River, and argued that such developments would all be large undertakings.⁹ People also thought at that time that large industries would move north, out of industrial centres and to the source of hydro energy.¹⁰ They also spoke of lumber mills which would rival those of the East, again with an emphasis on large-scale production.¹¹

Some of these themes continue to dominate views of the North today. Production is concentrated on forestry, mineral and hydro development, and is large scale. Tourism is also well established. We

know, however, that the railroad did not lead to the North developing in quite the same way as did the South since economic integration has not developed the way that people thought it might after the First World War. In fact, production in the North is basically for export, while inputs required for production are imported, and profits themselves are exported. The North is, in essence, a classic case of an open economy. It is not an integrated economy, and with the exception of the Pasquia project and a few gardens, the agricultural potential of the North has not been realized.

In more recent times, perspectives on the North have changed somewhat. The 1963 Report of the Committee for Manitoba's Economic Future (COMEF) envisaged the North becoming more integrated with the South.¹² This represented a move away from the idea of integrating northern industries more closely together, towards the goal of integrating northern and southern industries. The emphasis, therefore, was industrial amalgamation in the province as a whole, suggesting that this had not been a feature of past development.¹³ The explanation for this is that industrial enterprises in the North had been integrated with economies elsewhere through exports.

Native People were certainly not ignored in the COMEF Report, which in many respects was a remarkably enlightened document for its time, but the development strategy proposed by the Committee led inevitably, in my opinion, to the neglect of the needs of Native People. They saw resource development as the key to economic development, reiterating the theme of Campbell's Report in 1917-1918 – no effort must be spared to stimulate resource development in northern Manitoba.

Secondly, they emphasized even more so than in the 1917-1918 Report the importance of scale. Large-scale production was important for competition and for engaging in trade in the world economy. There were numerous quotes which emphasized this in mining, forestry, and hydro. "The type and scale of investment required for major resource development will require investment by organizations who can manage large resources of technical knowledge, experience and capital...there is little hope for developing such resources to the full except in cooperation with enterprises which operate on a world-wide scale".¹⁴

A further theme in the COMEF Report, absent in the 1917-1918 Report, was an emphasis on urgency; things had to be done quickly. Why? Because, if resources were not used to the full, they would be wasted. "The power resources of northern Manitoba are a good example of a resource whose potential economic value can be lost if left undeveloped too long".¹⁵

This is a theme which was prevalent in the Schreyer government in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Premier Schreyer was concerned, in particular, that there were huge quantities of free water running away to the sea whose potential was being lost. Hence the province should build large hydro dams. In the COMEF Report there was a similar theme applied to forestry. "The benefits to be reaped from the early development of what is now a wasting asset in northern Manitoba offer adequate justification for government intervention".¹⁶ There was, therefore, a feeling that any tree not cut down and made into a paper bag was a wasting asset.

The next theme in the COMEF Report was one which obviously was not present in the 1917-1918 Report, but one that has come to dominate thinking on the North – that the traditional economy could provide a living for the people of the North and that manufacturing industries were not likely to be established there.¹⁷

And, finally, once again the State figures prominently in the COMEF Report. The State's function was to promote private foreign investment for large-scale industrialization and it would make things happen in the North because without State intervention the private sector would not participate.

Putting all these themes together, it follows logically that the COMEF Report would recommend an economic strategy of integration for Native People. Native People ought to be made 'productive' by joining the mainstream of White, urban, industrial society through migration. But also, putting together these various emphases on resource development, scale, urgency, and a contempt for other ways of life, it is not surprising that the goal of integrating Native People into mainstream life has been very difficult to achieve and, in fact, has not been realized.

By the early 1970s there was already widespread scepticism about this particular model of development, although at the same time, there developed a theoretical rationalization for the problems faced by Native People in the North. This rationalization, based on theories of dualism, now permeates literature on northern development, particularly the writings of fairly senior civil servants who moved from the province to the Federal Government, and who had significant influence on shaping economic-development policy in northern Manitoba. This theoretical influence is that not of geographical dualism but economic and social/cultural dualism. This approach argues that alongside a modern industrialized White society, which enjoys the good Canadian life, there is a Native society characterized by drunkenness, an inability to adapt, a lack of reliability, and an inability to participate in industrial society. It posits, therefore, a kind of cultural dualism which becomes racist in its connotations. This is not to say, by the way, that the civil servants I had in mind took it to this extreme, but their type of analysis was in fact carried to that extreme by the 1974 Report on Northern Transportation, which adopted a particularly crude form of dualism.¹⁸

Dualism came to the fore in the Northern Working-Group Report of 1971, which recommended again, for the North, an emphasis on resource development.¹⁹ By this time hydro had become prominent, with mining and forestry continuing to play important secondary roles. There was recognition that the mining sector in particular had failed to integrate Native People – that it had failed to offer them jobs. But there was a view, at the same time, that these two Norths were quite separate, both physically and culturally. This task-force report argued that: "to a very substantial extent the development of the new North had left the old North comparatively untouched".²⁰

One can immediately think of large sections of northern society for which this observation is patently not accurate – the Northern Flood communities, the people of The Pas and Churchill. Nonetheless, the report emphasized this dualism, the inability of Native People to adapt, and argued that the resource base was insufficient for community development, repeating a theme in the COMEF Report. The conclusion was again, inevitably, that people should relocate. But the working

group did not feel that it was appropriate to continue existing policy, which encouraged the younger people to migrate. They felt that government emphasis should be, instead, on moving whole families.

By the mid-1970s in Manitoba, economic policy had shifted dramatically, at least on paper, with the adoption of the Northern Strategy for Development. This emphasised a commitment to the government's stay-option – that, as far as possible, people ought to have the right to stay in their communities. The Report attempted to develop a strategy which would converge the northern economy, i.e., one which would use northern resources to create employment and economic activities in the North, and would keep the benefits of resource utilisation in communities. The emphasis was on small-scale and participatory approaches to development. The role of the State was still to be an important one, but the scale of its activities was reduced enormously. The State would facilitate, help plan, and subsidize. This policy was never fully implemented for a variety of reasons discussed elsewhere by the author.²¹

Contemporary approaches to economic development in the North can be said to be quite ambiguous. The emphasis is still put on resource development for export, particularly hydro, forestry and mining development, given the Conawapah dam, the Repap project, and planned expansion of Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting. The ambivalence flows from the continued view of a lack of alternative projects for small and Native communities.

The State plays a major role in promoting large investments and continues to do so in a variety of ways through direct investment, privatisation at give-away prices, and subsidisation. But the State is also, now, much involved in smaller communities that rely on its assistance for welfare, job creation, infra-structure, local government, health care, etc., in some of which fields there have been improvements in recent years. The largest employer in these communities is, in fact, the State. What has not improved is the economic base, and so the ability to sustain these economies through their own taxes and incomes is simply not there. Most effectively remain, therefore, wards of the State. They do not own or even participate significantly in the massive resource

projects of the North, although they are frequently adversely affected by them.

The current approach to development in the North is a reflection of how society at large lives in Canada, and indeed, in the industrialized world. There is an emphasis on limitless growth, and here I would disagree with the introductory remarks of the Premier. The Bruntland Commission contains some major flaws – the main one being that it assumes that continued growth and sustainability are compatible and that the environmental effects of growth can be managed.

Secondly, our society has a throw-away mentality. We even throw away whole towns (e.g., Lynn Lake); once we are done with it, we dispose of it. There is no attempt to think in creative terms about how society might manage such single-resource towns beyond the life of the resource base. Thirdly, and relatedly, resource development continues to be emphasized at the expense of community development. Fourthly, we accept consumption patterns as they are and we base our economic development on the notion that consumptive growth is limitless. So, for instance, Manitoba is putting several billion dollars into the Limestone and Conawapah projects without thinking of how we might, for instance, reduce our consumption of hydro. It may well be that the many billions of dollars going into all the projects might be better spent reducing the national consumption of energy.

Finally, there is an assumption that pollution is a necessary price for meeting consumptive needs, e.g., the notion that, in the case of the Repap project, bleaching paper is a good thing to do and it needs to be done. So, the problems that Native northerners face come partly from this general approach to development.

An alternative approach is needed, urgently, which would have entirely different implications for the people of both the North and the South. Such an approach would attempt to put people and the environment first, reduce scale, emphasize quality rather than quantity; it might even emphasize part-time work as opposed to full-time work, and it would emphasize conserving versus using resources.

This approach would not value the North only as a limitless deposit of resources. Indeed, it would have a different perception of resources.

For instance, it would not automatically assume that resources are wasted if they are not dug out of the ground or chopped down. In this respect, it seems that new technologies might open up new possibilities for the North. These new technologies emphasize small-branch production and economy of scope, as opposed to economy of scale. They minimize transportation as a problem; they overcome remoteness as a problem.

These new technologies can be applied on a small scale and they are portable. There is, therefore, the possibility that the wide-spread adaption of these technologies in the North might open up new ways of living that do not threaten the environment and which do not undermine or threaten the attachment that people still have to traditional ways of life. Whether or not this will happen of course, will depend partly upon whether or not State policy can be adapted to move away from its emphasis on large-scale resource-based development and begin looking at more flexible and creative ways of meeting people's needs in the North.

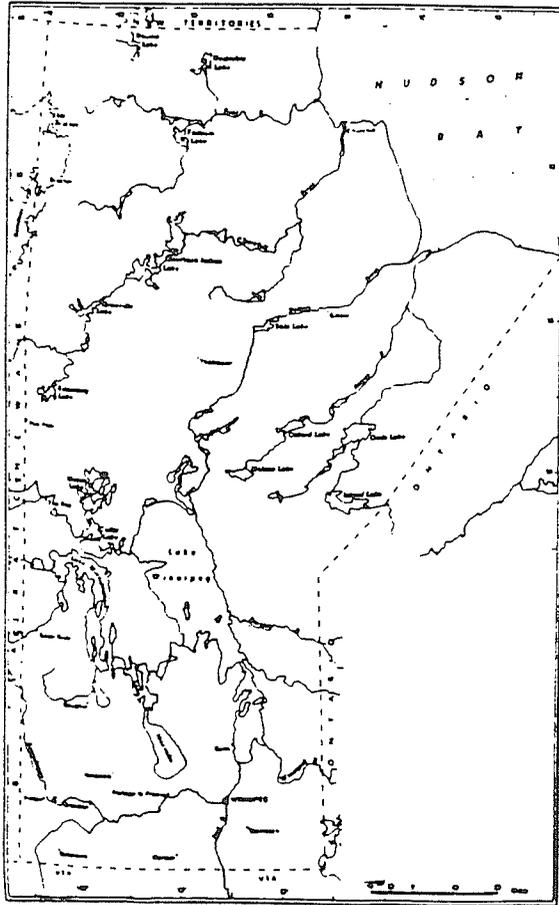
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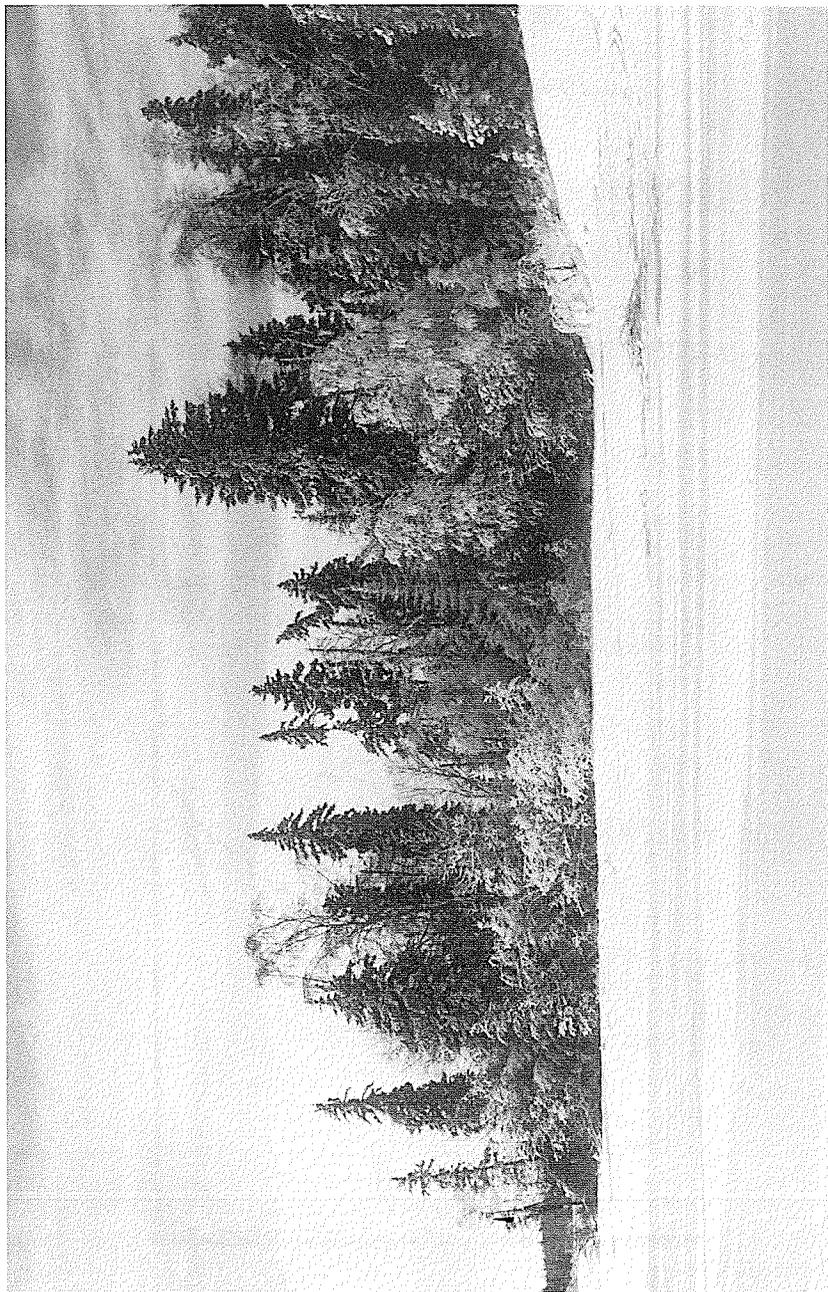
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PART III

NORTHERN REALITIES – THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT





Boreal forest in winter

The Boreal Forest of Manitoba in a Global Context

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The boreal forest is the taiga. Originally a Russian word meaning "a marshy forest in Siberia", the word has come to mean the circumpolar coniferous forest. Taiga has remarkably few species of plants. In some regions, hundreds of square kilometres are dominated by four species of trees – two kinds of spruce, birch and aspen. In a few regions, literally thousands of square kilometres have 90 percent of the tree biomass represented by one species – larch.

Because the dominant trees are conifers, particularly spruce, the general aspect of the taiga is essentially the same wherever it is found – spire-like spruces against the skyline, lumpy pines, feathery larches, white-barked birches, and dense stands of alders, together forming a mosaic pattern when viewed from the air. The climate, soils, plants and animals are an interacting fabric which is distinct from other

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associations adjacent to it. Although there are a number of important regional variations to the taiga, they are but phases of what is obviously the same biotic association (Pruitt 1978).

Poleward from the taiga is a transition zone or ecotone of varying width, sometimes as much as several hundred kilometres. This is the forest-tundra, which can occur in two different aspects. There may be scattered trees with shrubs between, or there may be isolated bits of forest in protected sites. I differentiate between taiga and forest-tundra by restricting taiga to forest sufficiently dense to allow a red squirrel (*Tamiasciurus*) to travel from tree to tree without having to come down to the ground.

In the South, the edge of the taiga is more difficult to define. Here the coniferous forest intergrades with a complex of vegetation types – northern hardwoods, prairie through the forest-steppe or aspen parkland, and many interlocking types in the mountains.

The taiga consists primarily of highly resinous coniferous trees and is therefore extremely susceptible to fire. Although wildfire was a regular occurrence in precontact times in North America, the frequency of wildfire has increased enormously since the taiga was invaded by European cultures. In interior Alaska, about three-quarters of the spruce-birch taiga has burned, and in other regions of North America, such as northern Saskatchewan, virtually all of the spruce taiga has burned. In northwestern North America, the taiga characteristically regenerates through stages of fireweed (*Epilobium*), birch (*Betula*), and aspen (*Populus tremuloides*), but on the Canadian Shield, after spruce taiga is destroyed by fire, jackpine (*Pinus divaricata*) stages persist for many, many years. Alders (*Alnus*) frequently form impassable chaparral-like thickets, functioning as nitrogen-fixers.

An important aspect of taiga vegetation is the presence of berry-bearing shrubs. Such plants as blueberry (*Vaccinium*), high-bush cranberry (*Viburnum*), low-bush cranberry (*Vaccinium vitis-idea*), crowberry (*Empetrum*), cloudberry (*Rubus chamaemorus*), and rowan (*Sorbus*) are important in the lives of taiga birds, mammals and people.

The taiga is truly vast in extent. It makes up 27 percent of the world's total forest ($17 \times 10^6 \text{ km}^2$) and occupies 11 percent of the land

area of the Northern Hemisphere. In North America north of Panama, the taiga occupies 17 percent of the land area of the continent. Eighty-three percent of the total area of taiga is in Alaska, Canada, and the USSR.

The Siberian taiga is the largest forest in the world, stretching some 5,700 km from east to west and some 1,300 km from north to south. In North America the taiga encompasses an area extending some 6,200 km from east to west and 500 to 800 km north to south.

Taiga meets the tundra at the base of the Seward Peninsula in western Alaska, sweeps across the continent south of Hudson Bay, and encompasses most of the Island of Newfoundland. In Eurasia it begins in Norway, covers most of Sweden and Finland, then extends across the Soviet Union to Chukotka.

Taiga is trees, mainly evergreen trees. This is more than a simplistic statement of the obvious because the tree-growth habit influences many ecological aspects of northern regions. The usual reason given for most northern trees being evergreen is that there is not sufficient time to grow leaves afresh every spring. It is true that in evergreens photosynthesis can proceed immediately the leaf achieves some minimal operating temperature, but then why don't larches have evergreen needles? And why are birches and aspens so successful in the taiga?

As far as snow cover is concerned, there are two main classes of trees in the taiga. The spruces and pines stand straight and tall and are relatively stiff. The spire-like outline, the downward sweep of the lower branches, combined with (or perhaps because of?) the heritage character of evergreen foliage, enable the spruce to exist even though for long periods of the year it may be loaded with great masses of snow. They resist *qali* – the accumulation of snow on their branches. Birches, alders, and young aspen, on the other hand, lose their leaves, and their twigs and branches are remarkably limber and bend beneath the load of *qali* but recover in the spring. The limber alder bends nearly flat under its load of *qali*, but the following spring resumes its upright posture.

Because of the angle of incidence of the incoming solar radiation, twilight lasts many hours in the taiga region. During long summer mornings and afternoons, when the low-lying sun characteristically

shines *under* the canopy of spruces, as well as during long periods of twilight in the winter when the sun itself has dipped below the horizon, there still is sufficient light for small birds to feed. Moreover, in the winter, when the solar radiation is restricted, the cover of snow reflects what available light there is. Therefore, the yearly total of effective visible light in the taiga is probably more than in other ecological associations on earth.

While the annual temperature regime of the taiga may vary widely from place to place, certain patterns are characteristic of this ecological association because of its general geographic position. During the long days of summer, the temperature is strongly influenced by the incoming solar radiation and may fluctuate accordingly. During the short or non-existent positive radiation periods in winter, however, the influence of solar radiation becomes negligible. At this season the taiga exhibits an "air mass" climate; that is, the ambient temperatures depend to a large extent on the characteristics of the air mass that overlies the region. An air mass that contains much water vapour (clouds) impedes the loss of radiant heat to space and the ambient temperature remains relatively high. When this air mass is replaced by one containing little water vapour, there is less to prevent the escape of heat to space and the air chills rapidly. Moreover, any warm body exposed to the clear sky loses heat rapidly by radiation. Research in the subarctic taiga of interior Alaska showed a sky radiant temperature of -75°C with an air temperature of only -36°C in late January (Hardy and Stoll 1954; Stoll 1954). During such periods of extreme radiant heat-loss, some taiga mammals (such as the snowshoe hare), which live on the snow surface, spend much time beneath snow-laden spruces and alders where they are protected from radiation loss to the sky.

The network of green, needle-covered branches that makes up the taiga traps incoming solar radiation, bounces it back and forth, and eventually absorbs a good proportion, with only a small part lost back to space. Within the forest, then, the ambient temperature is usually somewhat higher than that outside the forest; the extremes are not as wide. Also, the needles and twigs catch the wind and slow it down so that windchill is less within the forest than outside it.

Because of the ever-present chlorophyll-loaded needles, photosynthesis can sometimes take place even in winter, if there is intense sunlight. This means that levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide may be less within the forest than outside it. The most frequent precipitation pattern, the only one common to all facies of the taiga, is the presence of an annual snow cover. This may last only a few weeks in some parts of the taiga, while in other regions it may last 230 or more days. In comparison with some associations that border it (the tundra and aspen parkland, for example), the taiga has remarkably little wind. Because of this factor (as well as because winter temperatures are usually continuously sub-freezing), the snow cover of the taiga is typically soft and of low density (Pruitt 1990), even though it varies greatly in thickness from place to place and from year to year.

One of the characteristics of taiga is the usual presence of podzolic soils. Podzols typically possess a surface humus layer of slowly decomposing coniferous litter, underlain by a light grey or nearly white mineral layer, which, in turn, is underlain by a brownish or reddish layer. The humus is typically strongly acidic. The light-grey horizon results from the massive leaching of nutrients; they are deposited lower down, in the reddish layer. When a podzol is ploughed, planted, and exposed to air and rain, the grey layer frequently coalesces into a "hard-pan" which is quite impermeable to water. It may then remain in such a condition for many years.

Most of the foregoing information is now of historical interest only.

One of the main environmental concerns of the present day is the postulated "enhanced greenhouse effect" caused by the marked increase in atmospheric carbon (carbon dioxide, methane, etc.). There is considerable disagreement and argument in the scientific community about the exact magnitude of the effect and its causes, but it has the potential of being second only to "nuclear winter" as a world-wide ecological calamity. *Prudence dictates that we give serious consideration to all aspects and potential effects.* Everyone, I believe, agrees that use of fossil fuels is one of the major sources of atmospheric

carbon dioxide. What is not generally appreciated is that about half of the atmospheric CO₂ since about 1860 has resulted from forest clearing; indeed possibly 10 percent of the total atmospheric CO₂ has resulted from the marked human invasion and almost explosive clearing of forests between 1860 and 1890 (Wilson 1978).

The carbon locked up in living plants of the taiga is about 8.8 kg m⁻² for a total of 84 x 10⁹ tons C (84 Gigatons) (Olson et al 1983). When the forest is clear-cut, most of this begins to be released into the atmosphere. There is a dramatic change in the forest microclimate: increase in temperature, decrease in moisture, increase in the extremes of soil temperature, increase in wind, and degradation of permafrost. There is loss of vegetation on the forest floor, especially lichens. There is, of course, total loss of arboreal lichens.

In some aspects of the taiga, and in associated bogs, carbon has been locked up in peat for hundreds, even thousands of years. Not only is there carbon locked up in the peat, but the energy that went into synthesizing the chemical compounds (e.g., lignins, cellulose, other carbohydrates, fats, etc.) is still there in the chemical bonds holding them all together. The cold, wet, acidic and anaerobic environment of the peat beds has preserved the materials with their energy bonds virtually intact. In Manitoba, carbon represents about 40 percent of the biomass of peat and is sequestered here at a rate of 372 kg ha⁻¹ yr⁻¹. Twenty-five percent of the world's pool of soil carbon is in boreal and wetland ecosystems. The total mass of peat in Canada and the USSR contains 5.6 x 10²¹ Joules of energy, the equivalent of twice the capacity of all the potential hydroelectric sites in the world.

An unknown factor in all calculations regarding the "greenhouse effect" is: How much atmospheric carbon is required to cause global warming to become a positive feedback loop? In other words, *when* will the drying and oxidation of the taiga and its peat cause enough global warming to cause further drying and oxidation to cause further warming to become uncontrollable, no matter what we do? I wish the people with tunnel vision who say, "Bring on global warming so we can grow more wheat", would take a world ecological view and consider this aspect. If the 5.6 x 10²¹ Joules of energy locked up in the peat in the USSR and

Canada were released, I suspect there would be no return. Is the present-day annual release from drying peat of 3.68×10^8 tons of carbon already too much?

The cutting rotation of taiga varies greatly: in Finland it is supposed to be about 30-40 years; in Manitoba in the southern portion of the central taiga it is supposed to be 40-50 years (but I have never heard any independent botanist give less than 80 years); in interior Alaska it is 120 or more years. In contrast, in Guatemala one can grow a saw log in 15 years.

Even if dramatic changes in our lifestyles result in effective re-cycling of all items and goods, gross reduction in the manufacture of most items, as well as great reduction in use of fossil fuels by controlling energy demands and increasing use of non-fossil energy sources, there will still be a need for some dimension lumber and pulp. But taiga, because of its slow growth, is more valuable to the world as a carbon sink than as a source of dimension lumber and pulp. Bogs have too much carbon and energy locked up in them to allow them to be drained for any purpose.

Wheaton et al (1987:120) stated: "Finally, it may be that the preservation, pollution-abatement and water-storage values of the western boreal forest are greater than all other values of this forest... It is also these values that may be affected most by changes in climate".

The great concern about destruction of the tropical rain forests results not from their use but from their wanton destruction by clear-cutting and burning and their replacement by poor-quality pasture and scrub that has only minimal power to sequester carbon. It is technically possible to obtain lumber, pulp, medicinals, nuts, and the myriad other products of the tropical forest without clearcutting and burning. Several examples exist of successful co-management of tropical forest by native peoples. Myers (1988) has shown that a sustained yield of timber, fruits, medicinal plants, and wildlife from tropical forests can yield some \$200 per hectare per year, contrasted with only a \$150 per hectare, *one-time* yield with destructive clearing.

I recently watched a video of a local meteorologist talking to a group of foresters about the *increased* forest productivity with

greenhouse climates. This is another example of non-ecological tunnel vision. Projections of future greenhouse-dominated climates postulate that the taiga will undergo more changes than any other forest type, possibly a large reduction in area from about 17×10^6 km² to about 10.5×10^6 km² and a poleward shift in boundaries. Some estimates go so far as to predict a loss of 99 percent of the taiga.

The vegetation types of Canada today form continent-wide zones. The continent wide zonal expanse of the taiga is striking. This pattern is the result of about 10 thousand years of development of soils, and shuffling of plant and animal species and communities. The vegetation zones projected by Environment Canada as the result of doubling the atmospheric CO₂ form isolated patches. Where is the Manitoba taiga? Where is the increased forest productivity? Where is Repap's wood supply? Now, these new distributions cannot happen in the short time predicted for the basic climatic change. Grasslands cannot just jump into place. Trees move slowly, on the order of a couple of kilometres per hundred years; animals can move faster, but no faster than their habitats can move and survive. Moreover, trees are genetically adapted to the latitude/photoperiod of their site. Movement of a species northward is thus limited by the speed of genetic change through natural selection (Vaartaja 1954, 1959).

Although some slight greenhouse warming will probably occur, and may actually be occurring already in spite of efforts to prevent it, the full blast is not inevitable. We can prevent it. Recent calculations by Sedjo (1989) have shown that 1 hectare of new forest will sequester about 6.24 tons C yr⁻¹. Therefore 465 x 10⁶ hectares of new forest will sequester the free carbon emitted into the atmosphere annually. I have calculated that, in order to sequester our share of new atmospheric carbon, Manitoba should immediately plant 560,000 hectares of *new* forest (an area about 23 percent of the size of Lake Winnipeg). We certainly should not enter on a grand scheme of increased cutting of the *present* forest.

An action of mass planting, such as I propose, would be a salutary and symbolic demonstration of our sincerity in fighting this environmental catastrophe. It would also immediately put Manitoba in

the forefront of environmental activity, not only in Canada, but also in the world.

Therefore, I have proposed that forests of tropical and subtropical regions, because of their much faster growth rate (shorter cutting rotation and consequent greater flexibility to meet changes in demand), be used as sources of lumber and pulp, while taiga remains uncut and be used as a carbon sink. This will be a service to all mankind, and the countries or regions undergoing the change-over and furnishing this service should be compensated by the United Nations or from some special international fund set up for the purpose. But where would the money come from to pay for such a massive programme?

For Canada, the change would be relatively easy. The total net value of the Canadian pulp and paper, wood, and logging industries is 14.35×10^9 dollars per year. Therefore, this could be compensated *annually* by what the world spends on arms every two weeks. Indeed, most of the cost of replacing Canadian pulp and paper, wood, and logging industries could come from diverting the approximately 11×10^9 dollars per year, which we now spend on the Canadian military establishment. The woods workers would still be woods workers, only now they would be engaged in planting and caring for forests instead of cutting down trees. Other workers, such as those in the mills and transportation, would still be employed in supplying and assisting the woods workers. Maybe even military personnel could be employed in truly patriotic and useful ways.

Obviously, such a change will require dramatic modifications in economic and social strategies and systems. Our governments are not making these changes. Indeed, they are continuing the same old "business as usual" routines. For example, in 1988 the International Conference in Toronto, entitled "The Changing Atmosphere" and sponsored by the Government of Canada, produced several recommendations which were hailed in glowing terms by the Prime Minister.

The Conference recommended:

- 1) *Reduce* atmospheric CO₂ by 20 percent of 1988 levels by the year 2005 through imposed energy efficiency and modification of

supply. BUT, the Federal Government has *increased* CO₂ emissions by allowing increased export to the United States of Canadian natural gas, sufficient to cause about a 4% increase in our contribution to the United States' production of atmospheric CO₂. The Free Trade Agreement now makes it impossible to decrease this amount. The Government of Canada has also increased emissions by decreasing subsidies to such an energy-efficient mode of travel as the passenger train.

The Conference recommended:

- 2) Halt deforestation and increase afforestation. BUT the Provincial Government has signed agreements for vastly *increasing* the amount and rate of deforestation in Manitoba.

The Conference recommended:

- 3) Devote *increased* resources to research programmes concerned with scientific aspects of the problems. BUT the Federal Government has greatly *decreased* support of environmental research by savaging the budgets of the Department of the Environment, the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, and the National Research Council in the fields of research on non-fossil fuel sources, energy conservation, and soft-energy paths.

The Conference recommended:

- 4) *Increase* funding to non-governmental organizations and educational institutions to permit the establishment and development of educational campaigns and others. BUT the Federal and Provincial governments have eliminated, decreased, or not increased financial support for non-governmental organizations and educational institutions.

Are we willing to suffer the collapse of our life-support systems in order to continue blindly supporting outdated and ecologically harmful, governmental social and economic ideas and activities?

The Manitoba Task Force on the Environment has recommended, among other things, that:

- I) Because the basic rationale for clear-cutting is not ecology but economics, tax laws and government subsidies be restructured to make alternative forestry and agricultural practices more attractive and viable.
- II) The Provincial and Federal governments immediately cooperate in a massive programme of planting trees and shrubs as windbreaks and shelterbelts, wildlife refuges, watershed protection and shade, and carbon sinks, not only in rural but urban situations as well.
- III) The Seal River and its entire watershed remain in natural condition under Priority 1 or Priority 2 of the Land Philosophy as a provincial or national park.
- IV) The Government of Manitoba do all in its power to persuade the Federal Government to install (or re-install) programmes and financial support to reduce drastically Canadian burning of fossil fuels by means of, for example: (a) encouraging and subsidizing train travel instead of subsidizing aircraft, bus, or automobile travel; (b) electrifying the transcontinental line of Canadian National Railways; (c) preferential use of such an energy-efficient mode of transportation as steel wheels powered by hydro-electricity and running on steel rails for government travel and shipping, including some categories of Canada Post, instead of air, bus, truck, or automobile travel and shipping; and (d) elimination of direct or indirect support of any project intended to explore for, or increase extraction, consumption, or export of petroleum or other fossil fuels.
- V) The Government of Manitoba do all in its power to persuade the Federal Government to rescind the Free Trade Agreement with the United States.
- VI) The Government of Manitoba do all in its power to persuade the Federal Government to restore the activities of the Department of the Environment, the Canadian Wildlife Service, the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, and the National Research Council,

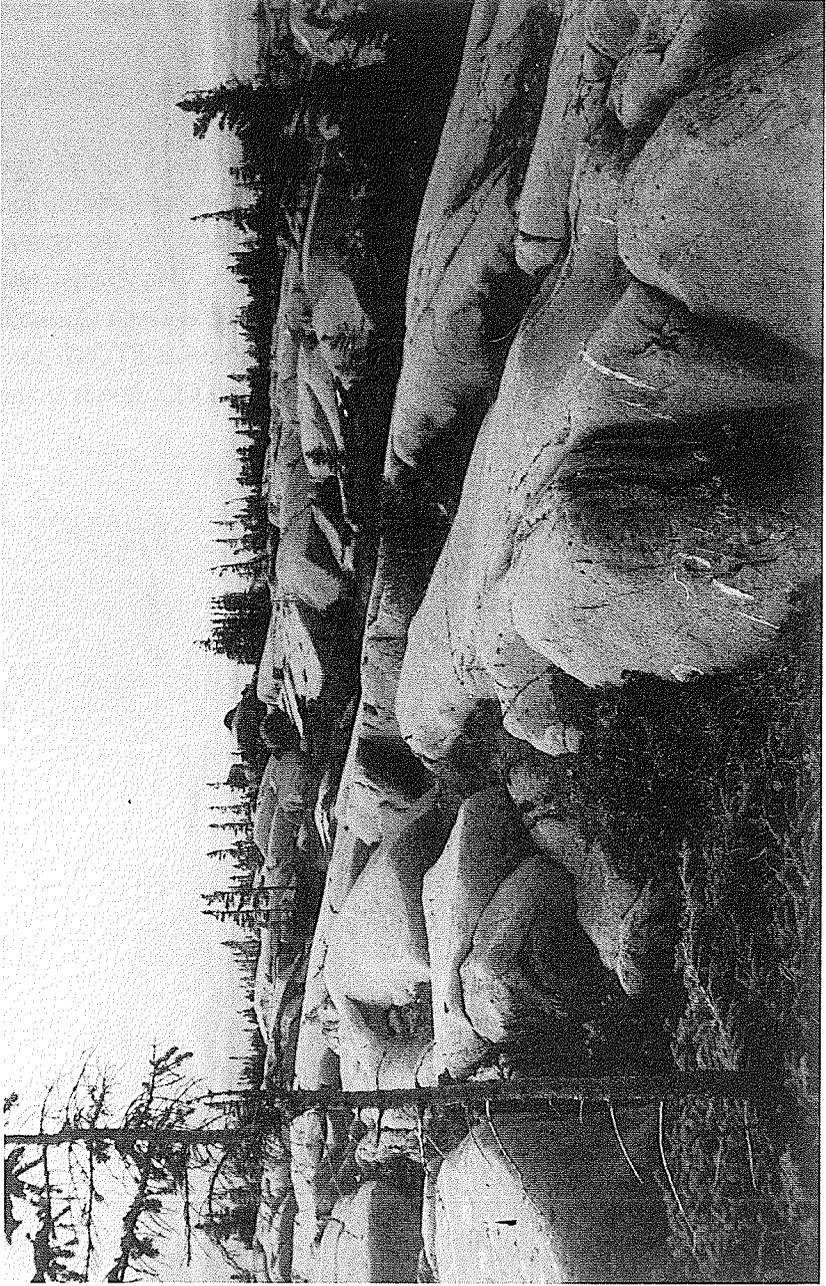
especially in the fields of pollution research, soft-energy paths, alternate-energy sources, and energy conservation.

Prevention of the environmental crisis looming ahead requires dramatic and imaginative efforts such as those we have suggested. Considering the magnitude of the world expenditure on machines of war, converting the physical resources now lost on armaments into actions to delay or prevent the climatic and environmental catastrophe of the "greenhouse effect" (whatever magnitude actually occurs) is clearly within the financial capability of humankind. Is it within our ethical capability?

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Rock outcrop at Churchill, Manitoba

Northern Waters: The Discovery and Development of the Rivers of Northern Manitoba

Robert Newbury[§]
Stream Hydrologist

PHYSIOGRAPHY

The rivers of northern Manitoba occupy a unique physiographic position in the centre of North America. Most rivers run outward from the interiors of continents, for example, the Yukon, Mackenzie, Columbia, Mississippi, and St. Lawrence. The Mackenzie and the St. Lawrence drain most of Canada in long channels which follow the edge of the raised arc of mainly granitic rock that surrounds Hudson Bay – the Canadian Shield. The exceptions to this pattern lie in northern Manitoba.

The Churchill and Nelson rivers drain towards the centre of the continent and flow across the Canadian Shield in a "short-circuited"

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route to sea level at Hudson Bay. The rivers flow through a topographic valley in northern Manitoba which has been eroded by countless glaciations along the boundary of two major geological zones of the Shield – the Superior and Churchill provinces. This valley through the Shield allows the interior rivers – the western Churchill, Saskatchewan, Souris, Assiniboine, Red, Rainy, English, and Winnipeg – to collect in Manitoba and flow directly to Hudson Bay through the Churchill and Nelson river channels. In a political sense, these are water-import rivers that receive waters from over a million square kilometres of land that lies outside the Province.

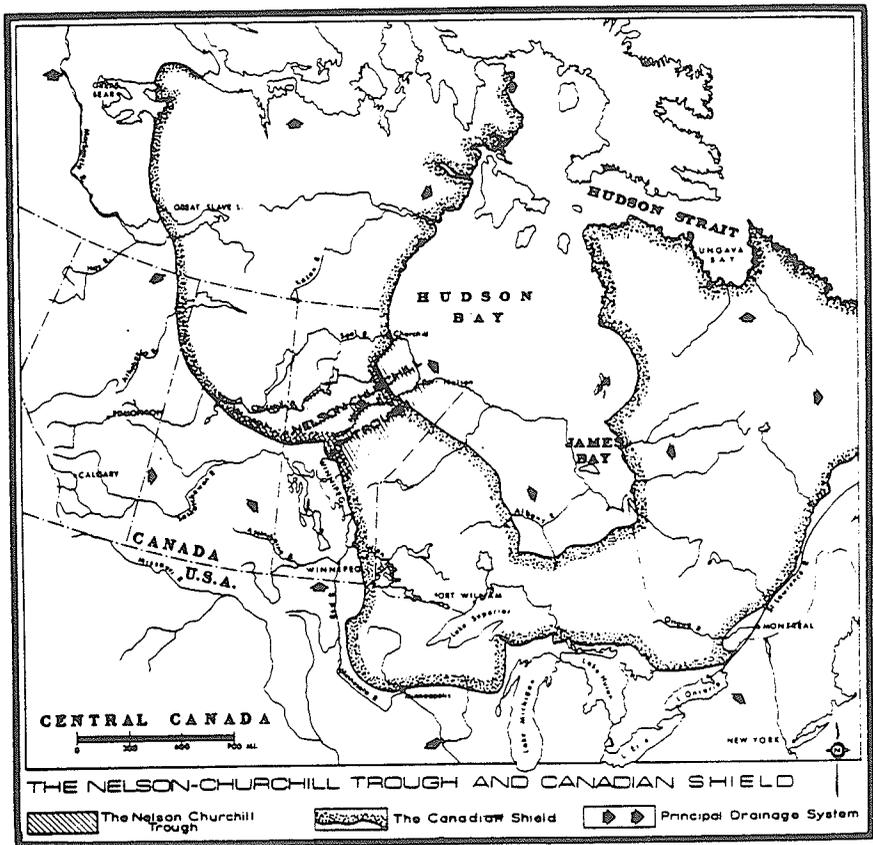


Figure 1. The Nelson-Churchill Trough and Canadian Shield

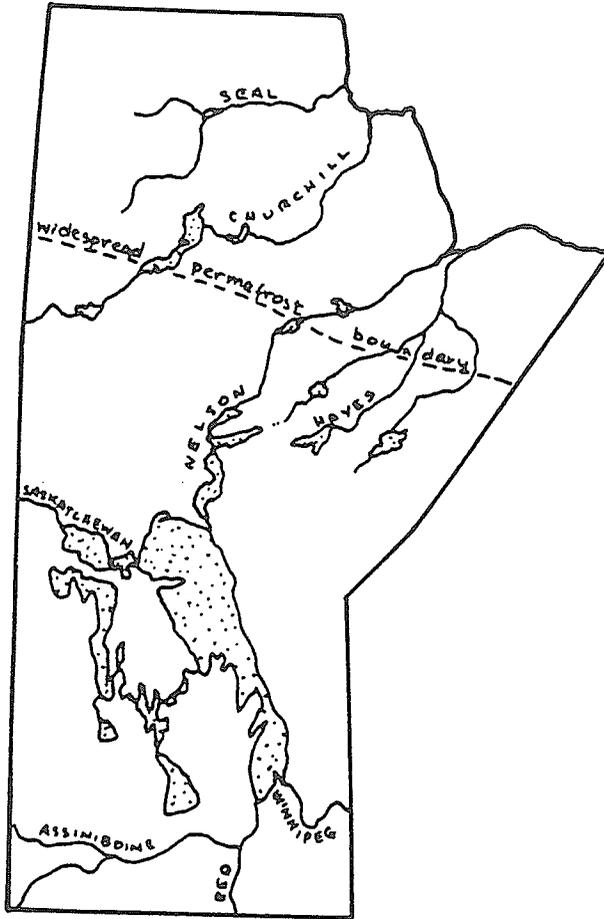


Figure 2. Major northern Manitoba rivers which follow the Nelson-Churchill valley.

There are two large internal rivers that follow the Nelson Churchill Valley to Hudson Bay as well – the Seal on the northern edge of the valley, and the Hayes on the southern edge. These rivers, although not as large as their extra-provincial neighbours, drain most of the rest of northern Manitoba.

valley of the Nelson and Churchill rivers through the Canadian Shield was discovered and the passage from the docks of England through Hudson Bay to the western plains and mountains of the interior of North America was established. York Factory became the central shipping and receiving port for the Hudson's Bay trade for over 150 years.

David Thompson, accompanying his Native wife and her family, discovered that there was a secret to the route taken into the interior.

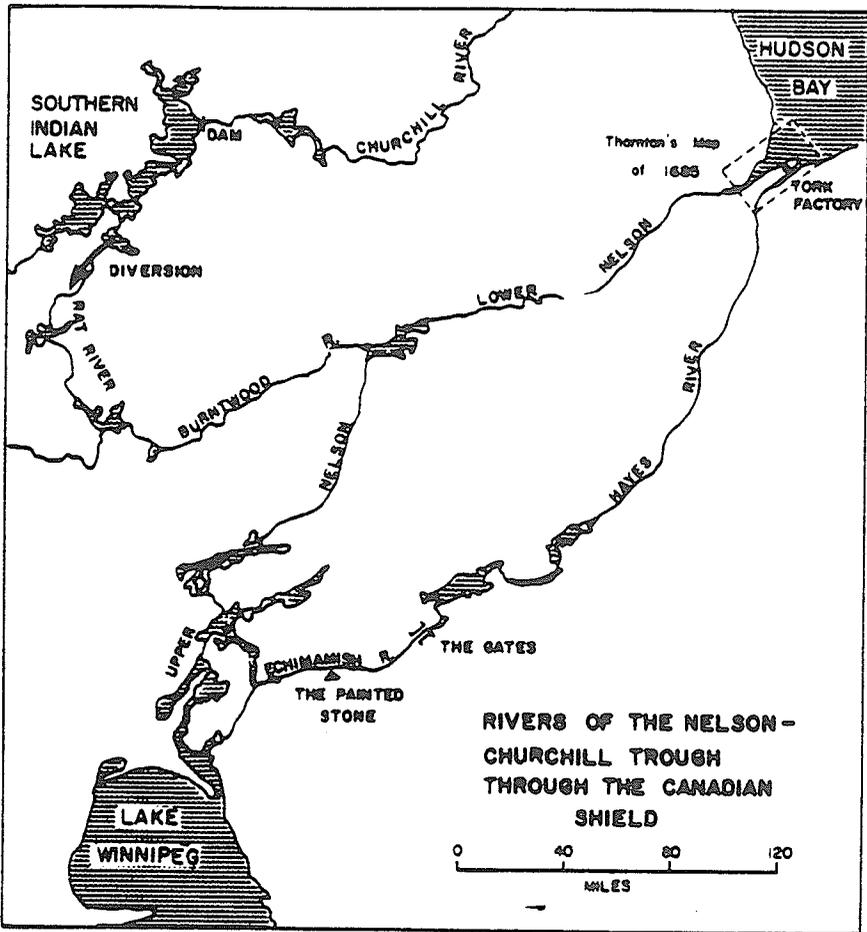


Figure 4. The Echimamish connection mapped by David Thompson.

Because of the extended size of the Nelson and Churchill drainage basins, the rivers were too large to navigate down the valley, but they provided navigable tributaries (the Winnipeg, Red, Assiniboine, and the Saskatchewan rivers) into the interior. To travel through the lower valley, the secret was to follow the Hayes River up to the very beginning of its western arm to the small valley of the Echimamish River. At the extreme end of this valley, the flow in the river reversed at a point called the Painted Stone Portage, and it became a tributary of the Nelson River that entered just below Lake Winnipeg – the staging ground for all of the interior rivers. Once this passage was known, it became the major trade route to the interior for over a century. This was the "York Boat" route – the route followed by boats from York Factory which brought first the traders and later, the settlers to western Canada. Today, York Factory and the passage through the Echimamish are wilderness.

DEVELOPMENT

The turning point for the waters of the Echimamish, the Painted Stone, was perhaps also our turning point on the rivers of northern Manitoba. The Painted Stone marked the secret route through the valley and was a sacred place. David Thompson (1786) stated, "The Indians, time out of mind, had placed [on the portage] a Manito stone in shape like a cobbler's lap stone but three times its size, painted red with ochre, to which they make some trifling offerings". The stone was removed and "kicked about by our 'tolerant' people", and the Indians were discouraged from camping at that place, as it wasted a day of travel time.

In 1973, with the help of Sheldon McLeod, we found the site of the Painted Stone and replaced it. Sheldon researched the anomalous passage between the Hayes and Nelson rivers and concluded that indeed, this tiny river did flow in two directions from the middle of its basin. A few years later, Charlie Quesakapow of Norway House told us that Echimamish means a "river with two outlets" in Swampy Cree.

YORK FACTORY

By the 1950s, the hydro-electric potential on southern Manitoba rivers had been fully developed. The remaining hydro sites were on the rivers of northern Manitoba. The Nelson and Churchill, with their interior drainage basins, provided the most attractive sites. The first dam, the Kelsey site, was built at the "grand rapid of the Nelson" to supply power to the nickel mine being developed with the new town of Thompson. In 1957, the people were removed from York Factory, now a wilderness site, and temporarily settled in York Landing on Split Lake, below the Kelsey dam, to provide them with transitional training opportunities. They are still there, temporarily.

KETTLE RAPIDS

In 1964, exploration of the lower Nelson River dam sites began. The traditional navigators of the Hayes River route from Cross Lake and Norway House were flown in to run the boats needed for the river surveys. At the first site at Kettle Rapids, their knowledge of navigation and of the freeze-up and break-up of the river was essential. Duncan McKay, the patriarch of the "river crews", explained that the ice in the Nelson "walked" from Hudson Bay each winter, reaching the first dam site near the Churchill railway bridge just after Christmas. He said the river rose over 10 metres when it arrived. As tons of ice began to flow in the Nelson during the first winter of construction, nervous engineers raised the cofferdams surrounding the construction site several more metres to Duncan's level. On Boxing Day, the ice arrived in the rapids below the site. The water rose until a few centimetres began to flow over the cofferdams and flooding was averted. The concept of an annual ice regime was introduced for designing cofferdams from then on, but the Swampy Cree word for "the ice that walks" was lost. When construction began, Duncan was too old to be hired, and he returned, on his own, to Cross Lake. Exploration studies were completed, but the last river crew was hired to pick up the garbage in the new townsite. Two of them were killed when the garbage truck overturned.

CHURCHILL RIVER DIVERSION

In the early hydro-electric studies, potential dam sites were identified on the Churchill River as well. However, these sites were not explored in detail because it appeared possible to very cheaply move the Churchill River from the northern side to the centre of the valley. This would be accomplished by blocking the Churchill and flooding Southern Indian Lake until it spilled southwards across the landscape into the Rat River valley. It would then flow down this valley into the Burntwood River, which it would follow to Split Lake on the lower Nelson River. The diversion was several hundred kilometres long. It was completed in 1976, the longest and one of the largest river diversions in North America. It is distinguished however, as the first large river diversion and lake impoundment in a widespread permafrost zone. The implications of this were suspected but unproven when the project was planned. The main unknown was how the frozen landscape that was to be flooded would react when it was thawed by the arm waters of the diversion impoundments. It did not react well, and in fact, is still reacting in a cycle of melting, slumping, eroding, melting, slumping, eroding, that may last for several hundred years. In some areas, the shoreline changes daily.

SOUTHERN INDIAN LAKE

The people of Southern Indian Lake opposed this project. After many meetings and hearings, they finally filed an injunction in the Court of Queen's Bench to stop the project because of its possible effects on their fishing, trapping, and shoreline camps. The injunction did not proceed to a hearing because the evidence for long-term flooding damage in permafrost regains had no precedent. The people who came to the hearing from Southern Indian Lake said that the White-man's claim that everyone gets a chance to speak in a court of law is a lie. Basil Coloumb, who was then the mayor of the town of South Indian Lake, delivered the final eulogy for the lake as it had been. He said that when you flood the lake it changes every day, and that although he did

not doubt that Hydro could build new docks for the new shorelines, he didn't think he could live in a new place every day. He moved to Thompson when the lake was flooded.

There are more examples of our development of the rivers of northern Manitoba than there is time to cover in a dozen conferences on the people and the land. We all carry a three-hundred-year legacy of them, some experienced and others that we learn of only from the people of the North. It is easy to conclude that we have not been sustainable developers for the first three centuries (1690-1990).

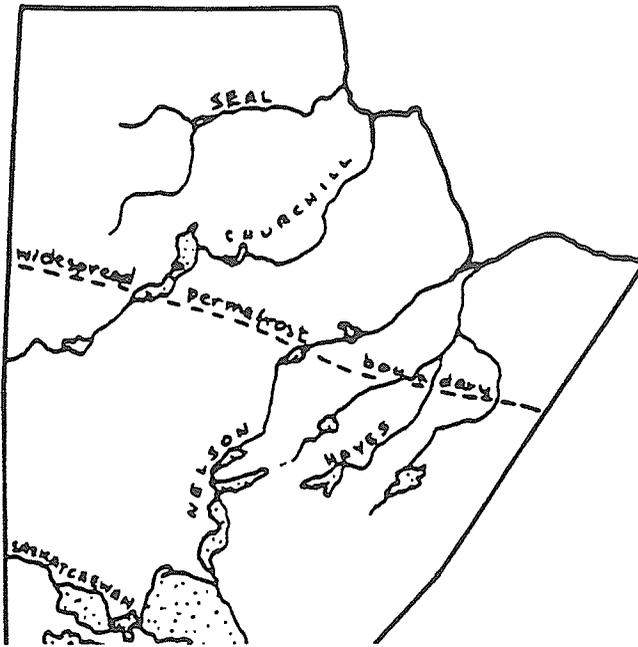


Figure 5. Rivers before development.



Figure 6. Rivers committed to hydro development.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

The physiography of the Nelson-Churchill Valley has been permanently changed. The lower Churchill River has been abandoned, Southern Indian Lake will continue to adjust to the impounded waters, and the Rat-Burntwood valleys are flooded by the diverted Churchill flows. On the Nelson, five dams have been completed that backflood the immediate channel and lake systems, and more dams are either under construction or planned that will ultimately backflood the entire river. For the large extra-provincial rivers of the valley, this leaves only the Upper Churchill River before it enters Southern Indian Lake in a natural state. The two local rivers, the Hayes and the Seal, have not been developed and are candidates for Canadian Heritage River status.



Figure 7. The remaining natural rivers.

With the remaining rivers, there is an opportunity to meet the minimal 12 percent natural reserve recommended by the Bruntland Commission on Sustainable Development. With the revenue from the developed rivers, there is an opportunity to do more.

I would like to finish by discussing three conclusions and recommendations. Let me begin with an easy recommendation to implement.

1) The Echimamish Conclusion – Speaking Cree

When I first started teaching at the University of Manitoba in the mid-sixties, I proposed that all northern researchers should take an immersion course in Swampy Cree. The University administration

thought the idea "too confining" and I did not have the confidence to press harder for the program. That was a mistake. Charlie Quesakapow knew many more things about the rivers than just the name of the secret passage, Echimamish. He should have been a partner in research, not by him learning English, but by me learning Cree. This can be cured easily. A Cree-language project that updates the old Church of England dictionary and offers immersion courses in Swampy Cree can be accomplished with a small part of the funds allocated to the Centre for Sustainable Development. It is an investment in translating 7,000 years of pre-development experience.

2) The Namona Musnahikan Conclusion – Nelson Valley College

About 15 years ago, I was presenting a student project on the development of Molson Lake for recreation that might take place when the new highway arrived in Norway House. My sponsor and translator before the Council of Elders had difficulty explaining the many books and air photos and maps that we said we used to support our conclusions. The problem, he explained to me afterwards, was that in the old language there was no word for books in general and only a word that meant the Bible. He thought they would not believe us if that was our source. Instead, he translated what we were saying as *namona musnahikan*, not from the book, but substituted "they went on the land and it taught them these things". I have thought a lot about that phrase, Basil Coloumb's predictions, and sustainable development.

The two reactions to the loss of rivers and lakes as living places in the North have been to call for more research and monitoring studies, and when they don't change anything, to appeal to the courts or an arbitrator for damages. Researchers, consultants, and lawyers get richer, and the rivers become poorer and poorer places on which to live. A decade ago, I would have been in the "more studies group" with most of the academics, but I had to stop to think about it before doing the next "whole lake obituary". We do not need more studies; we need a better philosophy of development – one that is different from the exploitive one that we have followed for three centuries.

The second recommendation then is a little more complex. We need to learn how to live on the remaining rivers in a way that does not destroy them. This learning will have to come from the people who have known how to live there for 70 centuries. Sustainable development education may be our current way of expressing this need. It might take the form of a college which draws upon the Cree culture, teaches the Cree language, and translates the oral traditions of survival from the few elders that are left. This college must be located in the Nelson Valley, and it must be *namona musnahikan* – we must learn how to be taught by the land. These objectives are not overly romanticized fantasy, they are taken directly from the successful charter of the Yukon College in Whitehorse.

3) The *Missi Tawow* Conclusion – from the Northern Flood Committee to a Northern Water and Power Commission

Missi tawow – "Come in, there is lots of room for you" – is one of the friendly greetings given in Swampy Cree. It is time to return the greeting.

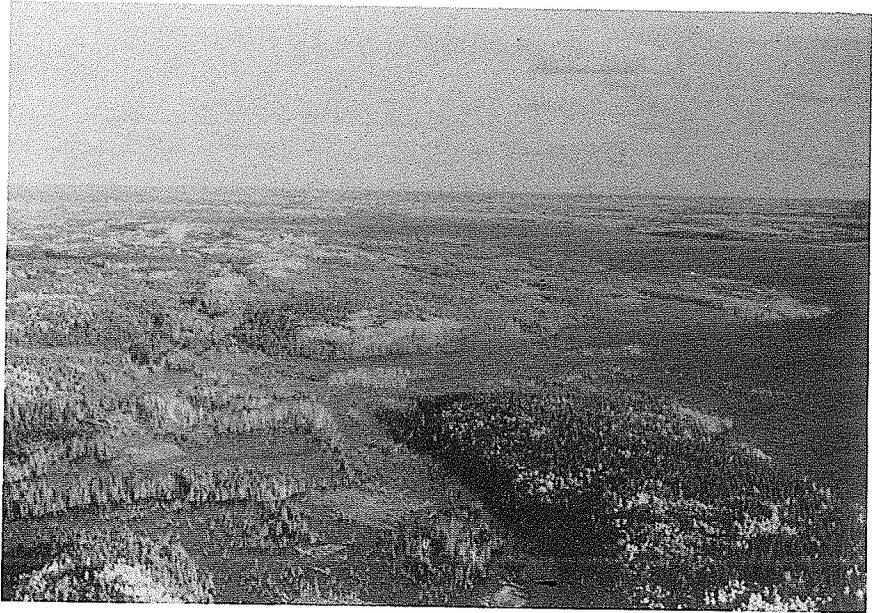
Over our three centuries of occupation we began to think of Manitoba's northern rivers as common property. In the last few decades, they have once again become valuable to us, not for transportation or recreation, but for generating hydro-electric power. We forgot about who lived there, about York Factory and the Hayes River, and the people who brought the mail from the English ships. Partly as a reparation, and partly because we have done such a poor job of developing it, I think we should give the hydro-electric potential back to the northern people.

A new "Northern Water and Power Commission" would generate and sell power from the Nelson Churchill development to Manitoba Hydro and other importing utilities. Instead of a Northern Flood Committee in continuing conflict with development, the five communities and South Indian Lake would own the development and control its effects. Water rentals that are now paid to general revenue could be locally allocated to communities that have suffered damages from the development instead of going through our present court system.

The local communities would have input into water-level operations through their representatives on the Commission (perhaps even the Churchill River would be developed without diversions.) These developments would be planned in the valley and not in the south. Programs at the new Nelson Valley College could be directed towards employment by the Commission.

Is this last conclusion too great a leap? Essentially, we are asking the people whose resources we are using to share in the profits and direct their development. Ontario Hydro is planning their first joint hydro plant with a local Cree band this year. The Yukon Land Settlement includes control over hydro sites. The James Bay Cree do not assume that any more hydro-electric sites can be developed as common property.

In conclusion, this is a conference about people and the land, and in my case, the water. The people I have talked about were my friends and teachers. Some of them would not wish to know a White man now. When Playgreen Lake was flooded by the Jen-Peg dam, Charlie Qesakapow told me to go home. He said he was worried about our culture and not his own because ours was immature and his was older and stronger. I agreed. I came home.



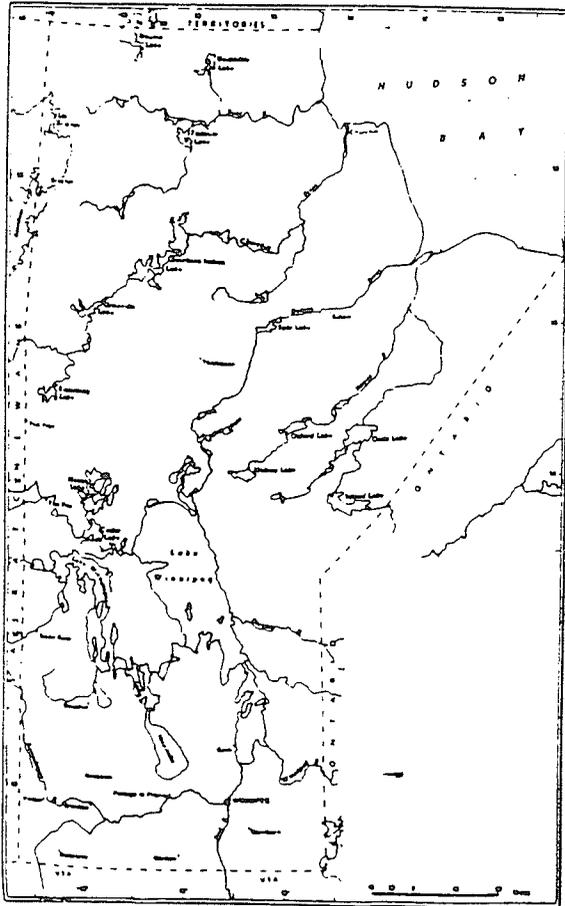
Top: Rat River valley before flooding
Bottom: Rat River valley after flooding



*Top: South Indian Lake shoreline before flooding
Bottom: South Indian Lake shoreline after flooding*

PART IV

NORTHERN REALITIES – NORTHERN PEOPLE





*Typical Chipewyan winter encampment, Duck Lake post area, Nejanilini Lake, Manitoba
Hudson's Bay Company Archives; Photographer: Richard Harrington, 1947.*

What It Means for a Company to Work in the North

Paul A. Richards[§]
Repap Manitoba

We have heard this morning from some speakers who believe that large-scale forestry development should be bypassed in favour of small development, or even that the entire pulp, paper, and lumber industry in Canada should be shut down, with the hundreds of thousands of laid-off workers being employed using the defense budget. To protect the environment one person suggested we electrify the railroads, while another person was greatly concerned about the social and environmental implications of hydro-electric power development to Native communities. There are obviously no easy answers.

On Friday, Repap Manitoba will celebrate its first anniversary. On May 4, 1989, with the acquisition of the Manfor complex at The Pas, we became a "corporate presence" in northern Manitoba. While this presence is comparatively new, I believe we are uniquely qualified to

[§]Paul Richards was appointed Vice President and General Manager of REPAP MANITOBA in the spring of 1989. In his new position Mr. Richards is responsible for overseeing the day to day operation of the mill at The Pas as well as supervising the plans for modernization. Prior to his appointment, Mr. Richards worked for five years as the Mill Manager for REPAP MIRAMICHI in New Brunswick. He has over 20 years experience in the pulp and paper industry working for such companies as MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. and Irving Pulp and Paper Ltd. Mr. Richards graduated from St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia and went on to receive his Bachelor of Chemical Engineering Degree from the Technical University of Nova Scotia.

comment on what it means for a company to work in the North, not only because of the "freshness" of our experience, but also because of the high public profile of our development program. Based on Repap's experience, my remarks address what it means for a company to work in the North from three related perspectives:

- 1) generally, what it means to do business in the North;
- 2) more specifically, what it means to do business in northern Manitoba; and
- 3) what it means for a company to initiate a major development program in the North at a time of growing and unprecedented environmental awareness.

Repap has a comprehensive one-billion dollar development program which will see major investment in mill capacity, environmental-protection technology, and expanded harvesting and reforestation. This program will result in some 1,000 new jobs, 800 of which will be in forest operations across our Forest-Management Licence Area. In addition, we will secure the future of the 850 jobs in our current operations by continuing Repap's track record of improving under performing facilities. These plans have raised the following tired comments on countless occasions during the past year:

"Why would you want to locate in Northern Manitoba?"

"The winters are cold".

"You are 400 miles from nowhere".

Most importantly, "How do you get people to go there to work?"

"Who would want to live there?"

You have all heard these comments before. We, too, have heard them with regard to our other two Canadian operations – Newcastle, New Brunswick and Prince Rupert, British Columbia, which are also located in northern settings.

Let me dispel a misconception about the North. There is no shortage of highly motivated, energetic individuals. What has been in short supply is opportunity for people to fulfil their potential. True, there may be some lack in the variety of skills, not because a talent was lacking, but rather because the opportunity to develop and use the skills never presented itself. To counter these concerns, Repap has committed 20

million dollars to training as part of its development program. These funds will be used to upgrade current employees for more demanding positions and to train new employees. However, one million dollars have been earmarked for training suitable applicants from communities across our Forest Management Licence Area for technical and professional positions. This fall, eight students will be sponsored in such faculties as Forestry, Engineering, and various technologies. Additional trainees will be recruited in future years. Those of you who keep abreast of the literature on management techniques will recognize this as a classic example of "win/win". Local residents receive an opportunity for education, financial assistance, and a job upon graduation. The Company benefits from well-qualified employees who, we believe, will want to live and work in the North. We are particularly interested in Native participation in this program.

There is another reality of doing business in the North. Typically, large companies from outside the North mobilize the technological, financial and marketing resources that are essential for a resource-based economic development. In the past, these "intruders" were frequently insensitive to the impacts of development on the local area. History provides many lessons on how not to proceed, for example, the lack of enduring economic benefits to local people, insensitivity to local life styles, and adverse impacts on the environment. History also teaches us to be humble, to recognize that we don't know everything, and that we can and must do better. So, clearly, the foremost components of the corporate presence in northern Manitoba are that of a major employer and a backbone of the local economy, not to mention the net contributions to provincial economic activity, which are not well understood outside the North. This central economic role and our utilization of the natural-resource endowment are accompanied by a tremendous responsibility in how we respect the environment, and how our day-to-day business decisions impact northerners. Let me deal briefly with each of these.

First, respect for the environment. My choice of words, "first the environment", is not by chance. Today, environmental responsibility is absolutely essential for business. One can no longer have a successful

business without respecting the environment for tomorrow. I sense that corporations across the North are becoming increasingly committed to this principle, but let there be no uncertainty about Repap's position on environmental questions. We believe in a clean, healthy and safe environment for employees, the public, and the regions where we operate. To this end, we are committed to responsible environmental practices in our manufacturing, forest, laboratory, and office operations – cases meeting or bettering the regulations and laws of the day.

In line with this policy, Repap will upgrade facilities and modify operations as appropriate. We have already spent more than one million dollars on cleaning up the pollution of Manfor, and will spend a further five million dollars this year. From 1986 to 1989, Repap Enterprises spent 126 million dollars on environmental projects. From 1990 to 1994, projected environmental expenditures total 234 million dollars. As a continuing effort, Repap conducts and monitors research and process developments to determine the best practical means of minimizing the impact of operations on the environment.

We are committed to managing the forest on a sustained-yield basis; that is, the forest will grow at such a rate that the volume of wood removed will be replaced in time for the next harvest. Management of harvesting and reforestation will ensure that forests will be perpetually sustained. Repap Manitoba will ensure that reforestation occurs on 100 percent of areas cut each year (a higher level of reforestation than Manfor was undertaking in 1989). One of the conditions under which we are authorized to harvest timber is a requirement that, within a seven-year period, cut areas must be fully restocked to standards set by the government. To achieve these standards, we undertake a range of forest-management activities including natural regeneration, tree planting, stand tending, and regeneration surveys to monitor the effectiveness of reforestation programs. If Repap does not meet government standards for restocking the forest, the Company must undertake further reforestation activities within the next three years at its sole expense.

Many individuals perceive forest-product companies as cutting down trees. This is only one side of the equation, for it is more accurate to say

we are in the business of harvesting and growing trees. Last year Repap planted four million trees; in 1990, 5.5 million trees will be planted. As well, this season will see the 20-millionth tree planted on the Company's Forest-Management Licence Area.

The second area of responsibility for the northern corporate presence is economic. In this regard, how we conduct our business is no less important than what we do. Because northern corporations are responsible, either directly or indirectly, for by far the largest share of economic activity in local communities, we must be sensitive to the impacts on our employees, contractors, suppliers, and the local business and service sectors. Decisions made in light of the vagaries of the business cycle, exchange-rate fluctuations and the like, ripple rapidly through our communities. Since our decisions impact individuals, families and, indeed, entire communities, they must be carefully reasoned, well communicated, and implemented with sensitivity to local conditions.

The North has a pressing need for economic development that is compatible with the needs and aspirations of northern people. A broad spectrum of northerners made this point time and time again during last summer's Clean Environment Commission hearings on the first phase of our development. My paraphrasing does not do justice to their eloquent presentations on the 80 to 90 percent unemployment rate, heavy dependence on social assistance, low educational-achievement levels, high incidence of health problems, and the inadequacy of traditional resource activities to alone meet today's income and employment needs. They graphically underscored the need for economic development. At the same time, they argued that development must respect the environment, leaving no doubt that they will be active in ensuring that this is the case. Expressed another way, in contemporary terms, northerners are insisting upon sustainable development.

From Repap Manitoba's perspective, a reality of doing business in the North is conducting business in a manner that benefits the communities where we operate. Our billion-dollar-plus development program will provide tremendous opportunity across our Forest Management Licence Area. We have taken steps to ensure that

northerners generally, and in particular, those of Native ancestry, are able to benefit from our development program.

Let's talk specifics. With the cooperation of a forward-looking group of unions who comprise the Building Trades Council, employment preference was negotiated for local residents and people of Native ancestry for the construction of our phase-one development. We are working with local Native companies to develop supplies and services, and with Moose Lake loggers and the IWA, to position that operation on a firm foundation for future viability and growth. We are in preliminary discussions with a number of individuals, communities, and Native groups concerning future harvesting, transportation, road construction, and silviculture activities.

The history of northern development in Manitoba is well understood by Repap. We want to listen to, and understand, the concerns and aspirations of northerners. A reality of doing business today is that stringent regulatory requirements must be met before large-scale corporate projects can proceed in the North. A license under the Manitoba Environment Act must be obtained. I do not believe the rigour and intensity of this process is well recognized by Manitobans, perhaps because the procedure is relatively new. But let me assure you, speaking as a project proponent, the procedure is demanding and thorough. The process we are undertaking in Manitoba is probably the most rigorous ever applied in examining a single Canadian company's forest-management operations. Even today, we cannot conduct any harvesting or reforestation activity without ensuring all provincial legislation, regulations, and guidelines are met. The Company is required to undertake comprehensive environmental-impact assessments, the objective of which is to ensure that all reasonable steps are undertaken to assess impacts. It is conceivable that such assessments may occasionally preclude development, but in the vast majority of instances, the likely result is to yield better enhancement, mitigation, and monitoring to the benefit of both the natural environment and the people of the North.

Shortly, we will be initiating an environmental-impact assessment of our forest-management plan. One of the first actions will be extensive

community and interest group, information-gathering meetings. A team of environmental and social scientists will examine potential impacts according to the study terms of reference or guidelines issued by the Department of Environment. Upon completion of this study, we again will consult communities and interest groups with the results of the environmental impact assessment. The next step is a public hearing before an independent panel of the Clean Environment Commission.

In this process, there will be full and open examination of questions that are important to all of us – the effects on wildlife, on Native People, on other resource users who share the forests, on sustainability of the forest and forest ecosystems, and many other questions. The key is that there is a process for two-way communication between the public and Repap which allows for full examination of important questions before the project proceeds. The same procedure will take place for our phase-two mill development.

I wish to make a final comment in response to criticism about the size of our Forest Management Licence Area. The Repap area is virtually identical in size to the area allocated to Manfor, but it is reconfigured. To quote Dr. Gordon Baskerville, Dean of Forestry and Head of the Department of Forest Resources at the University of New Brunswick:

Surely the issue is not who has management and cutting rights, but rather what is the quality of the management, and is the harvest level consistent with management in the long term.

It is convenient to claim that large companies are not able to manage resources as well as small local companies, or as individuals... The overwhelming evidence in Canadian forests is that the most degraded ones are those in small ownerships – there are some great examples of good management at this scale, but the average is atrocious. The best examples of forest management over long periods of time (several decades) in Canada are in forest management by industry, where there has been a long-term two-way commitment of 'this land must support this mill' (*New Business*, March, 1990).

While Repap has been given forest-harvesting and management responsibility for this area, we continue to share the forests with other

resource users, and in doing so must meet all provincial regulations. A final point that is not well recognized is that at full-scale production, Repap will harvest annually less than one half of one per cent of the land area in our Forest Management Licence Area.

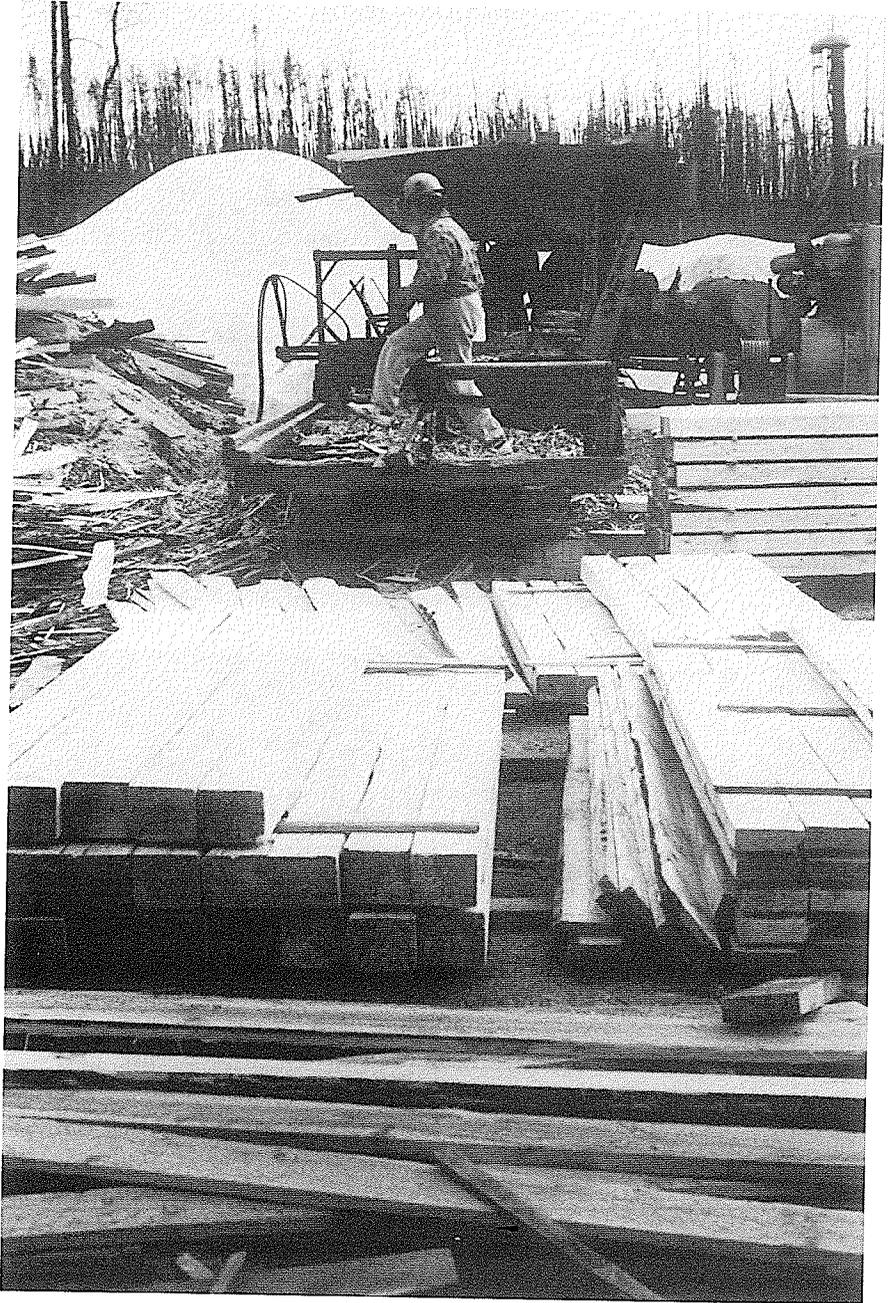
A final reality of the northern corporate presence that I wish to address is perhaps the most frustrating. I am told by long-term residents of the North that too many Manitobans believe Manitoba ends at the northern Perimeter Highway around Winnipeg. The concentration of population in the province's urban South, the centralization of media effort in Winnipeg, an unwillingness by many to understand the sustainable development principles inherent in many renewable resource sectors in the North, and lack of knowledge of the economic importance of resource industries leave northerners with the perception that we do not participate fully in determining the future of our region and our province. All of this presents a major challenge to corporations in the North and indeed to all northerners. In effect, people who have never been, let alone lived, in the North feel they understand the needs there and attempt to dictate what they perceive is best for the North. It appears we have the additional task of educating southerners in the northern realities and way of life.

In closing, I would like to thank the academic community at the University of Manitoba for offering the opportunity for someone from the business world to provide a perspective on the corporate presence in northern Manitoba today. However, I would be remiss if I did not close with a few words specifically for northerners who are here today, and I recognize a number of you scattered throughout the room.

Large corporations can appear intimidating, but remember we too are people. Like you, we live and work in the North; we have families and aspirations for our children. We share your concerns about the environment and the need for economic development. Since acquiring Manfor, we have made major strides in improving environmental performance and securing an optimistic economic future. Our commitment is to continue this improvement and extend this success to other areas of corporate life in Manitoba's North.



*Top: Delimiting trees at the roadside
Bottom: A skidder unloading trees at the roadside*



Salvage lumber operation following a forest fire in eastern Manitoba

What the Corporate Presence Means to Northern People

Philip Fontaine³
Provincial Leader
Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs

There are some themes, from an Aboriginal perspective, which must structure any discussion of the relationship between corporate activities in the North and Aboriginal People. One such theme is the time perspective. Aboriginal People have been in the North for thousands of years and, perhaps surprising to some, expect to stay in the North for thousands of years to come. Corporate activity, on the other hand, in the Aboriginal experience, is something that is temporary, on-and-off, and involves fly-by-night operations.

Another theme is power, specifically how power over the North has rested, not with the Aboriginal People, but with the South. It is associated with corporate headquarters in Winnipeg, Montreal, the United States, and with governments whose concern for welfare is directed primarily towards corporate welfare rather than the well-being of northern People.

The third theme underpinning my discussion is that Aboriginal People are caught in a kind of double bind with regard to development.

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We lose out if we oppose it (jobs and opportunities will pass us by) and we lose out if we participate (resources and pursuits related to the Aboriginal use of the land will be lost).

These three themes, the time perspective, the issue of power, and the double bind facing Aboriginal People, bring to light related issues, many of which are not hope-inspiring to First Nations People. However, I wish to say right at the start of this presentation that now, more than ever, Aboriginal People recognize the need to articulate an active role for themselves in shaping the future of the North. Our work in resource-management areas, including, for example, Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Inc. (the political organization for 25 northern communities), is indicative of this, as are our attempts to establish a more substantial role in the decision-making process in these fields. So my perspective has to be not only that of a realist, aware of what has been and what is, but also of someone involved with many others in a forceful attempt to develop a more hopeful future for the North.

One of the most-quoted phrases from the Treaties is: "for as long as the sun shines, the grass grows and the rivers flow". This was the expression that describes the timelessness of these sacred agreements. In the Treaties, Aboriginal People's rights to hunt and fish were secured in perpetuity. What, in fact, was said was that the Aboriginal People retained the right to the only pursuits that then existed in northern Manitoba. The important point, then, is not only that Aboriginal People retained hunting and fishing rights, but retained the rights to earn a living in these pursuits and with the technology at hand. No one, certainly no Aboriginal person, foresaw that rivers would be dammed and flows reversed, or that massive areas of northern Manitoba would be the subject of extensive logging operations. What has happened during the roughly one hundred years since we gave up so much of our resources (for what we believed was a secure future) is that new sources of livelihood have emerged – sources which no one envisaged at the time. Also, these sources, most of which are related to large-scale resource extraction, act most severely on our traditional pursuits and do not result in benefits which in any way off-set their negative effects.

There has been a continuous reinterpretation of what our treaty rights mean. What was clearly seen by Aboriginal People as a right to a livelihood has become more and more interpreted literally as rights just to hunt, fish and trap. How is this increasingly literal interpretation of the Treaties to be understood? To my mind, it is intimately tied to the competition between Aboriginal People and non-Aboriginals for jobs and other resources in the wage-economy of the North. If Aboriginal People had preferential access to the jobs based on their rights to a livelihood, this would have been detrimental to the interests of non-Aboriginal People. So a literal interpretation results.

However, our rights to hunt and fish are increasingly becoming of little value. Hydro-electric dam flooding and its concomitant results, logging operations, mining, the creation of roads and non-Aboriginal settlements are all things that in fact drastically reduce the benefits we can derive from hunting and fishing. The environment is turned into mono-crops, the habitats for muskrat and beaver are destroyed, and pollution has become a severe problem with fishing. At the same time, we get charged under laws such as the Migratory Birds Convention Act.

This brings me to one of the points I want to make. The North is being continuously reshaped, with enormous effects on wildlife. These effects lead to court cases that pit marginalized Aboriginal People harvesting increasingly marginalized resources against present-day northern developments.

All this is taking place in a context where Aboriginal People see themselves as those who will always be in the North. All too often, one hears or reads statements to the effect that Aboriginal People will soon leave their communities and join suburbia. Well, that has been said for just about a hundred years, and it has not come about. Instead, I think it is important to point out that there has never been as many Aboriginal persons living in Aboriginal communities as there are now. And there is every reason to believe that the population explosion we are experiencing at present will continue to manifest itself in an increasing population for a long time to come. So, however much non-Aboriginal society may wish otherwise, Aboriginal communities will continue to grow for some time. An Aboriginal person living a hundred years ago

would have been amused at suggestions that Aboriginal People would desert their communities and join suburbia. I am similarly amused today at the same suggestion.

So, to Aboriginal People, the North is not a romantic infatuation, not "a place to be developed", and not a place where one goes to make good money. To us, it is the land of our forefathers, our land, and, we hope, our children's land. This means that, in our perspective, the North is the place that will have to sustain us for generations ahead. That is the starting point – that the potential for making a living in the North must not be dismantled. What we do in the North must serve this end – to sustain us now, and to sustain us for generations to come.

In spite of the difficult conditions under which Aboriginal People often live in the North, where unemployment is rampant, and an array of other social ills are common, we still carry on a conservationist attitude. A good example is the study that was made of the migratory birds harvest. Aboriginal People were estimated to be responsible for five percent of the duck harvest and seven per cent of the goose harvest. The rest, well over 90 per cent, was taken by non-Aboriginal People – hardly what you would expect if you look at the 44 cases of violations of the Migratory Birds Act involving Native People presently before the Court of Queen's Bench in Manitoba, on appeal by the Federal Government. Another example is the build-up of the moose herd as a result of a joint agreement involving The Pas Indian Band.

These comments serve to focus on two important points. The first is that Aboriginal People do not see large-scale resource developments as the only future for the North. On the contrary, we believe that management of all northern resources is important, and that developments must not make it impossible to harvest wildlife, fish, and other truly sustainable resources. The second is that Aboriginal People have been unfairly portrayed as substantial contributors to the depletion of these resources. In fact, when we are given an opportunity to become involved in the management of these resources, and hence reap some rewards of our caring attitudes in these matters, we have demonstrated a number of success stories.

So far, I have pointed to one dimension of Aboriginal life in the North – our fundamental belief that a profound attachment to the land is essential to our well-being, and that a renewed linkage of our communities to local resources is essential. This does not mean that we oppose any other developments. It means that we have another time dimension when we evaluate what should be going on in the North. Whatever surplus a corporate financial statement may show, to us it is still in the red if it represents an activity that destroys our future, the habitat of the North.

This brings me to the next issue – power. I intend to say something more than the obvious, that Aboriginal People are in large measure powerless when it comes to having a real say in northern development. Let me start by pointing out that the perception of power is to some extent a question of where you stand. A labour union representative may well feel he or she is in an adversarial position to the representatives of the shareholders. These representatives may well feel that they are adversaries of governments who tax them or make their companies conform to environmental and workplace-safety standards. So our society is in large measure structured around opposing forces, and the power the various parties feel is a reflection of the success each perceives they have achieved in their dealings with others. To some small extent, representatives of the Aboriginal communities have been invited to become one of the actors in these negotiations between representatives of business, labour and government.

However, there is a major problem here. Aboriginal People rarely feel that we are one party among a number of other parties. Instead, we often are made to feel that we are the only party on one side in the negotiations, up against all the other parties. We perceive a symbiotic relationship among business, labour, and government; these parties may have disagreements in some areas, but are united in a number of key issues against Aboriginal People. I am here referring to the basic philosophy behind activities in the North, directed by non-Aboriginal People. Environmental consequences are seen as manageable, developments as inherently good, and a belief that the future will take care of itself if we just clean up our act. There is, from an Aboriginal

perspective, a kind of tunnel vision here, where the full and true consequences of what is taking place are not considered.

Let me give you an example concerning my own community of Sagkeeng (Fort Alexander). In 1926, when Pine Falls came into being in what was then the northern frontier from the Winnipeg horizon, company representatives came in and covered a table with one-dollar bills. In cohort with the Federal Government, they convinced the community that it had better accept what was on the table in exchange for the land that was to become Pine Falls. This was, of course, the first step in the destruction of the natural environment around Sagkeeng. Today, the forests are no longer forests, but woodlots. The Winnipeg River is a mess and riverbank erosion, helped by the power dams along the Winnipeg River, causes the remains of long-buried people to topple down and become exposed at low water.

This destruction of the environment has also, to a significant degree, been paralleled by friction among the people in Sagkeeng – those who by and large have been the victims of progress, and non-Aboriginal People who through wage labour have been able to draw some benefit from what has taken place. White power has also manifested itself in the fact that governmental offices, including the Indian Agent (for a long time), the hospital, stores, and the Liquor Commission outlet, are all located outside Sagkeeng.

The point of all this is not to provide just another litany about our suffering. What is important for me to point out is that as far as our perceptions go, what is called resource development is not something that is separate from the rest of our history of interaction with non-Natives. In fact, we may well argue that the history of Aboriginal misery during this century has as one of its themes: "How the expanding frontiers of non-Native natural-resource exploitation has shunted us aside, impoverished us, led to land loss, and to the destruction of our environment".

This is not 1926, but 1990. Surely many things have changed. There are now thousands and thousands of our people in Manitoba who are unemployed, and the social ills in evidence in our communities are well known to you all. The things that should help us out of this impasse

don't work if employment programs, such as the one involving the Limestone Dam Project, fail. If they were successful, they would at least help our people derive some temporary benefits. But they stumble, both because of what we perceive as a non-conducive framework (where the unions play their part) and the aggression and hostility toward our people, often experienced in mixed company. There is, to my mind, a partly invisible dealer here, offering our people a bad hand.

The experience from way back in time at Sagkeeng, with regard to employment opportunities, is in large measure repeated today in other parts of Manitoba. But surely one can no longer get our people to give up their land for a table full of one-dollar bills. No, at least the tables are now considerably larger, but the problem is the same. We are, as Aboriginal People, up against a non-Aboriginal world where the issue is still seen as how to buy Native compliance for large-scale developments and a reduced cost base. When the government argues that all agreements with Native Peoples must contain the extinguishment of any aboriginal caveat in the areas ceded, the government, as the representative of economic interests, is just interested in a modern version of the Land Treaties, and to its mind, better treaties. Of course, Aboriginal People should be compensated for their losses, but the point is that we are confronted with an adversary. The stance on the part of non-Aboriginal society is not to involve our People in the future of the North, but to clean out the Aboriginal interest, confine it to some well-defined places, and then go ahead as it sees fit. And more often than not, in 1871, in 1926, as well as today, we are compelled to take what we can get.

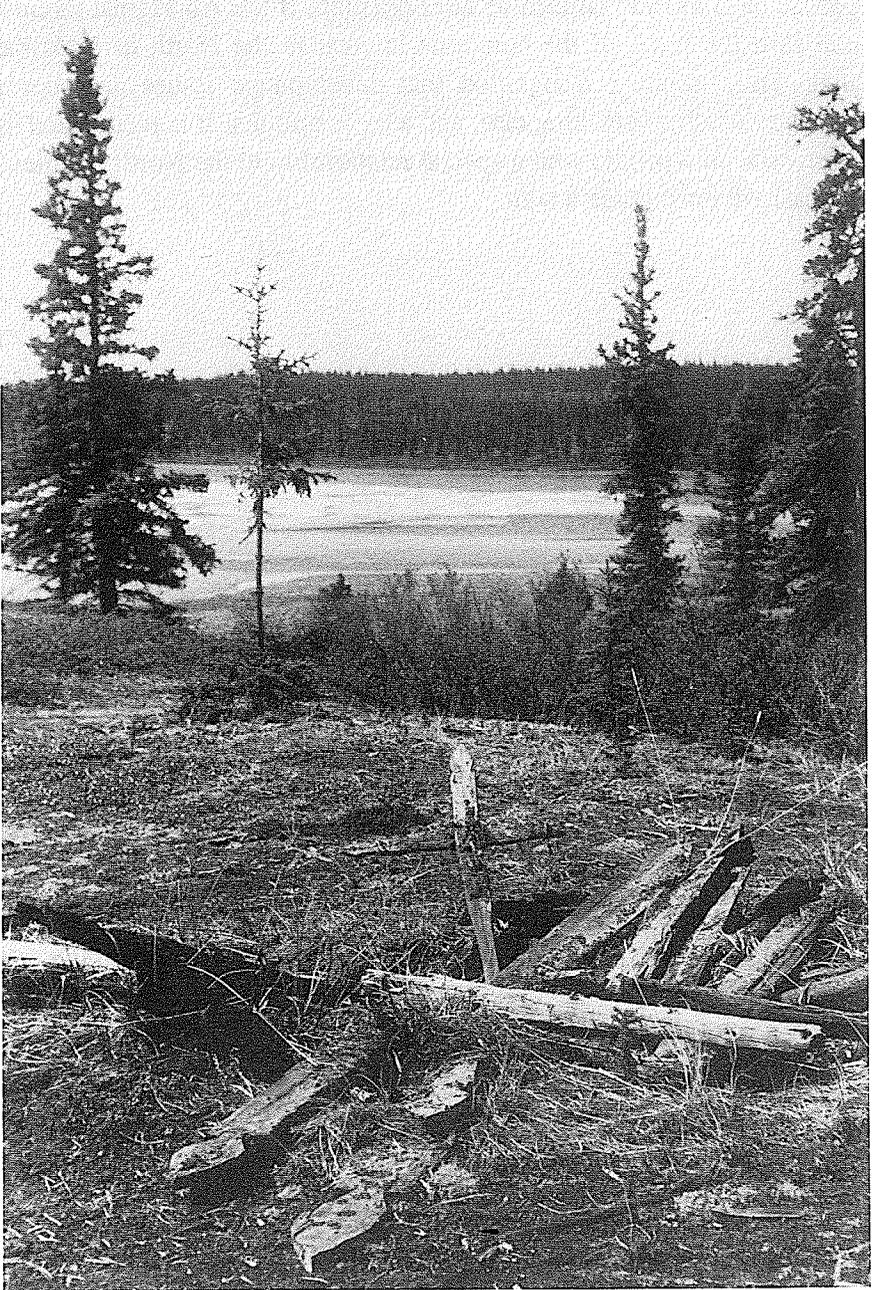
Even in areas where many interest groups should grant us some competency, we are excluded. In my view, Aboriginal People and sustainable development are just about one and the same. By sustainable development I mean life-styles that are truly sustainable. But when the Sustainable Development Institute was established in this province, where on the Board or otherwise in the Institute's operation do we see anyone that has the experience of being close to the land the way Aboriginal People have been? I am certain nowhere.

I have tried to show here how we as Aboriginal People envisage some of the things presently going on in northern Manitoba. And this brings me to the double bind I mentioned in the beginning. We have a feeling that we are doomed if we do and damned if we don't participate in large-scale projects, and in corporate big-league activities. In large measure we feel that we are up against a pretty monolithic non-Aboriginal society. But from an Aboriginal perspective, we want to see developments in the North that combine gainful activities with non-destruction of the environment. Some of these activities should be vastly expanded resource extraction with respect to regenerating sources, where these sources have to be intensively and carefully managed. But to just wish these things is not enough. Development issues are also people issues. Development has consequences for the environment as well as for people.

Instead of wishing for good results, and carrying on with the kind of adversarial positions that we have so far encountered, which has led to the shunting aside of Aboriginal People, we simply have to arrive at a situation where Aboriginal People play a prominent part in the actual decision-making process. Instead of decisions being made about Aboriginal People as part of resource-development decision packages, Aboriginal People should be actively involved in all aspects and phases of the various processes. The vehicle through which we arrive at this integration must be through Aboriginal People as owners with equity in the resource-development activities. We must participate more directly in decision-making, since it is only through this kind of process that I believe Aboriginal People can get out of an impossible double bind. So what I am looking for is a reformulation of relationships in the North, with Aboriginal People playing an integral part. Instead of an adversarial situation where the Aboriginal People lose out, we must be real partners in what goes on. Our stake will not only be what we are able to put in today, but also the fate of future generations.

If this new relationship is to ever work, we will have to agree upon the ground rules about the kinds of development we all wish to see, and how these are to be implemented. The situation is untenable where an Aboriginal opinion is accepted only as long as it conforms to what other

parties have already defined as their position. If the Aboriginal interest can shift the focus of the corporate interest in the North towards the long term, secure a recognition that development issues are people issues as much as anything else, and also ensure that it is recognized as expressive of a people with a special relationship to the North, I believe at least we have made a start.



Aboriginal grave site

Pursuing Aboriginal Land Rights

P.L.A.H. Chartrand[§]
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University of Manitoba

INTRODUCTION

Are Aboriginal land rights incompatible with northern development? I think not. The pursuit of Aboriginal land rights involves an attempt by the Aboriginal Peoples to join Canada. The place that is made for the pursuit of aboriginal land rights in any vision of northern development depicts the view that is held regarding the place of Aboriginal People in Canadian society today.

In this brief presentation I shall attempt to describe the nature of the legal basis for aboriginal land claims. I shall refer to some of the early notions that have helped to confuse understanding of land rights, and I shall argue that northern planners have a role to play in seeking a comprehensive and principled approach to the resolution of land rights. Such an approach is necessary because the pursuit of aboriginal land rights is the means by which Aboriginal Peoples seek to open the door for entry into Canadian society.

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THE LEGACY OF THOUGHT INHERITED BY CONTEMPORARY NORTHERN PLANNERS

It is very easy for non-Aboriginal planners of northern development to forget about the existence of the interests of aboriginal inhabitants of northern lands. One should not too easily ascribe personal blame to the individual planners for that. We are all culture-bound, and there is a long-standing Canadian perspective that Aboriginal People are in fact a part of the land and are to be treated, as the land is, as an aspect of commercial ventures. Let me cite just one expression of this perspective. In *R. V. Syliboy*,¹ decided in 1929, a court in Nova Scotia declared:

...A civilized nation first discovering a country of uncivilized people or savages held such country as its own until such time as by treaty it was transferred to some other civilized nation. The savages' rights of sovereignty even (*sic*) of ownership were never recognized. Nova Scotia had passed to Great Britain not by gift or purchase from or even by conquest of the Indians but by treaty with France, which had acquired it by priority of discovery and ancient possession; *and the Indians passed with it* (emphasis added).

This perspective has infested American thought also, but academic opinion there has for long denounced its odious nature. Felix Cohen, the pre-eminent analyst of "American Indian law" called it the "menagerie theory":

...the theory that Indians are less than human and that their relation to their lands is not the human relation of ownership but rather something similar to the relation that animals bear to the areas in which they may be temporarily confined.²

In language which bears striking relevance to the contemporary Canadian land-claims situation, Cohen explained:

... other subtler sources of the "menagerie" theory of Indian reservations which are seldom set forth in legal briefs but exert a deep influence on public administration. One of the most insidious of these is the doctrine that the only good Indian is a dead Indian, whence it follows, by frontier logic, that the only

good Indian title is one that has been extinguished, through transfer to a white man or a white man's government.³

Canadian civilization has lagged behind in unshackling itself of its unsavoury heritage. As recently as 1970 Chief Justice Davey of the British Columbia Court of Appeal confidently declared in court that:

...the Indians on the mainland of British Columbia...were undoubtedly at the time of settlement a very primitive people with few of the institutions of civilized society, and none at all of our notions of private property... I see no evidence to justify a conclusion that the aboriginal rights claimed by the successors of these primitive people are of a kind that it should be assumed the Crown recognized them when it acquired the mainland of British Columbia by occupation.⁴

This extreme view was expressly rejected in the Supreme Court of Canada in 1973 by Mr. Justice Hall.⁵ This unhealthy perspective, it is to be hoped, has been finally consigned to the dust bin of history by the recognition and affirmation, in the Constitution Act of 1982, of the aboriginal and treaty rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada.⁶

THE BASIS OF ABORIGINAL TITLE REQUIRES A JUST POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING CLAIMS

The nature and scope of the rights that are protected by Section 35 have yet to be elaborated by the courts, but one of the aboriginal rights, that of aboriginal title to the land, has been expressly recognized by Canadian law,⁷ and it is this particular legal right that has been the basis for the settlement of aboriginal land claims.

Aboriginal title is based on occupancy or possession of land. So, in legal terms, aboriginal title is a possessory right while other interests in land in the Canadian system generally derive from a source of Crown grant. The possession upon which aboriginal title is based, however, derives from property relations which did not form part of the Anglo-Canadian legal system. It is the possession of aboriginal societies, and this possession reaches back in time prior to the imposition of the Anglo-Canadian legal system.

The nature of aboriginal title has not yet been fully elaborated, and some early pronouncements based on notions of the menagerie theory discussed above have led to particular misunderstandings. Such uncertainty in the law, incidentally, is typical of the law as it pertains to Aboriginal People and reflects their general lack of access to the legal system. Whereas the commercial lawyer may have many precedents to guide their work, the analyst of 'Native law' is usually left to search for principle in the absence of specific case law. I return now to an example of the type of analysis that has led to misunderstanding. Sir Henry Maine stated:

Occupancy is the advisedly taking possession of that which at the moment is the property of no man, with the view of acquiring property in it for yourself. The objects which Roman lawyers called *res nullius* – things which do not or have never had an owner – can only be ascertained by naming them – e.g. animals, fish, and lands newly discovered *or never before cultivated* (emphasis added).⁸

This aspect of what Cohen called the menagerie theory has led to troubled waters in the recent development of case law pertaining to aboriginal title in Australia.⁹ If land was occupied by Aboriginal People whom the Christian conquerors regarded as inferior to themselves, the lands were considered "terra nullius" – lands not occupied by anybody that mattered in law. Professor Smith has succinctly explained that the basis for aboriginal title lies in property relations common to all societies.¹⁰

A situation giving rise to a legal recognition of Aboriginal title arises when a servient society's property relations become incorporated into a dominant legal system, as occurred in the European domination of places such as Canada, the United States, New Zealand and Australia. The function or value of the legal recognition of the possessory interest in lands occupied by the aboriginal societies is that it gives these servient societies a legal interest within the property institutions of the dominant system. This legal interest provides a basis either for compensation or for a political settlement. The aboriginal title is recognized and purchased or traded for interests that are recognized

within the dominant society's property institutions. It is because aboriginal title is based on an institution of property, not fully incorporated into the dominant legal system, that the courts alone cannot adequately deal with it, and extra-judicial settlements are necessary. The possessory relations of the servient society can not be adequately described in terms that have been coined in law to describe the esoteric property relations of Anglo-Canadian property institutions. Recent supreme court pronouncements respecting the nature of aboriginal title conform with the view elaborated by Professor Smith.¹¹

In Guerin's case, Chief Justice Dickson admitted the inability of the courts to characterize aboriginal title in terms of incidents of property of Anglo-Canadian law:

The nature of the Indians interest is therefore best characterized by its general inalienability, coupled with the fact that the Crown is under an obligation to deal with the land on the Indians' behalf when the interest is surrendered. Any description of Indian title which goes beyond these two features is both unnecessary and potentially misleading.¹²

While dealing with the legal consequences of the recognition of aboriginal title, the courts have been elaborating positive obligations of the government to deal with the aboriginal interest. Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 has entrenched those obligations, and has formally opened the door for a redefinition of the broader political relations between aboriginal societies and the dominant society in Canada. It is thus through the process of land-claims negotiations based on the legal recognition of aboriginal title that Aboriginal People have been seeking entrance into a just and meaningful place in Canadian society. This proposition is one that has received wide recognition, but unfortunately, little government response. All Canadians, including business leaders and northern-development planners, have a moral obligation to promote the pursuit of aboriginal rights. This point was stressed by John Ciaccia in 1977, speaking at a conference of the Canadian Petroleum Law Foundation:

Because of the issues involved in native claims, the business community should take a more active role in their settlement. You cannot hope to leave the settlement of native claims in the hands of the bureaucracy and expect an early settlement acceptable to all sides...

...When you are discussing native claims, you are dealing with a wide spectrum of issues encompassing the cultural rights of a minority and the economic benefits which should be provided to a disadvantaged minority. You cannot avoid becoming involved in a discussion of the impact of our society on the natives and the effects on them, for example, of our administration of justice. You must seek out methods to ensure the participation of a people in the government process. You are called upon to find ways and means of assuring that a group with a different cultural background can thrive and flourish in our society.¹³

That is what is involved in the pursuit of aboriginal land rights in the context of northern development. Developers themselves have to get involved. I would add, however, that, in addition to the points made by Mr. Ciaccia, it is important also to recognize that the claims of Aboriginal People are not only the claims of minority groups. The former are grounded in history, law, and policy, and are now expressly entrenched in the Constitution as obligations of the highest order. The Federal Government's own claims policy has expressed the view that the pursuit of aboriginal land rights ought to be a way to open the door for Aboriginal people to participate more fairly in Canadian life:

Claims settlements have thus provided an opportunity for government and claimants to redefine the most fundamental aspects of their relationship by a process of negotiation.¹⁴

The problem, in areas such as northern Manitoba where treaties have already been signed, is that there is no such mechanism available for redefining the most fundamental aspects of the relationships between Canada and Aboriginal Peoples. This is not to say that the comprehensive claims process is particularly enlightened. The point is that in those areas where people have been dispossessed and marginalized by treaty promises that have not been kept, there is no

mechanism or policy in place that is based upon the recognition of the rights of peoples derived from the historic occupation of their homeland. The present policy for treaty areas is called a specific claims policy and contains none of the expression of lofty ideals to be found in the comprehensive claims policy. These specific claims are dealt with narrowly on the basis of analyses respecting the ambit of legal obligation. A redefinition of the proper relation between Aboriginal Peoples and Canada must be based upon a recognition of the rights derived from historic occupation of a homeland. The principles applicable to situations and peoples, where no treaties have been entered into, must apply equally to those where treaties have been signed.

It is to be hoped that northern planners will recognize the justice of a principled approach to the pursuit of aboriginal land rights and will do their fair share in arriving at the kind of accommodations that will make the recent guarantees of aboriginal and treaty rights in the Constitution mean more than high-sounding rhetoric. There is enough irony already, in the context of hydro-electric development, in promises meant, "to endure for so long as the waters flow".

NOTES

1. ([1929], D.L.R. 307; (1928), 50 C.C.C. 389; 4 C.N.L.C. 430 at p. 436)
2. (Felix Cohen, "Original Indian Title" (1947), 32 *Minn. L. Rev.* 28, at 38)
3. (*Ibid.* p. 38)
4. [*Calder V.A.G.B.C.* (1970), 13 D.L.R. (30) 64; 74 W.W.R. 481; 7 C.N.L.C. 43, at 46-47]
5. [*Calder V.A.G.B.C.* (1973), 34 D.L.R. (3d) 145 [1973] S.C.R. 313; [1973] 4 W.W.R.I.; 7 C.N.L.C. 91 at 116, 117]
6. [*Constitution Acts*, 1982, section 35, enacted as Schedule B to the

Canada Act 1982, (U.K.) 19782, c.11 which came into force on April 17, 1982]

7. [Calder, A.G.B.C. [1973] S.C.R. 313]
8. [Maine, Sir Henry Summer. *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society, and its Relation to Modern Ideas*. New edition; ed. Sir Fredrick Pollock London. John Murray, 1930]
9. [See, e.g. Kent McNeil, *Common Law Aboriginal Title*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, pp. 290-297.]
10. [J.C. Smith, "The Concept of Native Title" (1974) 66 *Canadian Bar Review* 727-83]
11. [It should be noted that no circumstances giving rise to Aboriginal title arise where a dominant society does not seek to incorporate the servient institutions into its own.]
12. [*Guerin* (1984) 2 S.C.R. at 382]
13. [John Ciaccia, "The settlement of Native Claims" (1977) 15 *Alta.L. Rev* - 556,; at 561. Ciaccia is now the Minister for Native Affairs of Quebec]
14. [Canada: *Comprehensive Land Claims Policy*. Dept. of Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa. 1987 p.6]

Native Land Use in the North

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SOUTHERN PERSPECTIVES ON NATIVE LAND USE

I first started visiting the Canadian "bush" in my youth during the 1950s. My family would plan its summer vacation by ordering the most recent road map of northwestern Ontario and looking for the dotted lines. These lines indicated roads under construction which would lead us to the "untouched wilderness", trophy-sized fish, and all too often a traffic jam of American campers and Winnebegos. Like most other non-Natives, it never occurred to us that we were invading someone else's home.

For too long a time the North has been portrayed by tourist promoters as a wilderness playground for fly-in fishermen, hunters and adventurers. This wilderness is also sought by southern interest groups for a variety of other exploitive purposes including hydro developments,

[§]Rick Riewe is a Professor of Zoology at the University of Manitoba. Since 1970 Dr. Riewe has worked in the North with Native Peoples where he has studied their land use, hunting strategies, wildlife ecology, winter survival, native clothing, and the impacts of northern developments upon the people and the land. His research interests have carried him across the Northwest Territories as well as Greenland, Alaska, and Siberia. He is currently on leave at the Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta, where he is coordinating the Environment/Economy section of the Arctic Environmental Strategy for the Green Plan.

forestry operations, mining and petroleum developments, wildlife sanctuaries, parks, military installations, scientific research stations, sea ports, pipelines, and airstrips. Rarely in the past have these southern groups considered the Natives who were living in the wilderness.

I have little work experience in northern Manitoba, but during the past 20 years I have worked north of 60° latitude with the Inuit and Indians, primarily in the Northwest Territories. For this reason I will limit my discussion primarily to Nunavut – the Inuit territory of the central and eastern region of the Northwest Territories.

INUIT LAND USE

With a range extending from East Cape, Siberia to Scoresby Sound, Greenland, the Eskimoan peoples (which include the Inuit) have occupied the largest homeland of any cultural group in the world. In the 1950s the Federal Government became concerned about the welfare of the Inuit in the Northwest Territories. Between 1958 and 1968, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources began to examine the Inuit's use of the land in a series of studies known as Area Economic Surveys (Lotz 1976). The aim of these surveys was to determine Native use of natural resources in the North, and to suggest ways they could make more effective use of these resources. Unfortunately, these reports paid little attention to the perceptions of the local people (Freeman 1976). Nonetheless, they provided a useful set of base-line data on the way Natives appeared to non-Natives.

In 1973 the Supreme Court of Canada decided in the Calder case that the Federal Government had to settle Aboriginal land claims. In preparation for the impending court cases many northern Native groups began to document their land use (Asch 1976; Brice-Bennet et al 1977; Brody 1986; Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement 1977; Duerden n.d.; Freeman 1976; The Dene Nation 1984). Only since the 1970s, when these first Native land-use studies were conducted, has the average southerner begun to realize that the North is actually the homeland of Native Peoples.

INUIT LAND USE IN NUNAVUT

The Inuit in the Northwest Territories were the first in Canada to complete the documentation of their land use. The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada's Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project was conducted between 1973 to 1976 under the direction of Milton Freeman (1976). Researchers went from door to door interviewing adults and asking them to map out their hunting, trapping and fishing areas, travel routes, camp sites, and burial sites. Approximately 85 percent of the adult Inuit in the Northwest Territories were interviewed during this study. The final product of this research was a set of three volumes published by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Volume One presented the Inuit view of their land use and occupancy. Volume Two consisted of papers which supported the Inuit land use and portrayed the Inuit's common viewpoint in regards to their values, attitudes, and sentiments towards the land. Volume Three consisted of an atlas of Inuit land use at a scale of 1:2,000,000. These volumes proved conclusively that the Inuit used and occupied roughly 3 million km² of land and sea in the Northwest Territories from time immemorial up to the present. The Freeman study set high standards for the other northern Native groups who later launched their comprehensive claims.

By the late 1980s the Inuit were preparing to select the lands that they wished to retain after negotiating their comprehensive land claim with the Federal Government. Between 1985 and 1987 the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut expanded and updated the Freeman report through their Land Identification Project (Riewe 1988, 1992). This project produced the Nunavut Atlas which depicted the intensity of Inuit land use, travel routes, traplines, fishing sites, and use of the sea ice in the Nunavut region. Land use was divided into three classes: 1) High Intensity Areas used every year, 2) Medium Intensity Areas used within the last 20 to 30 years, but not used every year, and 3) Low Intensity Areas unused since the communities were established by the government in the 1950s and 1960s. These latter areas may not have been visited recently by the Inuit, but they are by no means forgotten. These old homelands, which are distant from the communities, are now often being

reoccupied and used by Inuit travelling on faster, more dependable snowmobiles.

The Nunavut Atlas consisted of 59 1:500,000 map sheets reduced to approximately 1:1,000,000, each reproduced twice – one copy illustrating Inuit land-use information and the other, critical wildlife information. The Atlas also had 27 maps depicting the current hunting ranges of the 26 Nunavut communities, plus Holman Island (which has the option of accepting either TFN's Nunavut claim or COPE's claim).

Nunavut is the homeland of about 14,000 Inuit who occupy roughly 2.7 million km² of land and sea in the central and eastern Northwest Territories. The Inuit live in 26 widely scattered communities varying in size from Umingmaktok, with about 80 Inuit, up to Iqaluit with 1470 Inuit (Table 1). The average density of Inuit occupying the Nunavut region is approximately 0.005 Inuit/km² or 198.5 km² for every man, woman and child. It is interesting to note that often the smallest communities, such as Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay, and Umingmaktok, have the largest hunting territories per person.

The Inuit in Nunavut have used and occupied roughly 1,780,000 km² of land and 920,000 km² of sea. Fifty-six percent of the land is classified as High Intensity use areas, 24 percent as Medium Intensity, and only 20 percent as Low Intensity. Due to the low biological productivity of the arctic, hunters must cover vast areas in order to secure sufficient resources; therefore, virtually the entire region is utilized. Despite the great distances between communities, there is much overlap among their hunting ranges. In the High Intensity use areas, 25 percent of the land is utilized by hunters from two to five communities, and 20 percent of the Medium Intensity use areas are hunted by two to four communities (Riewe 1988).

What is most astounding to a southerner is the fact that these vast ranges are intimately known by the hunters. While travelling with Inuit hunters I have often been amazed at their detailed knowledge of the land. Prior to 1970, when the Inuit in Grise Fiord (the most northerly community in Canada) used dog teams, they would travel anywhere from a hundred to a few thousand kilometres on a single hunt which

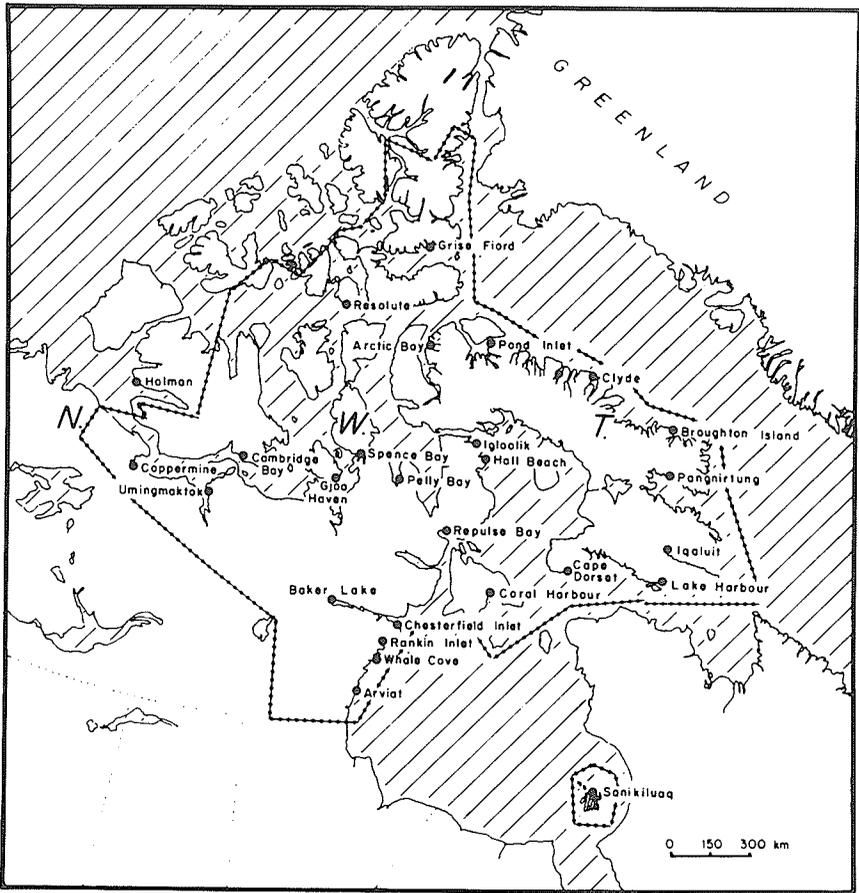


Figure 1. Map of the communities within the Nunavut claim area of the Northwest Territories.

Table 1. Hunting territories of Nunavut communities.

Community	Inuit Population	Hunting Territory km²	Area/person (km²)
Arctic Bay	450	159,800	355
Arviat	1230	113,800	92
Baker Lake	850	159,700	187
Broughton Island	360	82,200	228
Cambridge Bay	610	205,000	336
Cape Dorset	740	83,100	112
Chesterfield	230	42,600	185
Clyde River	430	97,000	226
Coppermine	750	193,100	257
Coral Harbour	400	100,600	251
Gjoa Haven	500	148,400	297
Grise Fiord	100	98,000	980
Hall Beach	340	99,400	292
Holman Island	280	132,200	472
Igloolik	710	140,300	198
Iqaluit	1470	101,200	69
Lake Harbour	230	78,900	343
Pangnirtung	970	105,700	109
Pelly Bay	240	61,800	257
Pond Inlet	660	96,200	145
Rankin Inlet	850	35,500	42
Repulse Bay	340	79,700	234
Resolute Bay	150	166,500	1110
Sanikiluaq	370	33,000	89
Spence Bay	400	94,700	237
Umingmaktok	80	105,400	1317
Whale Cove	170	84,000	494
Average Territory Size		107,337 km²	

may have lasted a week to a month (Bruemmer 1969; Riewe 1977, 1991). In the late 1960s the Grise Fiord hunters adopted a wage economy, as did Inuit throughout much of the North (Usher 1972; Pelto 1973; Riewe 1981), and switched from dog teams to snowmobiles. Despite the wage economy, they were still completely dependent upon the hunt to obtain meat. Snowmobiles shortened travelling time on the hunt, reducing a three-month dog-team trip to only two or three weeks; many hunts became weekend events. This reduced the hunters' time on the land, but it did not diminish their knowledge of the landscape. When dogs were used, the hunters often benefitted from their animals' sixth sense concerning dangerous ice, and ability to travel home in ragging blizzards. In order to survive, a hunter on a snowmobile had to quickly develop even greater skills to avoid treacherous ice, white-outs, and storms.

In February 1986 I was caught in a typical Keewatin blizzard 80 kilometres out of Arviat – winds whistling at 40 to 60 km/hour, temperature plunging to -45°C , and visibility down to 5 metres. The hunters with whom I was travelling became momentarily disoriented. One man spotted a rock the size of a football sticking out of a snow drift. He immediately stopped his snowmobile and signalled the other hunters to come and look at the rock. After closely scrutinizing the small rock for 10 minutes, one of the hunters quietly announced that he had seen that rock two years ago while hunting caribou in the summer. He said we were only 11 kilometres southeast of the cabin which was our destination. The men then began working their way across the featureless (as far as I was concerned) landscape, navigating by the snow drifts and wind. In 20 minutes we were at the cabin, which was virtually invisible to me until we approached within 5 metres of the door.

Intimate knowledge of the land is by no means limited to the Inuit, and is characteristic of all hunting cultures (Service 1966; Shepard 1973). Hunters are taught from infancy to be acute observers of their environment, to listen attentively, and to learn from their elders. The stories of senior hunters are filled with ecological richness, only recently beginning to be appreciated by scientists (Freeman and Carbyn 1984).

Some people have likened these vast hunting lands to the hunters' "back yards", but it would be more appropriate to equate them to their "living rooms" or "kitchens", because these hunting lands are as intimately known to the Natives as are living rooms or kitchens to a southern urbanite.

INDIAN LAND USE IN NORTHERN MANITOBA

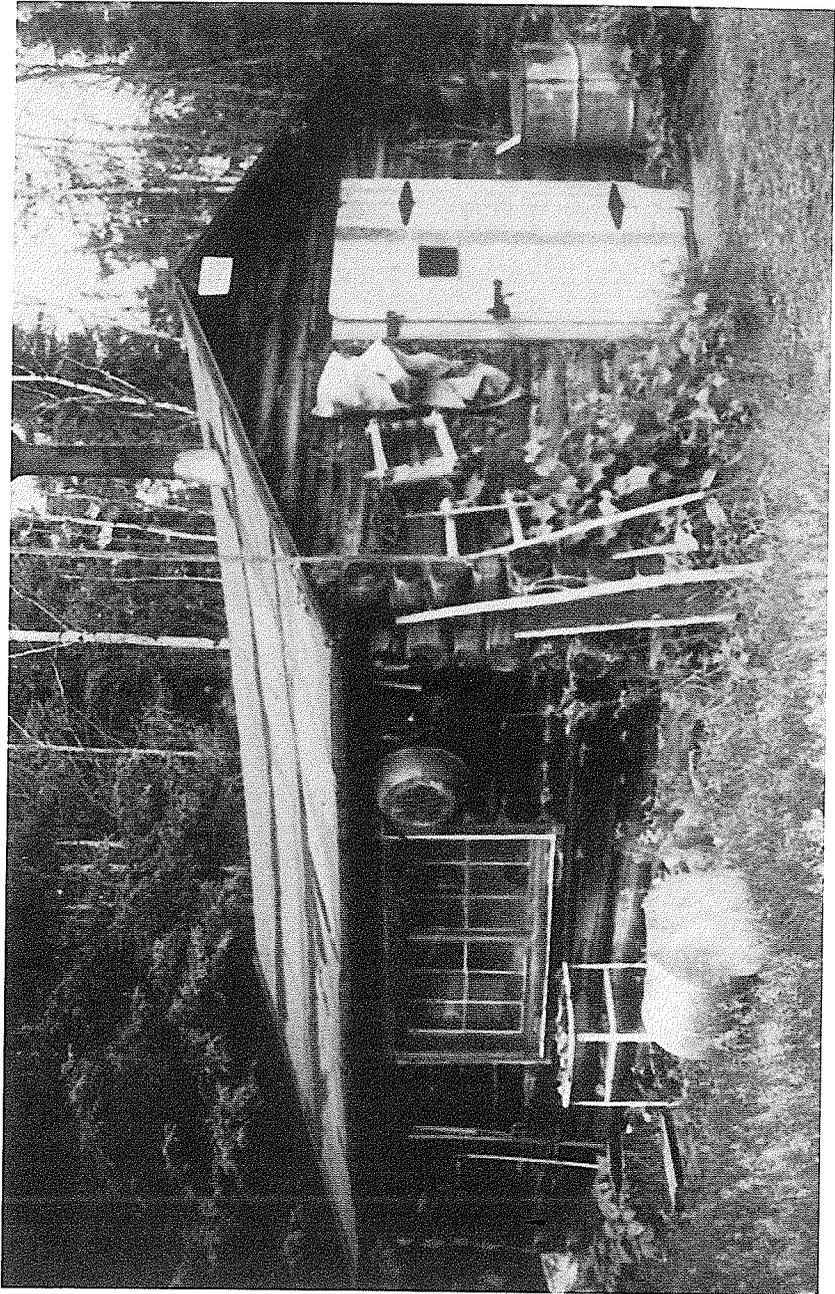
Manitoba covers about 640,000 km², with the "North" (which covers everything north of agro-Manitoba) comprising approximately 512,000 km². This is less than one-fifth the area of Nunavut. Back in 1976 this northland was inhabited by roughly 27,600 Indians residing in about 45 communities (Energy, Mines and Resources Canada 1981). The average density of Indians in northern Manitoba was therefore about 0.054 Indians/km² or 18.5 km²/Indian. In other words, Manitoba's North had a Native population density more than ten times that of Nunavut. Since 1976 the Indian population in Manitoba has continued to grow.

Northern Manitoba Indian bands have recently begun to document their land use. The community of South Indian Lake has just completed a study of their extensive land use (Hrenchuk 1991). The Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Inc. has recently begun a study of the Fox Lake Band, and the Waterhen Band has also begun a mapping project. Many of the northern Manitoban bands are likewise intending to conduct their own land-use studies. As these projects are completed, we are beginning to see the same relationships between the people and their land in Manitoba as we have seen north of 60° latitude. What is true in the Nunavut region, with its thinly scattered population, is most certainly true in northern Manitoba with its much denser population. Northern Manitoba is intimately known and intensively and extensively used by its inhabitants. It is the "living room and the kitchen" of the Ojibwa, Cree and Chipewyan. It is not merely a wilderness playground or a cornucopia of resources for the southern developer.

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Trapper's cabin



*Top: Commercial fisherman delivering his catch
Bottom: Commercial fishing fleet at Hecla Island, Manitoba*

People and Land in Manitoba: Relationships Illustrated Symbolically in Clothing

Jill Oakes[§]

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University of Alberta

In the past, women used needles, sinew, and skins to depict the significance of respecting and understanding their environment. Today, modern fabrics are used as a substitute; however, the importance of an intimate relationship between people and land continues to be the primary message communicated in native clothing. Seamstresses carefully select colours, shapes, silhouettes, materials, and construction procedures in order to illustrate the interrelationship between people and the land, water, air, animals, seasons, and spirits. The purpose of this paper is to summarize the subtle, yet powerful, meanings held within the Indian, Métis, Settler, and Inuit clothing used by Native Manitobans.

Traditionally, bison robes, and other clothing were stained, painted, or dyed with a variety of natural pigments. Colours symbolized parts of the universe. Today, colours are still extremely important in Native

[§]Jill Oakes, Ph.D., P.H.Ec., has studied clothing used by indigenous peoples in Greenland, Canada, Alaska, and the Far East of the Soviet Union. She has coordinated living exhibitions of contemporary skin clothing in major centres in northern and southern Canada, and Alaska. A recent exhibition of bird skin clothing curated by Jill Oakes is travelling to major museums across Canada. In addition, Dr. Oakes has published over forty articles and given over a hundred oral presentations on clothing used by indigenous circumpolar people. She is currently an Assistant Professor in the Department of Clothing and Textiles at the University of Alberta.

clothing (M. Thomas, personal communications, May 1990). Red, yellow, and blue are most commonly used by some groups, green and brown are preferred by others. The symbolic meaning of colours varies from one group to the next. Red usually symbolizes wars or life. Yellow represents the sun or daylight. Light blue refers to water and dark blue represents the earth or wildlife. The symbolic meaning of colours may vary regionally; however, they are always used to represent different forms of the natural environment.

In northern Manitoba, a small population of Inuit continue to use caribou and seal skin clothing which directly represents their connection with the land. The water-proof stitches, hand scraped skins, and ingenious design features are needed in clothing used during the harsh arctic winters. Most parts of the animals are used. The meat is eaten, some bones are used for tools, and the skin is used for clothing. Hunters dress in beautifully constructed clothing in order to show their respect to the wildlife. Traditionally, clothing provided protection from spirits through decoration with amulets made from pieces of skin, teeth, and bones. Today, hunters continue to require skin clothing for protection against the weather.

The importance of clothing is well known to individuals who use dress to manipulate the impressions of their superiors and clients. Dressing for success has become a required skill in the business world. Dressing is equally significant to hunters and trappers in northern Manitoba. Mr. George Cotter, wildlife photographer and retired trapper, used a moose hide ensemble to illustrate this point.

I had invited Sally to go snowshoeing. Later she told me that she was astounded when she opened the door and saw me standing on the steps dressed entirely in smoked moose hide clothing (Cotter, personal communications, 1989).

The coat was made at Split Lake in the early 1930s. It has four brass buttons carrying the Hudson's Bay Company emblem and motto, *Pro pelle Cutem*. The sleeves and yoke are decorated with a colourful array of silk thread satin stitch. Fringes that edge the yoke and sleeves help shed water off the coat during wet periods. The moccasins were made by a young woman from Cumberland House who wanted to date

George. The vamp is embroidered with silk thread. Breeches, gauntlets, and "Putty" (a thin strip of felt wrapped around the lower leg before the moccasins were slipped on) were worn with the coat and moccasins. Moose hide jackets, moccasins, and gauntlets are still an important part of Native culture in Manitoba.

Clothing is an integral part of Native and northerner's lifestyle. Materials, designs, and decorative features are linked closely with the available natural resources. Native clothing provides a symbol of group identity and group affiliation as well as protection from the elements. The ability to read the messages sewn into Native clothing provides an enlightening, optimistic perspective on the intimate relationship between land and people.

We must all see ourselves as part of the earth,
 Not as an enemy from the outside who tries to impose his will on it.
 We who know the meaning of the pipe
 Know that by being a living part of the earth
 We cannot harm any part of her without harming ourselves.

(Anonymous)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

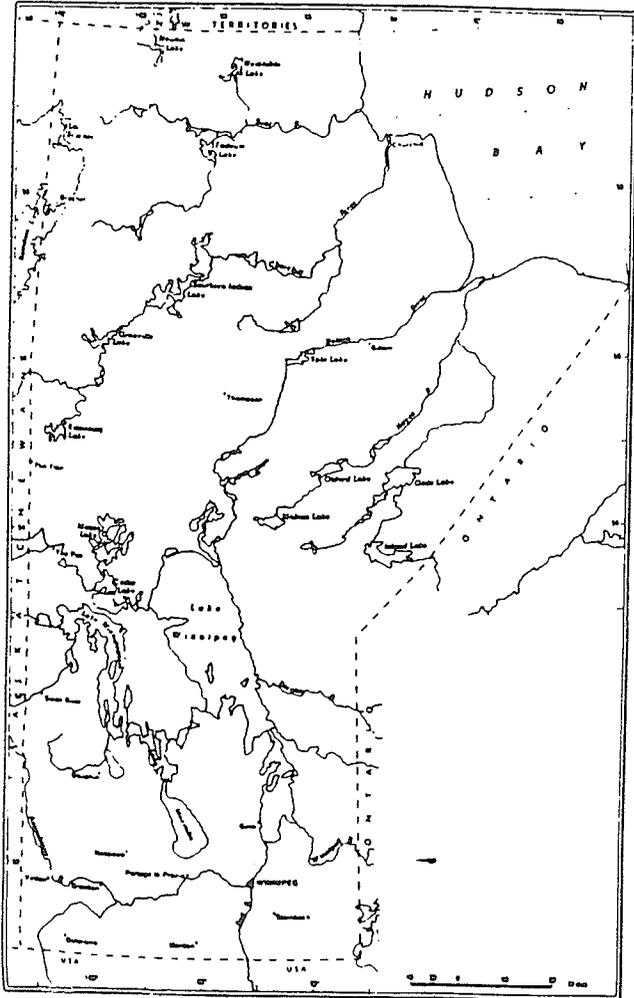
Many people helped organize and produce the People and Land in Northern Manitoba Fashion Show including Myrtle Thomas; Loretta Houle; John Houle; Brian Ashley Greyeyes; Curtis Johnny Shingoose; Darlene Hunter; Elizabeth and Bob Smoker; Phil Fontaine; Wanda, Nadine, and Mandy Thomas Piette; Agatha, Jamie, and Leslie Komaksuitiksak; George and Sally Cotter. The support of these individuals helped make this fashion show a success and is gratefully acknowledged.

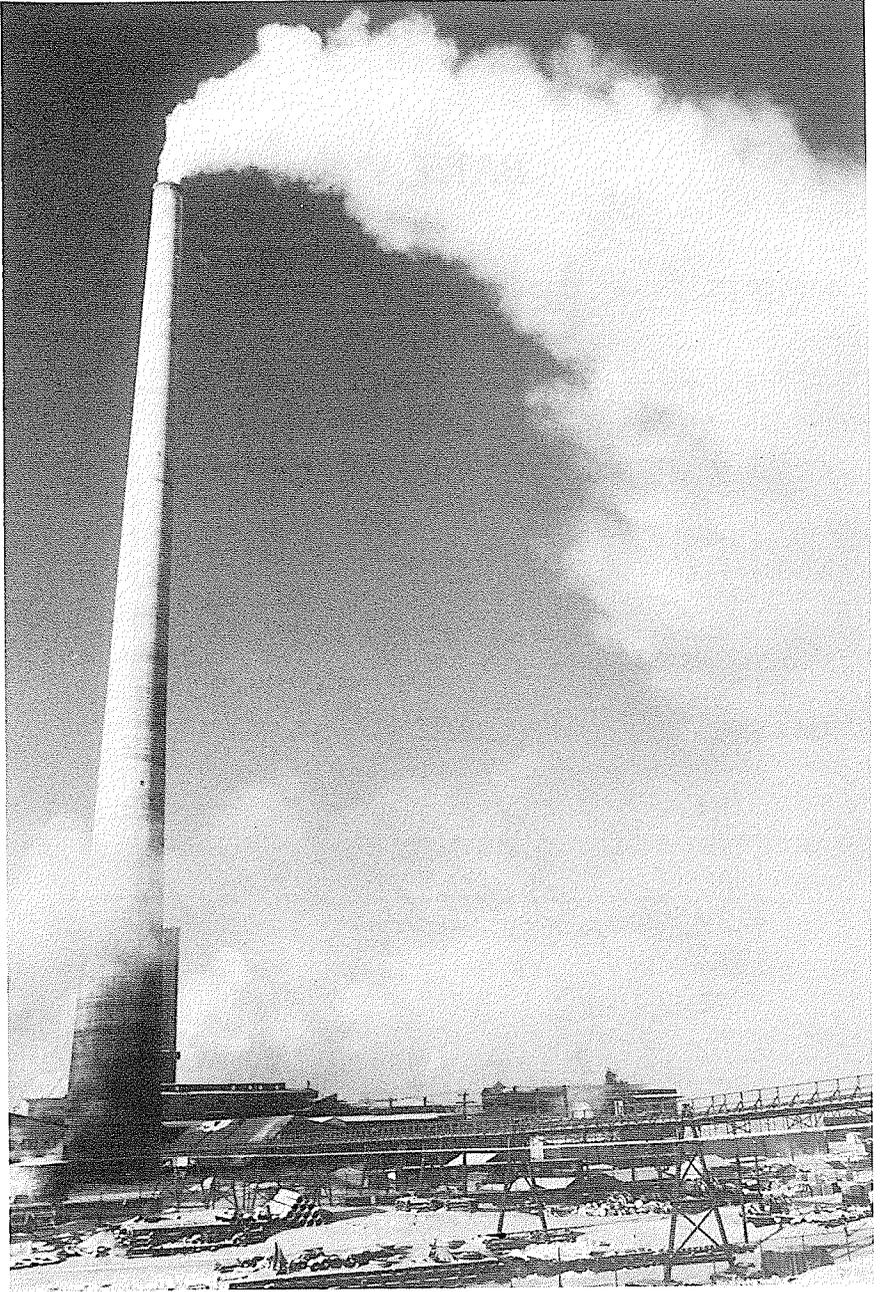


Inuit model Agatha Komaksuitiksuk at the People and Land in Northern Manitoba fashion show, Winnipeg

PART V

NORTHERN RESOURCE EXTRACTION





Smelter stack in Flin Flon, Manitoba

Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting in Northern Manitoba

Alastair Walker[§]
Hudson Bay Mining & Smelting Co., Ltd.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to participate in this conference and to talk to you about mining in the North, particularly from my company's viewpoint. For those of you who know little about Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting (HBMS), I think it may be helpful to provide a few vital statistics to give you a perspective on the company. We are not, by the way, associated with the Hudson's Bay Company, as many people assume.

HBMS started producing copper and zinc in Flin Flon in 1930. Our current capacity is about 200 tons of copper and 250 tons of zinc per day. We produce gold, silver, and cadmium as our principle by-products. Annual gold production is about 70,000 ounces, and silver production is about 1.2 million ounces. We are currently operating one open pit and

[§]A. Alastair Walker was born and educated in Scotland and graduated from the University of Glasgow in 1963 with a B.Sc. in Geology. After some four years in the oil exploration industry in Europe, Africa and the Middle East, Mr. Walker entered the mining industry in Central Africa working as a mine geologist in both open pit and underground operations. He joined Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting in Canada in 1974 and directed exploration projects in Mexico and British Columbia before moving to Manitoba in 1979. Since that time he has been closely involved with Hudson Bay's exploration and geological operations as Vice-President of Exploration. As part of his duties he has been responsible for the company's initiatives with Native groups in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Recently, in May 1991, Mr. Walker moved to London, England to take up the position of Consulting Geologist with Minorco Services (UK) Ltd.

seven underground mines in the Flin Flon, Snow Lake, and Leaf Rapids area; we operate a copper smelter and a zinc refinery at Flin Flon and employ over 2,400 people. As well as treating concentrates from our own mines, we also buy concentrates from time to time from mining operations in other parts of Canada. We are one of the largest private-sector employers in the Province of Manitoba, on both a current and historical basis.

The origins of HBMS's operations go back to the early 1900s when prospectors discovered the existence of a vast greenstone belt stretching from Snow Lake to Flin Flon and into northern Saskatchewan. This belt contained numerous deposits of polymetallic ore, rich in zinc and copper, and containing modest but important amounts of silver and gold. These reserves, coupled with a large smelter complex completed in 1930 at Flin Flon and a major hydro-electric development built at Island Falls on the Churchill River, became the basis of the HBMS business. Although the ore bodies were not extraordinarily rich, they were extensive, particularly the Flin Flon ore body, and over the years exploration continued and new mines were brought into production as old mines were exhausted. Since 1930, we have developed more than 20 separate mines and there remains a vast potential still untapped. These mines in turn feed the Flin Flon metallurgical complex which has operated 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, with only two short interruptions since it was commissioned in 1930.

When it was first constructed, this complex was among the largest industrial facilities in the world; so large, in fact, that HBMS also built the first major hydro-electric dam in the North just to power it. Based on these three cornerstones – ore reserves, abundant hydro power, and massive economies of scale in smelting and refining – HBMS prospered and in the process built a business, created a city, and opened an entire region to development. Until the mid 1970s, it seemed that things were going pretty much our way. Exploration kept pace with the need for ore. Living together as a community gave us labour relations that were the envy of our competitors. World metal prices were relatively stable. The markets supplied our ever-growing needs for capital, and the future looked secure.

In the decade that followed, however, things began to change. A world-wide economic slowdown, coupled with an oversupply of metals, forced copper prices to levels lower than during the great depression of the 1930s. Cost of production, particularly energy, skyrocketed and HBMS, like many other companies and individuals, began to confront the environmental impact and costs of its operations. By the early 1980s the mining industry in Canada and world wide was in desperate trouble. A number of our competitors did not survive and we ourselves went through a difficult period of adjustment. No small part of the credit for our survival goes to our employees and their unions. Throughout those hard years, HBMS did not lay off a single hourly worker and the employees responded, helping HBMS improve productivity by 70%. On the company's side, no dividends were paid to shareholders in these years. Of the over \$2 billion generated in revenue by HBMS during the 1982-87 period, the overwhelming majority was returned to the Manitoba/Saskatchewan community through wages, taxes and supplies!

As much as I would like to believe that all of this cooperation and support was a reflection of a history of enlightened management on the part of HBMS, the reality is that there was more to it than that. The workers, the suppliers, everyone in the region were fighting not just to hold onto jobs or business – they were fighting to save their communities. This crisis helped to drive home to everyone, including HBMS, that our operations were so large and so interwoven with the life of the community that if we failed, we could very well bring the economy of the entire region down with us.

At first blush this may seem to reflect an inflated notion of our own importance, but when you stop to consider that HBMS is among the ten largest private corporations in Manitoba, contributes over \$200 million a year to the provincial economy, of which over \$110 million is income for Manitobans, and directly or indirectly supports the economic base of over 15,000 northern Manitobans, you begin to appreciate that our operations are indeed the lifeblood for a large part of the northwestern portion of the province.

In a way, we are hostages of our own success. For 60 years HBMS has been the flywheel that has both driven and stabilized economic

development in northwestern Manitoba. If all we faced were economic obligations, we would probably continue nursing the best out of our facilities for many years to come. But all of us in the industrial world have come to realize that economic progress at the cost of degrading the environment is not progress at all. This is not a realization that has come easily or quickly, but it is one that is now shared by almost every Canadian.

As a result of this, HBMS and the mining industry are at a major crisis point in their history. HBMS in particular must undertake massive new investments to upgrade its operations to modern environmental standards, either that or wind down one of the largest industrial operations in the province. The third alternative, continuing as in the past, is not acceptable to anyone any longer. HBMS also clearly recognizes that by virtue of the scale of its operations, it has created a situation where whole communities and entire regions depend on the company for survival. Closing down is no more acceptable than continuing as is. The only choice is modernization. Sounds easy! It's not.

The problem is that metallurgical plants, especially plants that were built 60 years ago, are not an inherently clean business. As well, the huge scale of operations inevitably has a major cumulative impact on the environment, no matter how careful or well intentioned. Added to this the number and complexity of processes that turn raw ore into refined metal, each of which has its own potentially adverse environmental impact, one can begin to appreciate the magnitude of the problem and why it took almost five years to find the answer. The solution, or more properly the solutions, will involve introducing several new technologies as well as major changes to a host of basic operations.

The present zinc concentrate-roasting and calcine-leaching processes will be replaced with zinc pressure-leaching technology. This methodology has recently been developed here in western Canada with the active support of HBMS. It will effectively eliminate sulphur dioxide and particulate emission on the zinc-processing side and will reduce overall sulphur dioxide emission at the facility by 25 percent. The present copper smelter will have several steps in the process replaced by

the Noranda continuous-converter technology, also Canadian developed. This will reduce the discharge of carbon particulates from the exhaust stacks by at least 50 percent. Energy consumption within the smelter and leaching plants will be reduced by 50 percent, and with a concurrent move to electrification, coal consumption will be reduced from 60,000 tonnes to 6,000 tonnes per year. As well, heavy-oil consumption will be reduced from 60 million litres a year to 11 million litres. The net effect of all this will be to reduce the production of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases by over 300,000 tonnes a year.

Within the metallurgical complex, the plant areas having the most unattractive working conditions will be entirely replaced, providing a substantial and much needed improvement in workplace health and safety conditions. Finally, the current inability to completely collect the process gas for discharge through the main exhaust stacks will be corrected in the modernized plant and the reduced volume of gases from the new processes, combined with a new collection system, will dramatically reduce any future, spill-gas emissions.

All of these things, together, will provide a substantial and immediate improvement to environmental conditions in Flin Flon and the region. Just as important, they are also a substantial and tangible demonstration that HBMS is conscious of global problems like acid rain and the greenhouse effect, and is committed to becoming part of the solution, instead of part of the problem.

I have touched on the technological challenges we have had to overcome, but I should also mention that there are major economic hurdles as well. The total cost of this modernization is in the vicinity of \$170 million, resulting in both increased capacity and a long-term extension to the lifetime of the facility. This in turn requires that HBMS be prepared and able to commit a further \$100 million to exploration activities over the next 10 years. We expect that our efforts will be rewarded with new discoveries, and new mines will be developed at a projected cost of \$130 million. Total expenditures over the next 10 years are therefore expected to be in the order of \$400 million. HBMS is a large company, but \$400 million in new investment is substantial capital for any company, bank, or even government. The negotiations to arrange

the financing and investment package for plant modernization have been at least as difficult as finding technological solutions. These negotiations are still ongoing, but having solved major technological problems, we have every confidence of successfully resolving the remaining financial issues.

I think it is important to note that this modernization plan marks neither the beginning nor the end of HBMS commitment to environmental initiatives. Numerous projects have already been undertaken, others are ongoing, and still others are in the planning stage. HBMS has developed and implemented systems to capture and contain off-gas dust within the metallurgical complex, and \$1 million per year is being spent on the improvement of containment and treatment facilities at tailings ponds. Landscaping, grass planting, and beautification of mine sites are being undertaken, water-treatment plants have been constructed for conditioning of waste water (bringing discharge effluents to drinking-water standards), and a host of new projects are under development.

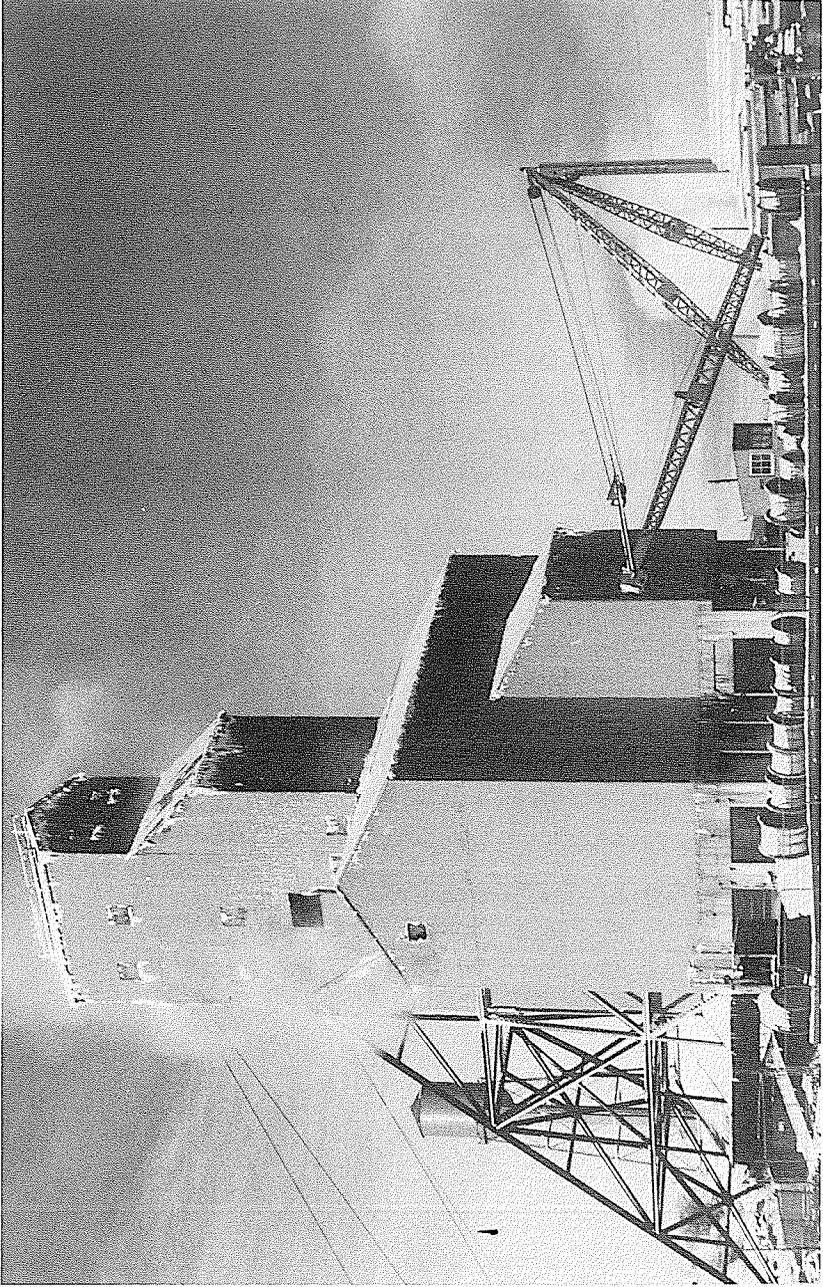
The company is working within the surrounding areas and is achieving noteworthy successes. Some lakes in the immediate vicinity of the plant have been improved to the point where they can once again sustain fish and support recreation. The City of Flin Flon is now able to consider waterfront development on a lake for recreational purposes. We will be restocking rainbow trout this year in another local lake, which receives effluent from one of our mines. A project is planned to grow seedling trees in abandoned mines. Research is in progress to develop additional improvements to the local waterways and fishery as well as to improve air quality and reduce airborne emissions.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to mention another new and exciting initiative by HBMS over the past several years – expanding involvement with Native organizations on a variety of fronts. These organizations have been key players in building the regional consensus necessary to undertake the proposed plant modernization. Native People and organizations have made valuable contributions to understanding the long-term impact of HBMS's operations on the environment, and even more vital, have helped us see what we can do to remedy some past

mistakes. In the process we have not only learned something, we have discovered other areas of common interest and concern. We have found valuable potential partners for a number of new ventures and projects that promise to further expand the spirit of cooperation and common cause in the North.

Some people may ask, fairly enough, why has it taken so long to pursue this active partnership with the Native People of the North. I don't really know.

What matters in the end is that we have a new appreciation of our common interests and are committed to expanding our involvement with Native organizations wherever the opportunity presents itself. I believe in the long run, this new relationship with the Native People will prove as important to HBMS's future as our environmental initiatives. We are committed to both.



Mine shaft at Flin Flon, Manitoba

The Economics of Large-Scale Resource Development in Northern Manitoba

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INTRODUCTION

There are only three large-scale natural resource industries in northern Manitoba. These are the forest resource industry, the metallic mineral resource industry, and the hydro-electric water resource industry. Virtually all employment outside the traditional fishing and trapping sectors in the North can be viewed as being directly or indirectly related to or induced by these three resource industries.

In spite of their overwhelming economic importance to northern Manitoba, control over the development and extraction of these natural resources has, unavoidably it seems, been entrusted to a handful of large corporations whose head offices are located hundreds of miles away

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from the North – in Winnipeg or Toronto or New York. These corporations (Manitoba Hydro, INCO, Hudson Bay Mining & Smelting, and REPAP – having taken over Manitoba Forest Resources) are all, as we can see, among the sponsors and participants of this Conference.

In the short time available, it is not possible to do more than crudely outline some of the economic implications that arise out of the development and extraction of the natural resources of the North. Rather than presenting a large number of statistics on the economy of the North, my remarks will attempt to focus conceptually on the economic issues and inter-relationships that characterize the large-scale resource industries of northern Manitoba. To do this one needs some sort of frame of reference.

AN ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK

Discussion has commonly tended to focus on profits (i.e., the profits of the corporations engaged in resource extraction), on incomes, on tax revenues and other annual financial flows associated with the resource industries of the North. I have become convinced that this has never produced any comprehensive understanding of the economics of large-scale resource extraction. It is my intention to focus my presentation instead on the concept of economic rents which has been familiar to economists for almost two centuries since David Ricardo, the nineteenth century British economist.

Economic rent is a surplus. It is the surplus that accrues to the owner of a scarce natural resource. Conceptually, it may be measured as the difference between the market value of the resource (as a commodity in the economy) and the economic costs of extraction (where economic costs include competitive returns to all the factors of production engaged in resource extraction: capital, labour and entrepreneurship). In practise, economic rent is very difficult to measure. It never appears explicitly on the books of any corporation, because it is incompatible with standard accounting practises. To put this another way, it is difficult to measure economic costs as distinct from accounting costs because it is not possible to measure unambiguously what competitive returns to capital, labour and entrepreneurship are.

This is because, in reality, we have risky, imperfectly competitive markets characterized by tax distortions, monopolistic or oligopolistic elements, irreversibilities and rigidities, as well as uncertain future events. These make the observed (historical) market prices and rates, recorded by book-keeping methods, diverge from the hypothetical competitive levels needed to measure economic rents.

Nevertheless, the concept of economic rent is what we need to gain a proper understanding of the economics of natural resource extraction in northern Manitoba. It can be argued that it is precisely the ambiguities inherent in the measurement of resource rents in the North that reflect the economic issues and controversies that have arisen in relation to large-scale resource extraction in the North. Moreover, it is well understood by economists that it is the prospective capture of economic rents that drives decision-making of private sector resource corporations. It is the absorption of captured economic rents in the form of capital gains realized by shareholders that provides the economic incentives for equity investments by individual investors and for international capital flows.

One way, and in my view the best way, to look at economic rents attributable to resource extraction in northern Manitoba is to look at the capitalized value of the expected future resource rents. This places the focus on looking forward into the future rather than on getting hung up on making extrapolations from the past. Also, this incorporates the aspect of uncertainty (or risk) associated with all economic decisions made in the present. Most importantly, however, this way of looking at resource rents corresponds precisely to the concept of asset valuation – the concept of capital value – that is central in corporate decision-making. Capital value is the value of an asset measured in terms of the present value of the expected stream of future profits or surpluses accruing from ownership of the asset. In other words, the capital value of future expected resource rents reflects accurately the perception that the natural resources of the North are Assets, and nothing more than assets on the balance sheet, from the point of view of the distant decision-makers of corporations engaged in their development and extraction.

Water rights, exploration rights, mining leases, and cutting rights are all assets that reflect entitlement to future resource rents and hence, control over these hydro-electric, mineral, and forest resources. More importantly, the investment of hundreds of millions of dollars of fixed capital (essential to the development and extraction and utilization of the natural resources of northern Manitoba) has made the transfer of these economic rent entitlements effectively irreversible and, hence, has made permanent the capture of resource capital values as assets by these corporations and as capital gains by their shareholders.

Thus, the total value of assets of a large-scale natural resource extracting corporation in northern Manitoba may be represented as simply the sum of Capital Assets and of Resource Capital Value (that is Capitalized Resource Rents):

$$ASSETS = K + RCV$$

Without hopefully getting too technical, it is possible for illustrative purposes to represent a special case of the capitalized value of resource rents – or Resource Capital Value – by the following simple equation:

$$RCV = -K + \frac{E(Rev) - E(Cst)}{r + rp} + \frac{E(OSB)}{r} - \frac{E(OSC)}{r}$$

This equation is shown in several schematic forms in Figure 1. Using this simple equation as a framework, some useful insights and, hopefully, a balanced perspective on the economics of large-scale natural resource extraction may be gained.

The first symbol on the right hand side of this equation, K , denotes Capital Assets consisting of fixed capital (buildings, machinery and equipment), inventory capital and working capital valued in terms of opportunity cost market value (rather than historical cost value or replacement value). Thus, the first term on the right hand side, the $-K$, identifies the economic reality that the capture of economic surpluses that are resource rents cannot be achieved without an investment in technologically suitable capital.

$$RCV = -K + f(E(Rev), E(Cst), r, rp, E(OSB), E(OSC))$$

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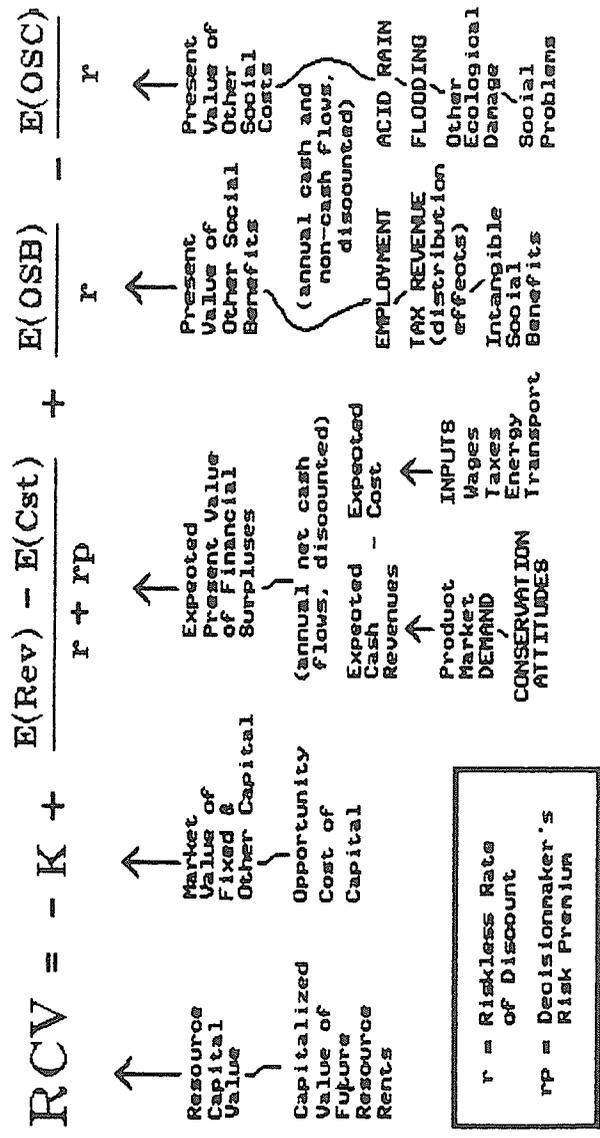


Figure 1. Capitalized Value of Resource Rents

There are no good-intentioned bare hands that can alone transform running water on the Nelson River into the electricity that percolated our coffee in Winnipeg this morning. In terms of current replacement value, the capital investment in hydro-electric generating and transmission facilities in the North can be crudely estimated at between \$8 billion and \$9 billion. Similarly, the capital investment in mining and smelting in Flin Flon, Thompson, Snow Lake and other mining towns is likely in excess of \$3 billion and the REPAP facilities in The Pas would be over \$500 million in terms of current replacement value.

This economic reality seems to dictate that large-scale megaproject developments are the only feasible way to capture the potential economic rents accruing from these natural resources. Under present market conditions, if you try to do it on a smaller scale, it is likely that the economic rents will be largely dissipated or wasted through inefficiency.

The second term in the equation represents the Present Value of expected financial surpluses or of expected net revenues. It is the difference between expected annual cash revenues of the resource industry and the expected annual cost outlays, divided by the rate of discount, $r + rp$.

The expected annual cash revenues, $E(Rev)$, are determined by product market demand outside the North – in southern Manitoba, in Canada or North America or even in the world, in the case of nickel and copper. They are also determined by market structure. For example, a monopoly like Manitoba Hydro is able to practise price discrimination against some of its customers through declining block rates and thereby enhance its expected revenues. The changing preferences, lifestyles and demographic composition of consumers create uncertainty in product markets. For example, increasing conservation awareness would tend to reduce market demand for electric energy. It would tend to reduce the level and increase the riskiness of electricity revenues and, thus, reduce resource rent prospects.

The expected annual costs, $E(Cst)$, include material input costs, wages and salaries, taxes, energy, transportation, etc. The future levels

of these costs are also characterized by variability which is perceived to be a source of risk.

The perceived magnitudes of the risks associated with uncertain revenues and costs can be represented in terms of a risk premium, rp , which is reflected in the discount rate, $r + rp$. The prospective Resource Capital Value is reduced as the perceived risk increases because more uncertain future resource rents are discounted more heavily. Also, increases in real interest rates reflected in the riskless rate of discount, r , result in a heavier discounting of future resource rents and, thus, in lower Resource Capital Value.

Only these first two terms have been traditionally perceived by the large resource corporations as being of economic relevance to decision-making. Resource extraction projects that have offered prospects of significant resource rent capture and hence high Resource Capital Value have been independently undertaken by these corporations. Resource developments with smaller or more uncertain prospects of resource rent capture have been considered to be marginal and have been undertaken only after provision of additional incentives by one or more levels of government.

This brings us to the third and fourth terms of the equation. The third term represents the Present Value of expected annual Other Social Benefits, $E(OSB)$. These are the positive spill-over effects attributable to resource development in the North. Examples of these include employment (of those who would otherwise be unemployed or underemployed), tax revenues and royalties, as well as intangibles such as political dividends and community goodwill. These positive spill-over effects enhance Resource Capital Value from the point of view of society, as well as provide a channel by which economic rents can be retained by governments on behalf of the people. This can be accomplished through taxation (in the form of mineral royalties, water royalties and stumpage fees, as well as corporation taxes).

Finally, the fourth term represents the Present Value of expected annual Other Social Costs, $E(OSC)$. These are the negative spill-over effects associated with resource development in the North. Flooding, acid rain, other environmental damage such as destruction of wildlife

habitat, and social problems such as the disruption of traditional Native livelihood and culture, and the creation of a dual economy in the North are some examples of these negative spill-over effects. Obviously, these negative spill-over effects represent a corresponding reduction in resource capital value from the point of view of society. Nevertheless, from the view of the corporations engaged in resource extraction in the North, there is no impact on resource capital value as long as they can avoid being confronted with the liability for these negative spill-overs.

In the time remaining it is not possible to do more than make a few more brief comments within the framework of this equation. These remarks will serve to illustrate the point that because the measurement of economic rents is so difficult, information is so scarce, and uncertainty about the future so great, many alternative views can be accommodated or argued within this framework. The truth is a matter of what the relative magnitudes and the expectations in the equation truly are and what the future state of the world evolves to be.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The role of government (in particular, the provincial government constitutionally responsible for natural resources) in resource development in the North has been to sell or barter away the entitlement to resource rents in exchange for the prospect of the Other Social Benefits – primarily, jobs and tax revenues. In some cases of clearly marginal Resource Capital Value the government has gone even further by subsidizing capital investment. This was done more than twenty years ago in the capital development of Churchill Forest Industries and has been reflected recently in the virtual write-off of those capital assets to REPAP. Another form of Capital subsidy has been to Manitoba Hydro through the provincial guarantee of the long term debt of the utility. Still another form of subsidy, in the past, has been passing of favourable legislation protecting mining companies from liability for environmental damage caused by the smelter emissions. The rationale for these subsidies can only have been based on the perceived magnitude of the expected other social benefits.

THE ROLE OF GOOD CORPORATE CITIZENS

The corporations engaged in resource development have been able to argue that they have been good corporate citizens. They have provided many decades of employment for thousands of people. They have paid and continue to pay taxes and royalties. The share of resource rents that they have received and continue to receive, they may argue, has been fair compensation for the risks incurred and the capital investments undertaken.

AN ENVIRONMENTALIST PERSPECTIVE

It is possible to perceive the Resource Capital Value equation from an environmentalist perspective. It can be argued that the product market demands (the $E(Rev)$ in the second term) that are the basis for expected resource rents are far too high. They are in excess of the demands that would be experienced in a conserver society, compatible with sustainable development. Moreover, the present value of expected other social costs has tended to be underestimated by government decision-makers. Thus, the true resource rents may be considerably lower than those actually being allowed to be realized in the marketplace. It can be inferred that the costs of this market failure are being borne by all of society and will ultimately fall on future generations.



Churchill docks, Churchill, Manitoba

Large-Scale Projects and Local People

Michael Anderson[§]

Natural Resources Secretariat
Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Inc.

I look forward to sharing with you some of the ideas emerging and evolving in discussions between First Nations, corporations and government regarding large-scale projects. The First Nations in northern Manitoba and northern areas throughout Canada have a great deal of experience with large-scale hydro-electric, forestry, and mining developments, so some of the perspectives I bring today will reflect that direct experience. The development of large-scale projects in the North represents both the opportunity for the creation of wealth, employment, and increased influence on reserve planning as well as the certainty of environmental, economic and social impacts for band memberships.

Large-scale resource projects also represent immense challenges, complexity, and uncertainty for band membership and other northern residents. Involvement in resource allocations, regulations, and environmental assessments dealing with laws and defence of rights, are all impacts in themselves that are considerable. Just gearing up to deal with these issues and to deal with emergent policies and legislation takes tremendous amounts of effort. One realizes that all these changes affect day-to-day life and one's future; it means that as these projects unfold, one can see one's future in each of them.

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Some of the developments the First Nations deal with right now are – and this is not a complete list – the Conawapa generating station; the bi-pole three transmission line which will succeed in opening up the eastern side of Lake Winnipeg between the Nelson River and Winnipeg; Repap's plans for a much expanded bleached craft pulp mill and increased timber harvesting; existing mining operations, explorations, and abandoned or soon to be abandoned tailings and other similar facilities. They are also dealing with the uranium mine in the NWT because of its effects on the migratory caribou herds and what this means for band memberships in northern Manitoba; SAS Power's Island Falls; and the Reindeer Falls hydro-electric projects. This is some of what we are working on in the MKO office right now.

When we speak of the North regarding the development of large projects in Manitoba, we are primarily speaking of resources in the boreal forest which stretches in an unbroken living belt from Ungava to the Rocky Mountains, artificially divided by provincial and territorial boundaries. The boreal forest is Canada's largest bio-geographic region and one of the least understood. This is particularly true of the continuing direct use of the boreal forest by Manitoba's First Nations. Canada's boreal forest is the principal traditional territory of the Cree Nation which also stretches from what is now Quebec to Alberta.

In Manitoba, the organization for which I work – MKO – represents 25 First Nations, 23 of which are Cree, and two Dene bands in the northern part of our region. Ojibwa, Sauteaux, and other First Nation communities continue to use and occupy the southern ranges of the boreal forest, and the Dene use and occupy the northern fringe.

The boreal forest in Manitoba is largely roadless; it is home to more than 33,000 Cree Indian people living in some thirty communities. To Manitoba's northern peoples, there are not now, and never were any frontiers, wilderness, or empty lands. The forest in Canada has always been, and remains today, the First Nations homeland. Manitoba's boreal forest is almost completely interconnected by skidoo and summer trails, rivers, lakes, and portages. The region contains hundreds of spring, summer and winter hunting, fishing, gathering, and trapping camps. This last summer I was doing some work assessing fire damage in the

communities, and I flew over much of this region. Pilots who had flown in this region for years were looking down as we pointed out dozens of cabins they had never seen in all their years of flying in the North. The area is completely occupied. Development can take place nowhere in Manitoba's boreal forest without affecting existing and active land uses in one way or another by northern residents. Some anthropologists and land use mappers we have worked with say that *northern Manitoba represents the most extensive and intensive use directly of forestry resources by First Nations people in North America.*

One expression of this is that registered trap line maps for northern Manitoba are absolutely contiguous from Saskatchewan to Ontario, and from the territorial boundary to the agricultural belt in the Interlake region.

There is no empty land. All these lands are shared under management regimes and intensively used. The native boreal forest provides considerable direct economic value to the communities. It is a use which is largely invisible to southern-based resource developers, managers and politicians.

I was recently asked for some positive examples of First Nations management of northern natural resources. The question implied to me that First Nations management of natural resources was something that was either new or developing through agreements between governments and First Nations throughout Canada. Northern Manitoba First Nations do not agree that the role of managing resources has ever been surrendered by treaty or any other act. And, in fact, the use of resources by Indian people, and the stewardship of those resources, have always been tied together. It has never been viewed as, "since we signed the treaty, someone else will look after it".

Many specific sites have been continuously used by band members for generations, indicating the success of the existing direct management and continued stewardship by the communities. The ability of government to intensively and directly manage these vast lands has always been fairly limited and it is even more limited in the present day with reductions in budgets and changes in governmental priorities. When government and corporate managers fly into remote lakes and forests or

other regions to set up camp or do their fieldwork, watching them pass overhead are hundreds of Indian faces turned to the sky. Band members watch exploration camps being built, cut lands made, hydro sites selected, timber harvested, and resource roads constructed. The people hold a record of what the land resources have provided for generations; as the local people are the first to see the changes, it is also local people who must continue to endure the longer-term effect of these changes and develop their own unique strategies for adjusting to the economy of these impacts in order to continue their direct use of land and resources.

When it appears that the intensive existing use of lands by local peoples may create what some planners describe as "non-engineering feasibility issues", some are quick to point out that the fur industry is now suffering perhaps as hard as at the first arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that the ability of people to provide for *all* their needs directly from the land is changing. This thinking is used to rationalize the need to abandon the close relationship to the land and accept the alternative – Native dependency on a wage economy – and to partially justify encroachment into traditional territories for redevelopment of the forests and rivers for industrial purposes. The First Nations do not seek to protect the land solely for the purpose of preserving what is viewed as a traditional economy. First Nations in northern Manitoba, and its organisations such as MKO, are not turning back the clock. Reinforcing the value of existing uses of the land is in tune with Aboriginal rights and the rights provided in the laws of Canada to continue to use these resources. But we are working to protect an increasingly valuable and rare resource – productive lands that remain relatively undisturbed by large-scale developments. We are working to develop a true management partnership that provides flexibility, predictability and stability, as well as some measure of control that ensures the cultural, social and economic needs of band members.

Canadians as well as others throughout the world are increasingly learning to share the view of indigenous peoples worldwide – that lands and resources not already subjected to extractive and exploitative developments are inherently valuable; that lands, water, timber, and other natural resources are never wasted in their natural state. This

inherent value is being quantified by the estimates of staggering hundreds of billions of dollars required to restore regional environments in areas worldwide. The final tally for environmental clean-up will represent a significant share of global economic capacity.

The relatively new concept of 'sustainable development' means that we must now attempt to balance extensive existing uses of land between users – Indians and other northerners – and the inherent and almost literally priceless value of intact, viable, and productive ecosystems. But the desire of developers and governments to extract resources from these lands to support business activity is strongly paralleled and sometimes joined by interests of First Nations in business developments, and of obtaining for themselves the fullest opportunity from development activities. These interests illuminate the rocky crossroads at which we find ourselves. Most of the road has yet to be built, and indeed does not even appear on planners' drawing boards.

Sustainable development is more than an environmental or economic condition. There must also be a just balance of process in equitable use of these resources. Processes and tools now being applied to examine these issues include:

- environmental assessment;
- mitigation and compensation;
- economic development programs;
- equity participation;
- joint management; and
- development accords, including so-called "framework agreements".

Aboriginal culture traditionally uses the natural resources, and Aboriginal treaty rights have long resulted in an intense interest in environmental protection, quality, and standards among First Nations. Only relatively recently, however, has similar interest developed as a policy priority elsewhere in Canada. This shift in priority has led in part to an increased use among federal, provincial and territorial governments of an *environmental assessment* for a variety of activities and developments affecting environments. Environmental assessment is becoming the principal planning, negotiating, and mediation tool of governments and developers in dealing with complex issues in northern

Canada, particularly with respect to issues affecting local people. While these activities and developments often affect First Nations' rights and interests, environmental assessments are typically not particularly sensitive to such concerns. Environmental assessment processes have not yet developed mechanisms (e.g., for the inclusion of First Nations as full participants in assessments) to achieve a full examination of First Nations' interests or of their direct influence on the outcome of the assessment activities. Participation and the process of decision making should be measured by the degree of real power that can be exercised over the final decisions related to development plans and activities.

The second tool – and a major objective of assessment, I believe – is *mitigation* and to some extent *compensation*. Mitigation as a solution to conflict is almost entirely inadequate due to the inevitability of issues being insufficiently addressed from the point of view of persons or environments affected. For example, the principal and foremost issue of resource use rights as they may be affected by developments are almost always ignored unless there is a parallel legal issue which forces the consideration of such rights. A good example is the Northern Flood Agreement, in which discussions about land use, integrated land planning, and rights, were basically carried along because lands belonging to several reserves were being illegally flooded under the Indian Act.

Economic development programs may in some respects be viewed as a form of mitigation or even compensation. Economic development programs, regardless of intent, are often geared to the short-term diversion of benefits from the project to the affected parties. The result is no long-lasting control or ownership of the development related to the programs.

This leads us to the fourth tool which is being looked at to achieve justice in amiable developments, and that is *equity participation*. This option is relatively new in being applied to the continuous development, expansion and modernization in northern Manitoba. It is being increasingly recognized that *partnership* – not consultation – in the delivery of more programs is an important and just feature of sustainable development of resources in Manitoba's north.

There is much discussion at the present time concerning the use of *joint management* or cooperative management as a means for more closely joining the interests of government and First Nations, and through these agreements, the corporations with their present operations and future development of northern resources. These discussions have been described as "making treaty" by the Minister of Resources for Manitoba, highlighting the government's view of the importance of these discussions. Interest in and movement toward participatory agreements have typically been viewed as progressive by governments involved in them, but thus far they have not contained as a major component a statement to the effect that First Nations' authority in natural use areas has been recognized. This recognition of authority or jurisdiction is probably the key issue in future resource management discussions. Similar to joint management agreements, *regional development accords* and *framework agreements* will provide parallel partnerships and business and management agreement between First Nations and developers operating in the North. Shareholders and lenders, including senior government, are becoming increasingly concerned about the stability and predictability of the "Indian situation", labour, environment, and public safety. As environmental and Indian issues are usually interlinked in northern Manitoba, development accords will provide additional certainty to corporate planners while ensuring that First Nations achieve real and lasting opportunities in developments through partnership. At the present time, the discussions continue between progressive governments, corporations, and First Nations acting as advocates for their band members.

Other events may affect the outcome of these negotiations. Several recent court decisions have reinforced the rights to hunt, fish and trap that are now entrenched in the Constitution of Canada. One example of these cases is the March 9, 1990 decision by the Nova Scotia court of appeal in which the justice found that several treaty Micmac Indians who had been charged under provincial fisheries regulations had the "Aboriginal right" to fish in the streams of Nova Scotia, and therefore the charges against them were quashed. An interesting feature of this decision is that these were treaty Indians, but the judge found that he did

not have to determine if they had the "treaty right" because they had the underlying Aboriginal right. Nova Scotia subsequently dropped several hunting charges. The court had determined that the extent of regulation in Nova Scotia respecting fisheries was limited only as far as the conservation of the resource was concerned, that the allocation of the fisheries is first and foremost to the treaty people.

The Manitoba *Flood* case, which is presently under appeal, challenges the powers of the Crown to restrict the treaty right to hunt ducks and geese through the Migratory Birds Convention Act. It has been widely predicted by Manitoba government officials that an appeal will be upheld. It has also been indicated that, should the *Flood* case be upheld, the government will likely be required to enter into joint management/cooperative management agreements.

In addition, there is a suit respecting the Federal Fisheries Act, known as the *Sparrow Case*, in British Columbia. The Gitksan Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council is concluding its arguments in the longest land-claim case in Canadian history, involving 55,000 Km² of territory; and the Grand Council of the Cree of Quebec has just commenced legal action to nullify the James Bay Agreement itself, one reason being that the Agreement does not adequately protect the interests of band membership in the land and its resources.

Combining the increased sensitivity to the environment and law, and a strengthening of Aboriginal rights, we may be on the verge of a new era in discussion concerning resource management and major development in Indian territory. Should these cases all be successful, there will be considerable new weight behind the arguments of First Nations to protect the land and resources on which they depend. Developments and proposals that continue to set aside, minimize or outright ignore the rights of First Nation members may find the progress of their projects affected until discussions concerning impacts on First Nations' rights can be concluded. Equity, partnership, and control over land-use decisions will be features of these agreements with government and corporations.

First Nations Canada-wide and First Nations with Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak intend to protect their interests in the land.

The land and the people have always been one. The people also understand that the use and management of the land base itself will determine their ultimate poverty or prosperity. Many bands are prepared to complete, or are in the process of completing, resource inventories and community plans which rely on lands within their traditional-use areas. Development plans and resource allocations have often been made by others without respecting or incorporating these plans, aspirations, and management activities of the communities. As is often the case, the same resource-rich areas desired by outside developers are already being extensively used by First Nations; they are also likely to be within key regions set out in a community plan. As proposed projects alter remaining development plans, there is considerable interest to insure that investment, management allocation, and development decisions are made by, for, and with the participation of First Nations.

I refer to a document called *Public Participation in Environmental Decision Making*, published by the Federal Environmental Assessment and Review Office, which encapsulates our view of public participation. Public involvement in decision making is measured by the degree of influence over the final decision. We can see that the scale of participation increases with the level of direct influence. The preliminary stage is described as *non-participatory* and consists basically of advisory committees and related activities regarding peoples' interests. The second level of activity is described as *tokenism*, which deals basically with public hearings, community meetings, polls, and the media. It is described this way because it uses the test of influence over the final decision. Under most processes today there is no influence over the final decision in a consultative process, including public hearings. So, based on the scale of influence, it is classed as tokenism.

What we are heading for are *partnership*, *delegated power* and *control*. These would be through empowered corporations, tribal government districts or recognized resource areas, or through delegated decision-making powers to regional planning boards. I think this is important; as the complexities of issues arise, one of the things that is happening is the integration of new ideas on resource management and development. We are moving into additional use of environmental

assessment, but we are still using old ways of public participation, management, and cooperation in the use of resources. They need to evolve right along with our views toward environment and management of the land.

With respect to the above processes themselves, we have listed the current types, with the worst being at the top of a chart. The specific type of hearings which we have all been experiencing has all the characteristics I set out – trade-offs are imposed, economic values are used, and it is essentially non-participatory in using government criteria. Proceeding through alternatives of review and integration, we are heading toward regional planning where devolved responsibility, using local and regional criteria, is used in a planning-driven exercise. This contrasts with the commonly-used process, in which there are a lot of difficulties: when your project pops up at the end of somebody else's planning exercise, then the public has to comment on whether it fits into their view of the future for their region. We would much prefer to see the development of a planning-driven assessment process where these factors are all incorporated into the planning exercise. The reason I share this with you is that First Nations are now working on amendments to the Federal Environmental Assessment Review legislation in concert with the Government of Canada, and these are the recommendations we are proposing for the use of environmental assessment on reserves, as it would affect federal interests.

With respect to community plans and their effect on allocations and development, some examples will show exactly what I mean. The Repap Manitoba Forest Licence Area covers 14 First Nations communities, all of which have their own aspirations for their region, including forestry, fisheries, and wildlife management. None of these communities were consulted prior to the allocations for timber – of considerable interest to First Nations.

During the drafting of the Northern Flood Agreement, communities developed plans which indicated their interest in the land and in their plans for the future. As part of that process, certain regions – called hold areas – were selected as the most important by the community which had to await future review. These areas coincided directly with the

density of future planning use. These lands are the same that Repap Manitoba is planning to harvest within its first five-year period. Repap's plans in the Nelson House area open up the heart of the resource and community planning area with permanent all-weather roads and other development. The situation is similar for Cross Lake, Pukatawagan, and all other communities that we have assessed.

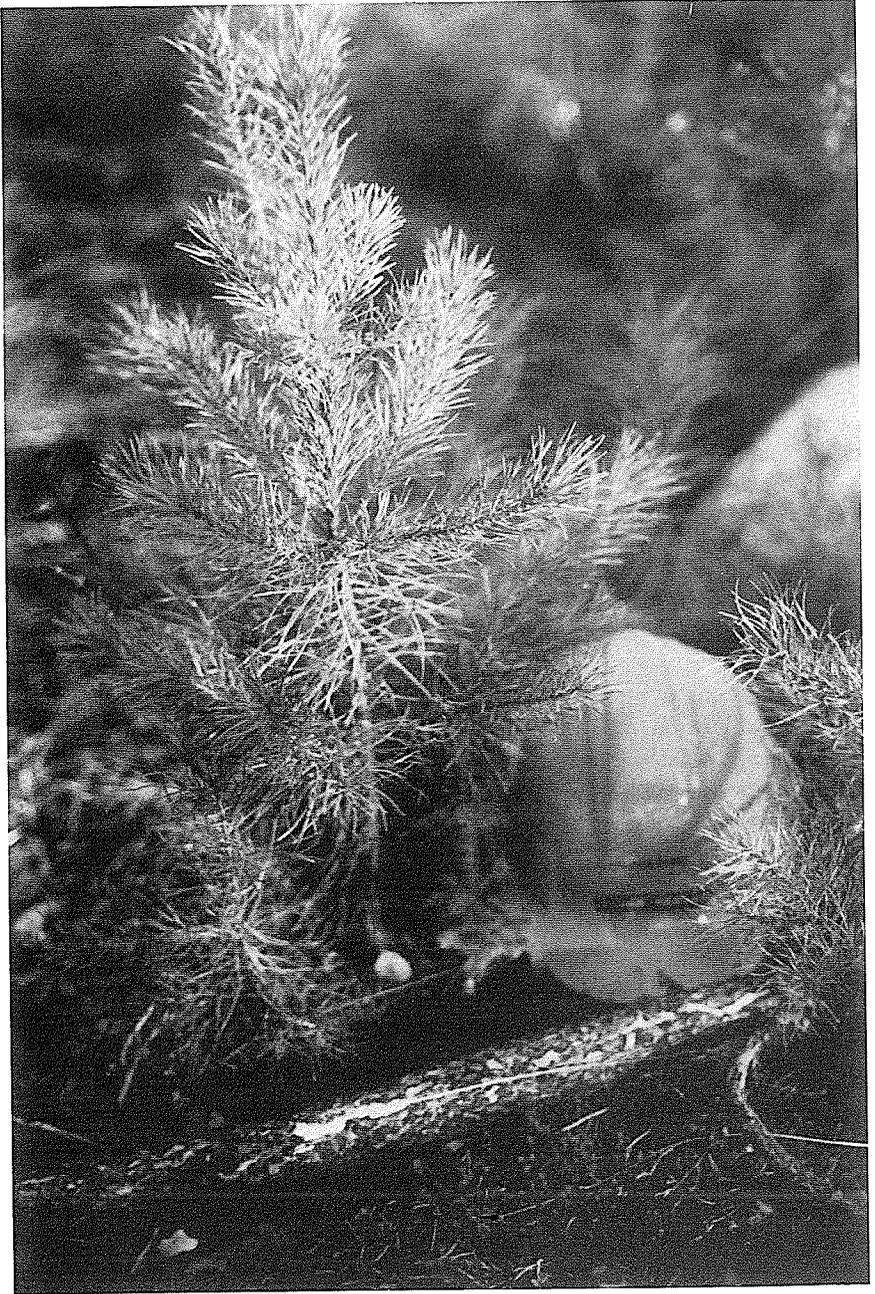
The basic image that comes from this analysis is quite simple. Areas of high biological productivity – timber, fish, fur, and other resources – are where the people live, and since the timber values are highest in these zones, the collision between people and the large resource developments are inevitable. This form of mapping allows potential problems to be seen more easily. We are working on this on a Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak-wide basis for forestry, hydro, and mining.

NOTES ON THE AUTHOR

Michael Anderson is the Research Director of the Natural Resources Secretariat of the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Inc. (MKO). MKO represents the interests of the 24 northern-most Manitoba First Nations and 33,000 Treaty Aboriginal people. The Natural Resources Secretariat (NRS) provides the Executive Council of MKO with the necessary staff and resources to carry out an in-house research and information management function related to the water, fisheries, wildlife, timber, mineral, land and other resources within the two-thirds of Manitoba encompassed by the combined traditional territories of MKO member First Nations.

NRS is recognized for its use of leading-edge technology to provide a bridge between traditional ecological knowledge and management systems (TEKMS) and science-based resource management systems. For example, NRS operates a Geographic Information System as well as an Image Analysis System utilizing remotely-sensed and satellite imagery such as LandSat 5 and Spot 2 data as integral components of environmental and resource management planning.

Mr. Anderson also has extensive experience in the regulation of public and private utilities, primarily hydroelectric utilities in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. He has appeared before the National Energy Board and the Manitoba Public Utilities Board regarding such matters as policies related to the export of electrical energy and power, demand-side management and non-utility generation.



Young jack pine and hard-hatted forester

Smelters and the Environment

Michael Dutton[§]

Contaminants and Toxicology Research Section
Freshwater Institute
Winnipeg

I have modified my talk after some interesting observations that came out yesterday about the whole concept of 'sustainable development'. One observation was that the 1980s spawned numerous trite sayings such as 'yuppie', 'networking', 'couch potato', 'cocooning', and 'sustainable development'. The last phrase – sustainable development – has become trite because of its overuse on the 'pork barrel' and because it is rarely used as it was originally defined by the Bruntland Commission. I turned to the book *Our Common Future*, and spelled out my thinking last night along the lines presented in that book. Yesterday I observed that 'sustainable development' was used either disdainfully or favourably, but no one who used the expression defined it in the sessions I was at (although I was not present at all of them). It seemed to me that 'sustainable development' could mean sustaining profits, or sustaining your position on a board of directors, or it could mean sustaining environmental integrity. I thought it was important that we should bring this out. I have been really troubled hearing the media discussing this concept of sustainable development. Two points are important and highlighted here. The concept implies limits on

[§]Michael Dutton completed the Master's degree in Zoology at the University of Manitoba. Before continuing graduate work at another university, he has been working with the Freshwater Institute, Winnipeg.

development, and the limits are imposed by social and technological factors, but more importantly and more basically by the ability of the biosphere to withstand or absorb the effects of human activity. I think this has to be kept in mind at all times. In the context of our discussion in this conference, I think it is a useful term, although it has become somewhat trite because of its overuse and misuse.

I want to talk about sustainable development a little bit in terms of base-metal smelting in Manitoba. The limits of the biosphere to withstand the effects of smelting are very important today as world metal production continues to increase – a worldwide trend since the early twentieth century. To return to the definition of 'sustainable development', biosphere or 'where we live' gets involved in the metal-smelting process because we ask the biosphere to receive the by-products of sulphur and the metals which we are refining. Base-metal smelting is important in northern Manitoba because the two smelters located there are two of the major employers in our province. My own work up there has drawn my attention to the importance of sustainable development. I am thinking primarily from the perspective of protecting the biosphere from the impacts of our activities.

The link between metal production and the environment is obvious. In the smelting process, sulphur is separated from the desired metal and traditionally vented to the atmosphere through a furnace. Since what goes up must come down, the areas around smelters are obvious places to look for impacts. More specifically, since water flows downhill and drains lands, the lakes around the smelters are probably the best places to look for such effects.

Copper and zinc, which are metals produced at Flin Flon, are essential metals for life. They are required by humans, fish, and other animals in trace quantities. In this respect I think we could tie sustainable development into a graph that those of you who have taken physiology will recognize. There is a range of doses over which the metals are absolutely essential for normal growth of animals in the environment. When the dose exceeds the optimal range for survival of the organism, toxicity occurs, and then death. So if we consider a bottom-feeding fish living in a lake which is receiving toxic metals from

the environment, I would say this is a non-sustainable situation because toxicity and possibly lethality are occurring. If we could show that the animals in the environment, like the fish, are being exposed within the safe range of these metals, then I would say we are probably achieving some sort of a sustainable situation.

The point to be made from this example is that heavy-metal toxicity is independent of politics and economics; it is a physical-chemical phenomenon of life. These metals do not ask you what political party you belong to, whether you are an environmentalist, what colour your skin is or even if you are a 'higher animal' such as a human or a 'lower animal' such as a fish. If you should happen to be exposed to toxic doses of these metals, you would respond as any and all animals do. Your body will try to regulate these metals into the optimal range by excreting large quantities of the dose, not asking your opinion on the matter because it has its own set of operating procedures independent of the mind. If the body is unable to regulate the levels of metals, toxicity will occur. This ties back directly to the second consideration of sustainable development – the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activity, including smelting.

So it is for these reasons that the definition of sustainable human activity must ultimately defer to the health of the environment, which is quite easy to determine by simply looking around. It is not necessary to be a highbrow scientist to see forest die off around highways, soil erosion from forest clear-cuts, and the loss of fish from lakes. These are inherently common sense observations readily apparent without the stringent requirements of scientific research.

With respect to people and land in northern Manitoba, I would like to give a little background on the Flin Flon Smelter. Part of the area became an open pit mine. The lake was drained; it is quite an impressive sight to actually see what they are capable of doing. It is quite impressive to get the original ore out of the site which happened to be at the bottom of the lake.

The smelter began operation in about 1930; between 1930 and 1974 the emissions were directly from a 30-metre and 60-metre stack. In 1974, to counteract problems with local pollution in the townsite, the

251-meter stack was installed. Then in 1982, electrostatic precipitators were added as well to reduce the release of particles from this smelter. In terms of the biological impacts, I do not have much scientific evidence here but am able to make some general comments. Van Loon and Beamish collected samples in 1974, before the 'superstacks' were installed. They observed that fish in many of the lakes were tolerant of extremely high concentrates of zinc and copper in the water, yet the fish appeared to be surviving. MacFarlane and Franzine sampled in 1976 and 1977, after the 251-metre stack went up, and they observed a reduction in spawning success in Hamel Lake (about five kilometres west of the smelter in Saskatchewan). The life span of fish was reduced compared to a control lake, Thompson Lake, about 19 kilometres southeast of the smelter. After 1982, in a report to the Clean Environment Commission, Win Frazer from Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting reported a reduction of particulate emissions of 85 percent. Phillips et al (1986) studied the snow pack for zinc and sulphate emissions and depositions in the period from 1981 to 1984. They observed a ten- to thirty-fold decrease in zinc deposition (zinc is a primary metal produced at the smelter).

In 1982, together with my supervisor at the Freshwater Institute and some other researchers, I examined three different areas – one near the smelter, the second in Saskatchewan, about 100 kilometres west, and the third about 50 kilometres east in Manitoba. In 1986, we returned to sample the fish at Flin Flon, but not in the other two areas. Although both 1982 and 1986 data indicated that fish in the Flin Flon region still contained higher zinc concentrations than fish in the other Manitoba or Saskatchewan regions, the 1986 values were meaningfully lower than in 1982. That seemed to correspond with the similar reductions observed over the 1981 to 1984 period in snow-pack levels of zinc and sulphate. I was not willing to accept this reduction at first because I was quite adamant that polluters should pay (and I still think they should), but I am not going to go out and hang anyone for it now. I think meaningful dialogue is more important. I have concluded that, indeed, pollution controls are effective in reducing these emissions, and perhaps we have seen lower concentrations of the metals in fish so that we are now in what we could consider a sustainable level. The fish seem to be able to

regulate metals, whereas in earlier years the concentrations were poisoning the fish.

Obviously then, we can conclude that pollution control is a good thing; in fact, there are new technologies capable of reducing these emissions virtually to zero, but they are expensive, of course. So is pollution-control implementation.

So who is going to pay for pollution control? I would say that we all will. And how are we going to do that? I was talking to a friend, a lawyer working in Europe for the United Nations, and he made me aware of a recent European court ruling. It stated that it is not an unfair trading practice for a nation to levy tariffs against goods coming from other nations with low standards for environmental protection in the production of their goods. This allows for market protection for industries and countries with stringent standards. It is a positive step towards the recognition of the abuses of natural resources, including the use of air and water in production and the release of pollutants. It is the important recognition that these costs must be included in the cost of production. Presently our economic models consider such resources to be free. A sustainable approach would require that by-products of an industrial process be clean before returning them to the environment. The European court ruling is an indication that some headway is being made towards recognizing the second aspect of sustainable development. Protection of the environment should take precedent over the social constructs called economy and politics. The ruling came about because Swiss legislators had the gumption to take a stand on the fundamental environmental-protection issue.

The opening passages of the Bruntland Report state, "...the Commission's hope for the future is conditional on decisive, political action now to begin managing environment and resource to ensure both sustainable human progress and human survival".

So where is this decisive political action in Canada? Based upon the rhetoric of federal and provincial politicians, we have much to look forward to. However, based on past deeds, there is good reason to be sceptical. The "Born Again" environmentalism of our politicians coincidentally seems to be aligned with public-opinion polls. If a Gallup

poll came out today that indicated the average Canadian was not concerned with environmental issues, I have five bucks that says the 'round tables' get swept under the table. I sincerely hope that my cynicism is unwarranted. If it is wrong, we will be able to see new legislation shortly to provide the necessary incentives and penalties to ensure that the metal-smelting industry in Manitoba is encouraged to become as environmentally benign as metal extraction can be.

Most of this presentation is a response to some of the things I heard yesterday [in the conference]; hopefully, in later sessions we can continue some of these important issues.

The Northern Flood Agreement

Dave Young³
Symbion Consultants
Winnipeg

The Northern Flood Agreement is 74 pages long, plus appendices. I have read in refereed journals an article by a distinguished Manitoba lawyer attempting to interpret one two-word definition in the Northern Flood Agreement. I have read a commissioned interpretation of two or three of the terms in the Northern Flood Agreement by one of the most distinguished jurists in Canada, a man who held two deputy minister's posts, and who is now retired to private practice. His interpretation of the meaning of two or three terms of this Agreement is brilliant, fascinating (and I don't really understand it); it is about one and one half times as long as the whole Agreement. In the next 20 minutes I am going to talk briefly about how and why the Northern Flood Agreement came to be (dated December 16, 1977). I am going to treat very briefly what it purports to do, what I think it has done so far, and finally, what seems to be happening at the present time.

First of all, let's choose the right pronoun. We the people of Manitoba, in 1963, decided there was ten-million horsepower, more or less, in the Churchill-Nelson River system to be developed for our

³Dave Young, B.A., University of Manitoba, holds the M.S. degree from the University of Michigan. An Associate Professor in the Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, he also has been a consultant in natural resource management for many years. His particular interest is in the interaction of natural, social and cultural issues in natural resource development.

benefit. By 1966 the government that we had duly elected, and which was popular at that time, announced that "we the people" of Manitoba would go into the North and develop the Churchill and Nelson River system. This was not something that was done by Manitoba Hydro, or five or six engineers, or seven or eight bad people, or some nasty bureaucrats. We did it and the appropriate pronoun to use is we. The Northern Flood Agreement is about our relationship with the land and the resources in the North. It is about the way "we the majority" of Manitobans have treated the ten thousand people or so who had the misfortune, or who found themselves in any case, to be living along the waterway that was going to be affected by our plans to develop ten million horsepower. Ten-million horsepower is a whole lot of power, and it will be a long way into the next century before the people of Manitoba, by any stretch of the imagination, will be using anything like that amount of energy from the fully developed Churchill-Nelson system, a system which is not even anywhere near fully developed. We did this because we wanted energy, economic growth, progress, and because we wanted money – to be rich like Ontario which makes cars, and rich like Alberta which has oil and gas. We were going to develop the Nelson River and we have been doing it. The Northern Flood Agreement is about the way we tried to patch up the mess we made as we charged ahead in the late sixties and early seventies, on the basis of planning which began in 1963 and on the loose plans that were first announced in 1966. Since I was there, I remember this intimately, and I believe my friend and colleague Brian Ransom was also working for the government at this time. I had some qualms about what we were doing, but I think less so than the politicians did. I thought it was a great idea, that this was a progressive approach to things. We just had to do a little bit of fine tuning; we would know how to develop a river like that. It was considered a good idea by "we the people" of Manitoba. The same people that are here now assumed that we had total proprietary ownership of all the resources in Manitoba – almost all, except for a little bit on Indian reserves. We assumed that we could allocate those resources as we saw fit. We assumed that "we" was the Province of Manitoba, which could issue a licence to do anything it

wanted. "We" was the Government of Canada, who had better stand back and watch out, because Manitoba was going to go ahead and develop the Nelson River. Incidentally, we did all kinds of things without federal licences.

Manitoba Hydro was the instrument which we used to undertake the development of these huge river systems. We sent in mostly engineers, mostly people with three- or four-year degrees, who had studied a bit of applied math and physics. We sent them in assuming that the problems that had to be confronted in northern Manitoba were problems of hydrology, of foundations under dams, of what kind of power line would operate most efficiently.

We sent in precious few people who understood ecology or sociology, and not anywhere near enough people who understood politics. We did a cursory accounting of the environmental impact, costing hundreds of thousands of dollars, and we spent millions on engineering design. Those dams worked really well, the transmission lines were fine, there were no problems with these kinds of things as far as I know. When we spent the money on technologies, we got our dollars worth; the engineers did their job. The little bit of environmental analysis that we did was coarse, crude, frequently wrong, often amateurish, and it was based upon false premises. "Us" studying it has become a major industry.

I talked at the beginning about how one can go now into the literature and read things about the meaning of the Northern Flood Agreement, and gain a fair idea of about how much time and effort has been spent on interpretation. A partner and I estimated that lawyers and consultants working in Winnipeg have been paid something in excess of ten million dollars. I took some of that myself by the way. We have studied, we have assisted in studying, we have negotiated, we have arbitrated, we have litigated, but, the studying, arbitration, litigation, and negotiation go on even as I speak, and the bills run up still. Why are we doing this? We are trying to interpret what this document means, to interpret what we wrote in the mid-seventies to try and confront the damage that we had done in the first decade after developing the Churchill and Nelson rivers.

I couldn't begin to describe, in the time available here, the kind of impacts that the Churchill and Nelson river projects have had on Manitoba. I would be embarrassed, in the presence of somebody like Mr. Halcrow, to try and describe what has happened to Cross Lake, for example. For the last few years Cross Lake has been low, averaging about forty percent of the amount of water it used to have. Cross Lake now rises in the winter and falls in the summer; it used to rise in the summer and fall in the winter, of course. The fish no longer spawn, the flourishing commercial and domestic fisheries have been destroyed and there is no sport fishing there or on the waters around it. For the people of Cross Lake, who were harvesting approximately 125,000 to 150,000 kilograms (about 68 kilograms per capita per year for their own use), it was the major source of food; but they don't get any fish from the lake any longer. That is just one example of these kinds of negative things. Nine hundred kilometres of shoreline has been moved almost a kilometre, it fluctuates back and forth, and has been changed from a rich shore where both people and animals used to flourish to flooded mud flats.

As the devastation started to emerge in 1976, it horrified local people, verifying the worst of the forecasts made in the period after 1970. It was sufficient to cause the preparation by 1977 of the Northern Flood Agreement. Cross Lake, of course, is only one story; there is Playgreen Lake and Eight Mile Channel and the diversion of the Churchill River through the Burntwood and so on. I can't even begin to touch on those cases here; suffice it to say that an immense area has been adversely affected.

By the mid-seventies some people from southern Canada, motivated by whatever, went into the North to assist Indian communities in forming the Northern Flood Committee. The communities were important in this respect because most ministers of Indian Affairs had some grudging suspicion that they were responsible for providing assistance to the Indian people, representing their interests when in conflict with mainstream society. This resulted in a stream of money coming out of Ottawa. The Northern Flood Committee was formed in 1973, made up of bands from five communities, and the Northern Flood

Agreement was drafted by 1977. Controversial from day one, it was drafted by some people who thought there wasn't much damage and some thought the damage was enormous; some thought that a general agreement and a statement of good intentions would be adequate and some wanted it to be much more specific.

The Agreement as drafted, however, was sufficiently specific to cause a breakdown in the cabinet of the Government in power – Mr. Green, then Minister of Natural Resources, refused to sign it. The Premier had more or less agreed to approve it, but we never knew for sure what he had said. With the election of 1977, a new government took office and passed the Northern Flood Agreement.

The document, intended to patch up some of the mess that people perceived to be present, was written against the background of things going on in Quebec. The James Bay project had been stalled by the James Bay Cree and some people in Manitoba Hydro and in the Province of Manitoba became nervous about the same kind of thing happening here. There was some coercion, some pressure as well, but basically, I think what was going on was an act of political good will. The general intention that sent those people in to draft the Northern Flood Agreement was the understanding that they did this because we recognized the environment damage and unfair treatment of the Cree people who lived on the shores of these waters.

We signed the Agreement and then found out what it meant. In brief, in 74 pages it says no one shall be worse off than they were before. You can spend a long time interpreting what this means, and a lot of time and money has been spent doing just that. It says we will try to clean up the mess, but how the hell do you clean up the mess? We could clean up a bit here and there, but what parts of the shore line should we clear, how many flooded and standing trees in the water should be left where they are, how much of the mess will we clean up?

It says we will try to support traditional industries. Marvellous, this is "we", the white culture, who does not understand at all well and has never shown respect for the culture of the Cree people, saying we will support your traditional industries and occupations, whatever they are. When we wrote that, we did not know what we meant. Native People

are attempting to teach us, and we are attempting to understand what those things mean in terms of programs, dollars, and activities. It states we will try to support fishing, trapping, and hunting with the provision of land – lots of land to make up for the land we took away, sometimes promising land they already own.

After we give Native communities the land we want to cut the trees down and give them to Repap; but wait a minute here now, whose trees are those? You can have the land, but not the minerals or the trees. And so the litigation and the negotiation goes on and on, along with the studies on how long it takes to grow the trees. The agreement says we will consult with the Cree people and seek their advice. I don't know how often people from southern Canada and Manitoba have gone into Cross Lake and honestly sought advice from the Cree people living there, but I don't think that we are wearing the road thin. We have promised to listen and consult with these people, and to manage the resources on this basis, but we haven't any idea of what they are going to tell us, or how we are going to follow up, but its there, its part of the Northern Flood Agreement.

We said, we are going to tell you everything that we are going to do before we do it. Well, that turned out to be not a very good idea, because every time somebody told the people in Cross Lake that they were going to raise the water, the Cross Lake residents told them you can't do that. This kind of dialogue proved not to be very productive.

We promised to do a good job from now on. The next time that we create some hydro-electric development in the North, it is going to be so nice that people will come from all over the world to admire what a splendid job we do. There are pages of good intentions and promises, and I don't know what they mean.

I think that we thought that we were placating the people of the North and the environmentalists when we signed this Agreement. I think we may have been agreeing to cooperate, whether we like it or not.

What has the Agreement done so far? According to one document I read the other day, about \$130,000,000 has been spent on a variety of things including sewer and water services to northern communities, which we were going to provide anyway, even if the Northern Flood

Agreement never existed. A lot of work has been done on portages and other transportation works because nothing has been more badly disrupted than transportation in northern Manitoba. The main arteries were the rivers and lakes, but we changed them and made it difficult to move around. Trappers, fishermen, and other traditional enterprises have received some aid. However little has been accomplished with employment, education, economic development, and resource management (except with fisheries, where the Fisheries Branch seems to be proceeding pretty effectively).

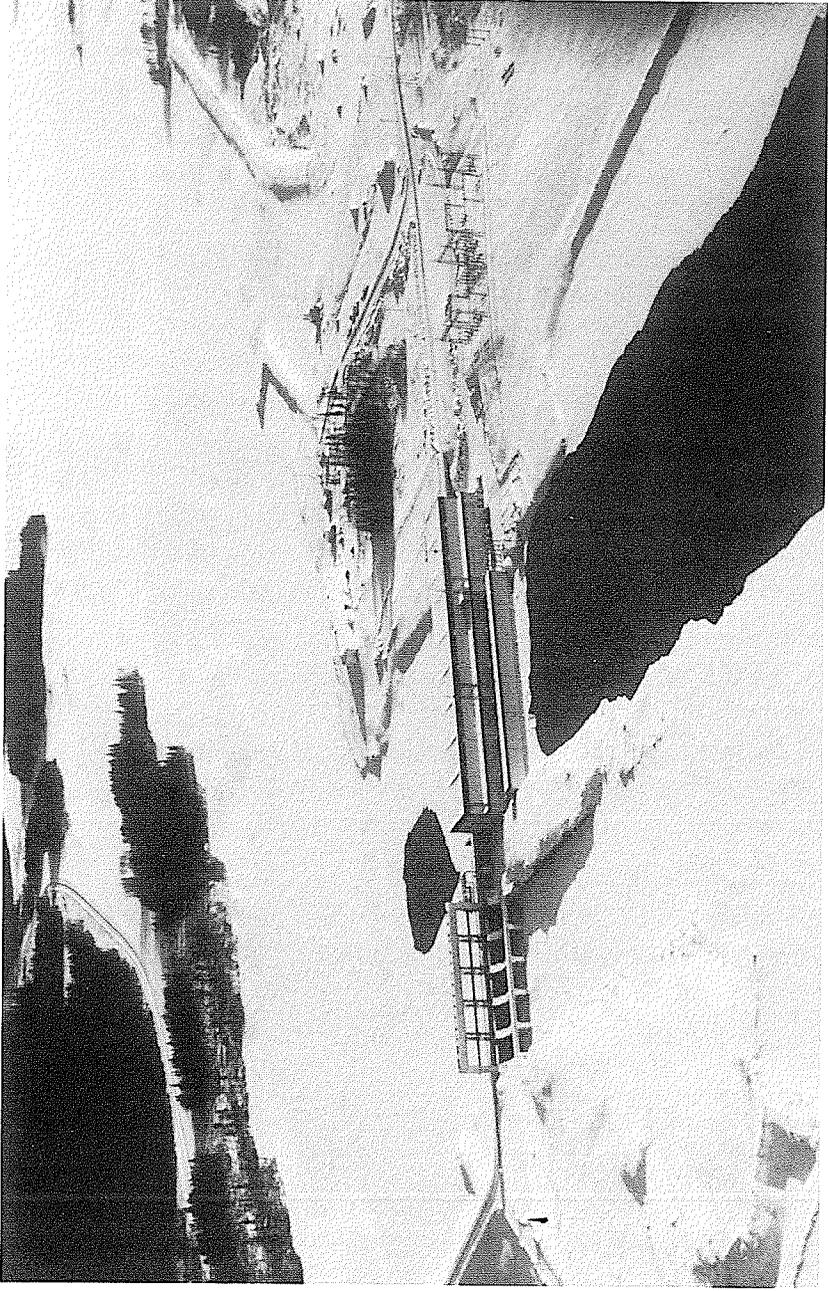
Land exchanges haven't been completed yet. In the period between 1978 and 1983, we did little except to provide subsidies to trappers, most of which were granted before the Agreement came into effect in 1977, or the Agreement would never have been signed. The trappers were affected before anybody else. The water started to rise and changed the places where these fellows trapped – the scores of little creeks and rivers that flowed into Cross Lake, Pipestone Lake, into Three Point and Footprint – and often flooded out their cabins.

Some people thought that this was a cooperative agreement which would move things forward boldly and bravely, but by 1983 it had become clear that no one with the governments of Canada or Manitoba, or at Manitoba Hydro, had much intention to be generous in the interpretation of the Agreement, and so it was going to be a tough uphill fight, with claim after claim filed and taken to arbitration. Extensive and powerful arbitration provisions resulted in about 150 claims by 1984, ranging from compensation for past and future damage to the domestic fishery (which probably runs \$50 or \$100 million dollars) to skidoo belts ruined by lake slush. Between 1984 and 1986, arbitration and litigation became ugly, with our Crown Corporation (presumably under the direction of our government) going to court in an attempt to defeat the Agreement. It was a lengthy process, and I'm not sure who won, but by 1986 it was clear that northern people were not getting anywhere.

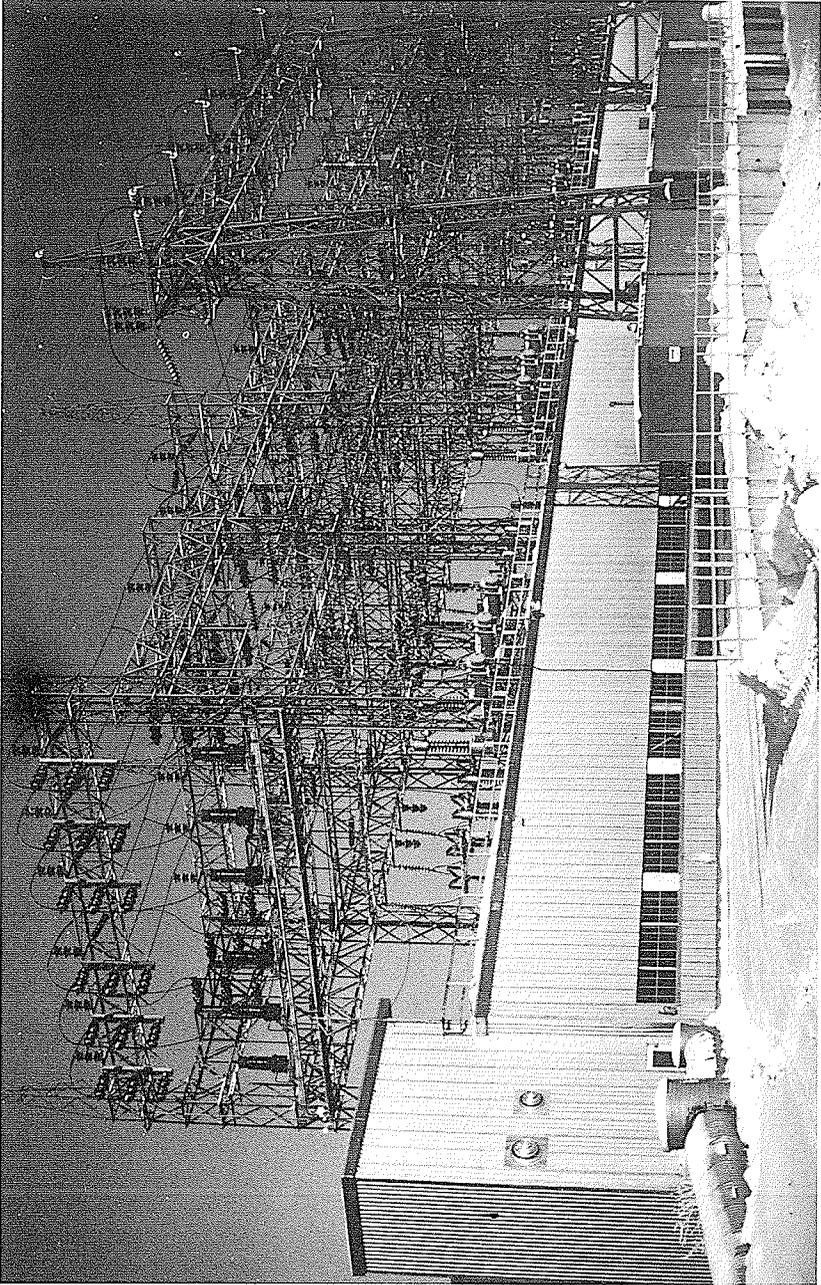
In the last four years there has been considerable movement in the direction of a negotiating an implementation program and honouring the Agreement. Some of those negotiations reached a concluding stage about ten days ago with an offer approaching a half billion dollars to cover

some aspects of implementing the Agreement. This offer is before the five chiefs that make up the Northern Flood Committee, and they are taking it to their bands. I wouldn't want to comment on whether or not the bands are going to ratify this agreement.

The current situation allows us to pose certain questions. The "Feds" are more than a bit nervous; they got into the Northern Flood Agreement because Darcy MacCaffrey said if they did not participate he would yell and stamp his feet, or at least that is one interpretation. In fact, the federal ministers were more or less shamed into supporting the drafting of the Northern Flood Agreement by the Winnipeg lawyers who were working with bands in northern Manitoba. They signed the document and several years later examined it to find out what their responsibilities were and found out that it could be in excess of five hundred million dollars. This scared them, and so they are attempting, in my opinion, to try to offload the cost of implementing the Agreement onto Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro, and to cap their responsibility. They have so far spent more money than anyone else, and they have financed the negotiations that are going on. At the present time the Province of Manitoba seems to recognize responsibility to a greater extent than it has in the past, and Manitoba Hydro has made an offer to the bands. The lawyers and consultants continue to prosper.



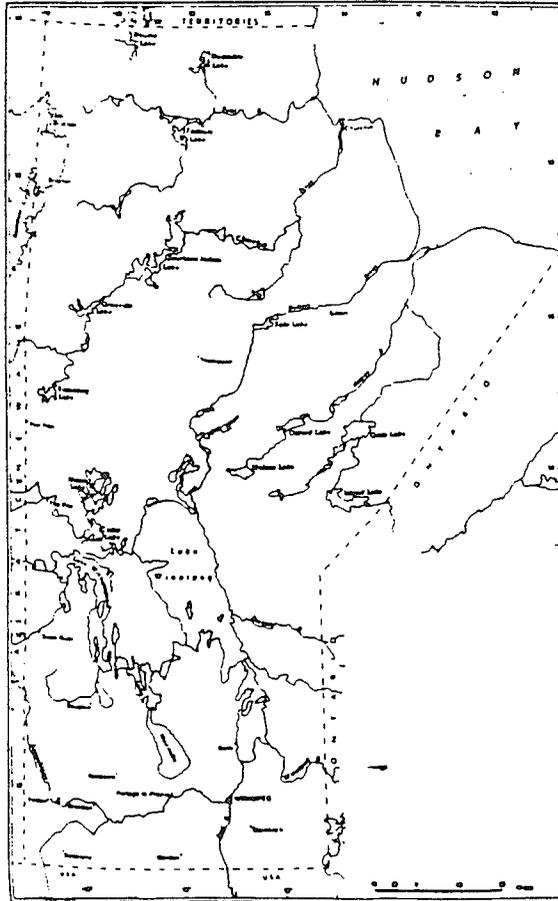
Jenpeg dam on the Nelson River

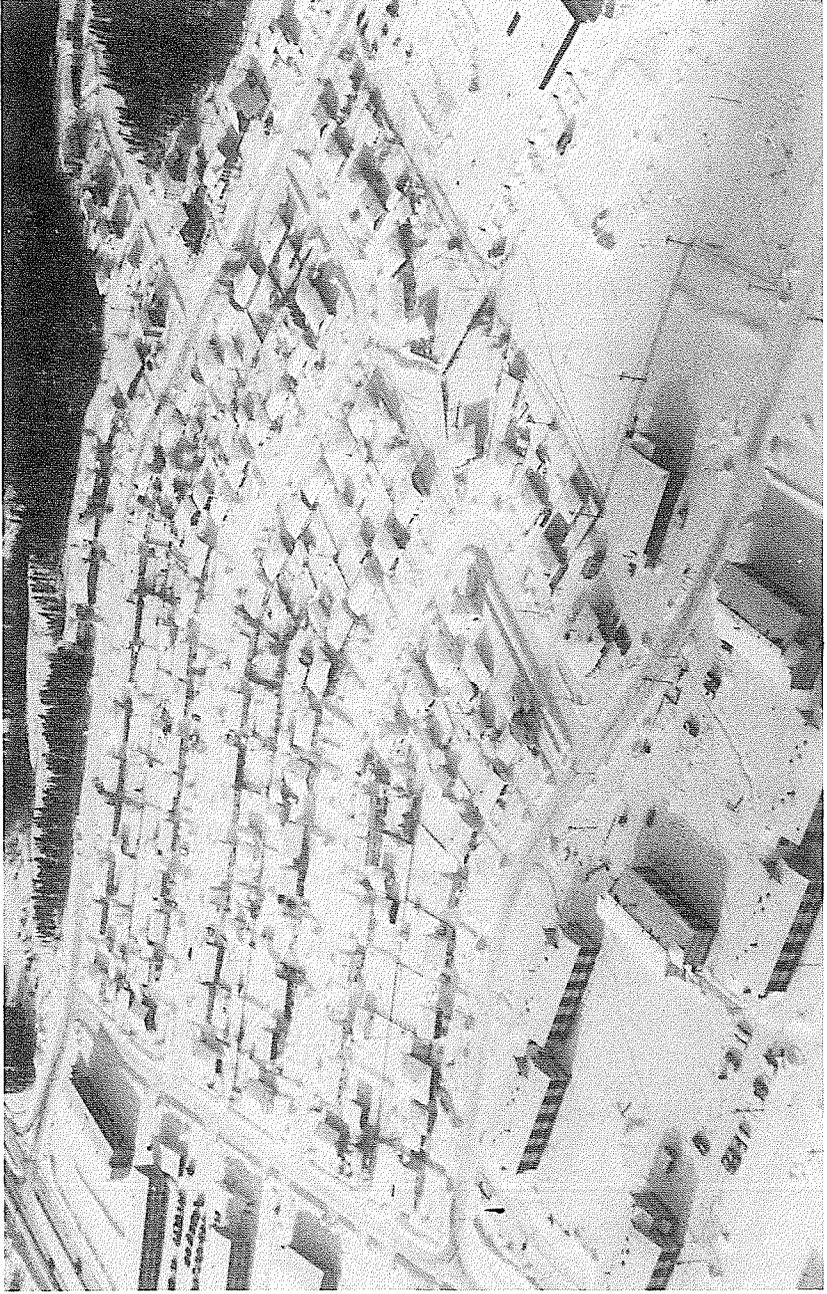


Kelsey dam and generating station

PART VI

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES





Air view of Thompson, Manitoba housing development

Developing an Economic Development Strategy for the City of Thompson

David M. Shefford[§]
Thompson Industrial Commission

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, economic development plans are formulated by professional consultants following discussions with business leaders and elected officials. More progressive consultants would include labour organizations and even community groups in the discussion. In northern Manitoba the concerns of Aboriginal groups (the traditional owners of the land) and future generations (by environmental considerations) should also be recognised. In this project, the Thompson Industrial Commission tried to formulate such a strategy after consensus was reached by all of these stakeholders.

[§]Dave Shefford graduated from the University of Sheffield, England in 1965, in Chemical Engineering and Fuel Technology. In 1968, after working for Unilever Research Ltd. for three years, he was hired by Inco Ltd. as a research engineer. Since then he has held positions of increasing responsibility and is now Manager of Process Technology and Environmental Control. Active in community affairs, he has held positions as varied as Shrine Circus Chairman, National Vice-President of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, and Chairman of the Thompson Industrial Commission. He is a founding member of the Thompson Environmental Council and was President of the Thompson Wildlife Federation. In 1989, he was appointed to the Provincial Government's Recycling Action Committee.

THE THOMPSON INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

Thompson City Council formed the Commission in 1981 with the mandate to promote economic development, initiate development projects, consult with other agencies, and make public relations initiatives. The membership of the Commission consisted of the Mayor, a city councillor, business and labour interests, members representing Aboriginal interests, and health and social services workers. By 1987 the Commission had recognised that to meet its mandate, it needed a long-term plan. A proposal by the Norman Regional Development Corporation to carry out a study leading to a long-term strategy was greeted with enthusiasm.

PROJECT FUNDING

\$50,000 was required to fund a full-time consultant with appropriate secretarial assistance. The City of Thompson pledged financial support, and the Province of Manitoba (through the Department of Industry, Trade and Tourism) arranged matching funds. Inco Limited (previously International Nickel Company of Canada, Ltd.) was then persuaded to provide the balance.

METHODOLOGY USED

We decided early in the process that the final report and recommendations would follow after consensus was obtained by the Commission. This would be after consultation with the stakeholders. A survey was developed and sent to approximately 100 business, community, and social service leaders. The return rate was poor. Victoria Adams carried out interviews with over 80 people, again representing a cross section of community interests. Public meetings were held, the concept was explained, and feedback was requested. The turnout at these meetings was far from overwhelming, but the support for the project was excellent.

Our staff amassed information on Thompson and the surrounding region from many sources, with Statistics Canada providing statistical

and census data. A survey of projects in similar-sized communities across Canada offered considerable food for thought.

The Commission reviewed new data at its regular meetings, and as the project progressed and economic logic was applied, the Commission met more frequently to specifically discuss the strategy. After many meetings, and several revisions, an agreed-upon strategy was presented to City Council. The report met with a mixed reception among the Councillors, but was finally accepted as the economic strategy for the City of Thompson.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

1. Thompson was founded to service a nickel mine built by the International Nickel Company of Canada Ltd. (now Inco Ltd.). Mining is still the mainstay of the community and will continue to be so in the future. This mining base supports a healthy construction and service industry in the community.
2. The City has developed since its founding to become a regional centre for retail trade, government administration, and health and community services.
3. Significant growth is occurring in transportation services, post-secondary education, and tourism.
4. While unquestionably still dependant on its mining origin, the community now has an economic life of its own.

These conclusions led to a series of recommendations on infrastructure, target businesses, and planning for the City and its community organizations. In addition, other more subtle conclusions were reached.

During the course of the study, the world price of nickel rose significantly. Inco Ltd. started paying large bonuses to its employees, which injected over \$10 million into the local economy in that year. Inco Ltd. also started construction on two major mine-development projects with a combined budget of approximately \$100 million. Increases in social and education programs such as ACCESS Education

also took place. School overcrowding, waiting lists for medical services, zero vacancy rates for apartments, and increasing social tensions pointed out the need to expand our economic strategy. It had become a 'socio-economic study'.

Another finding that came from our data was the "dual economies" that Dr. John Loxley discusses elsewhere in these proceedings. Thompson had become a regional centre, with over 30 percent of its population of Aboriginal descent. The Native People in Thompson had little input into economic decisions, partly because of a public failure to recognise their aspirations, and to treat them as full members of the community.

One key question was never fully discussed by the Commission – whether economic development was desirable, and if so, how much. We had discovered that to plan for economic development, the social structure to support that development must also be planned.

ACTIONS ARISING FROM THE STRATEGY

Following the adoption of the strategy, the City of Thompson hired a Director of Economic Development, with a mandate to improve economic development in the city by improving health services and housing, and by encouraging downtown improvement and revitalisation. The Director will work with Native groups to improve race relations and to study possible joint ventures. More importantly, there is a growing awareness in the political arena that our strategy is the basis for discussion among all stakeholders. It is a living process that must have ownership before anything happens.

CONCLUSIONS

Our experience shows that:

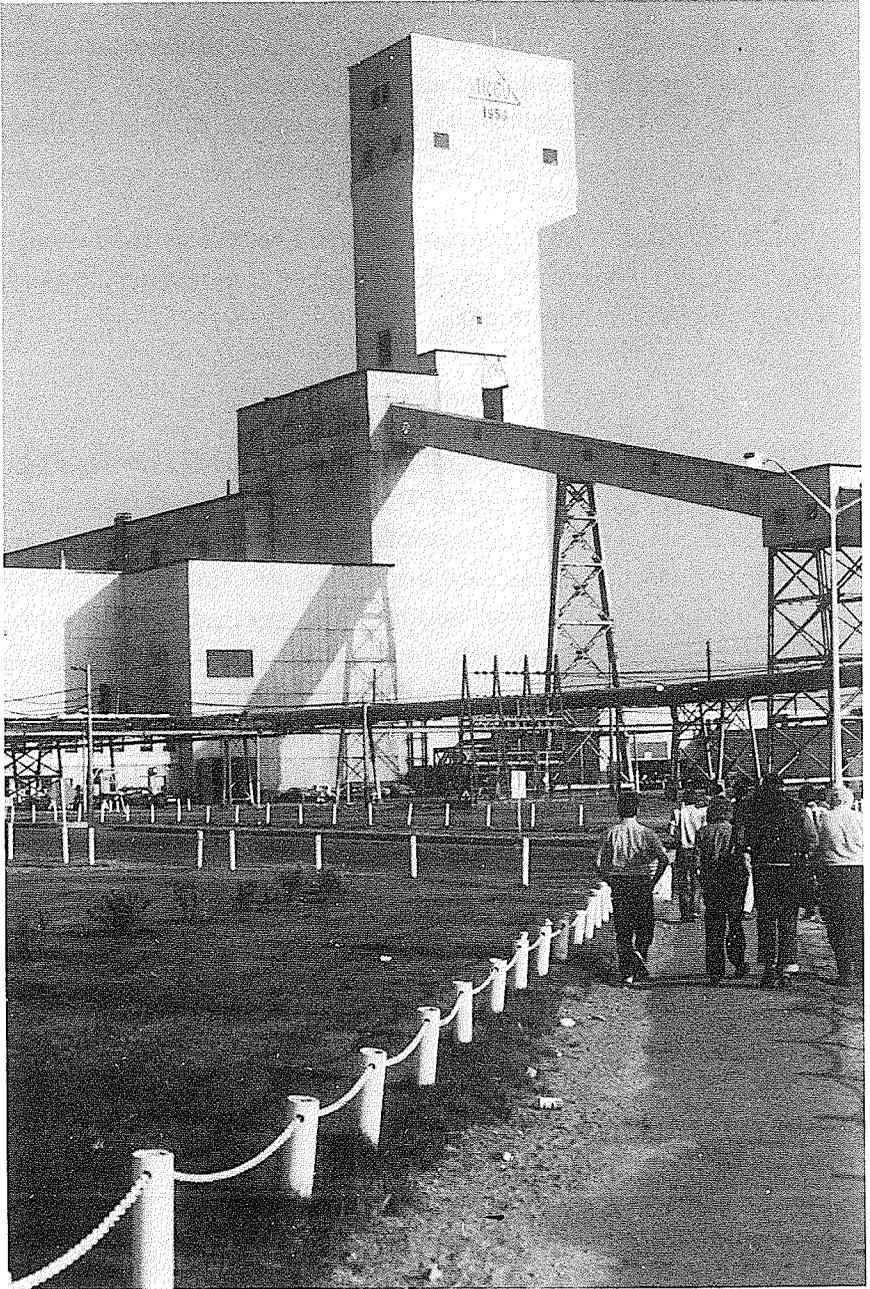
1. There is no easy answer to a complex problem.
2. Economic planning cannot be considered in isolation; perhaps socio-economic planning is a more appropriate term.

3. Economic development is an ongoing, living process.
4. Doing the job thoroughly is a long, tedious process for which many people do not have enough patience.
5. Without commitment by all the stakeholders, there is no viable plan; this can only be achieved by consensus.

We have learned from our experience, and I believe we have enough perseverance to complete the job. I hope other communities, regions, and even provinces can learn too.

SUMMARY

The Thompson Industrial Commission developed an economic development strategy for the City of Thompson. This paper summarizes the work of the Commission and its professional advisors, Michael Lupu and Victoria Adams. It explains the mandate of the Commission and the need for a strategy to fulfil that mandate. The mechanics of the study, from funding through data analysis, are discussed. The attempts to arrive at a consensus among all the stakeholders are described. The author's conclusions are presented, showing planning to be a continuing process.



Inco mine at Thompson, Manitoba

Community Economic Development Strategies in Northern Manitoba

Adrian DeGroot[§]

Past President

Norman Regional Development Corporation

I am very pleased to be here today to represent the views of the Board of Directors of the Norman Regional Development Corporation, as they relate to local and regional economic planning and development. We strongly believe that the participation of communities is absolutely necessary in the planning and development of northern Manitoba and would encourage you to view the residents as stakeholders in development. The Norman Regional Development Corporation was established in 1970 to promote, encourage, assist, and foster the economic development of the region. It is a voluntary, non-profit, non-partisan organization representing member communities north of the 53rd parallel within Manitoba – a geographic area which is approximately two-thirds of the provincial land base. Norman is funded through community memberships, corporate contributions, and an operating grant from the Manitoba Department of Rural Development.

[§]Adrian DeGroot is employed by Inco Ltd. as a Quality Coordinator in the Maintenance Department and is responsible for systems development. Mr. DeGroot was first elected to the Thompson City Council in 1975 and served five terms for fourteen consecutive years. Two of those years he served as Deputy Mayor. Mr. DeGroot has represented his community concerns to both Federal and Provincial committees. In the past he served as President of the Manitoba Association of Urban Municipalities, the Norman Regional Development Corporation, and Thompson Minor Lacrosse. He is also Past Chairperson of the Thompson Industrial Commission.

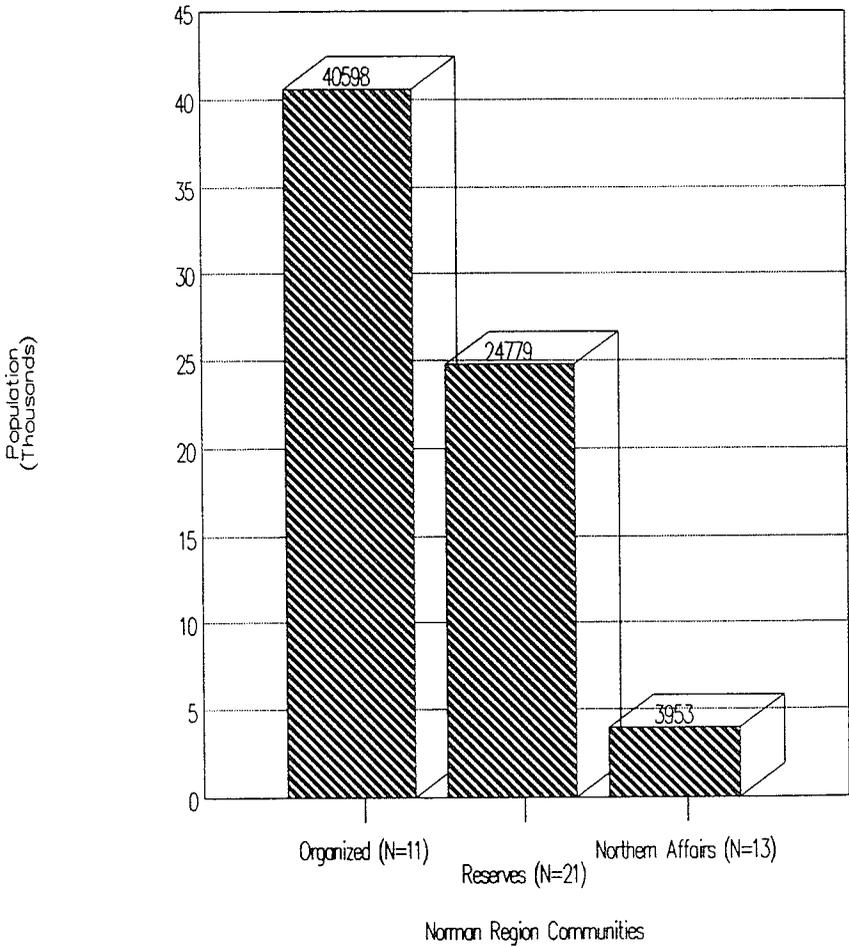


Figure 1. Population Distribution Among Communities within the Norman Region.

Northern Manitoba communities have never been able to take their economic survival for granted, but the changing economic environment of the 1980s and now the 1990s is forcing them to think more seriously than ever about their future. Increasing global interdependence and

heightened competition in the international marketplace, together with the aging of the workforce and the loss of population to urban centres, pose new challenges for the resource-based communities of Manitoba's hinterland. Many communities see economic planning as a key ingredient to their future viability. They realize that they must have a strategy for survival and growth.

It is our opinion that size of community or description, be it rural or urban, does not affect the principles involved in a planning exercise. As well, economic planning or development plans are not always synonymous with identifying growth opportunities. We see that communities need to address the total quality of life for their residents. This setting of correct principles reaches into every corner of a community, from sound land-use policies to amenities suited for its environment. Long-term realistic planning is a means by which a community can potentially broaden and stabilize its economic base. Strategic economic planning requires the participation of all stakeholders. The total community and all levels of government must work together to assess strengths and weaknesses, to identify roadblocks to development, and to find ways to enhance assets and to minimize liabilities.

Northern Manitobans are taking up these tasks in a variety of ways. Organizations such as the Canadian Association of Single-Industry Towns, the Manitoba Association of Urban Municipalities, and the Norman Regional Development Corporation play an important role, as do the local economic development committees in communities such as Flin Flon, Snow Lake, Lynn Lake, Thompson, Leaf Rapids, and Churchill. Through the Departments of Rural Development, and Mines and Energy, the Provincial Government has financially supported strategic-planning initiatives spearheaded by local economic development committees in northern Manitoba, as well as in rural communities in the South. For the present, the high prices of copper, zinc, and nickel and the upswing in mining exploration and development have made the northern Manitoba economy buoyant. In order to minimize the risks for the future, communities are examining new growth and diversification options.

The planning initiatives of residents of the Greenstone area, as well as of Lynn Lake, with the efforts of the Community Futures Programs and the Business Development Corporations, offer new opportunities to revitalize and sustain the economic base of these communities. Community Futures has provided an organizational framework and the resources to assist communities to examine alternatives to a single-industry economy and to encourage diversification. Alternatives to leaving the community in a close-down situation are being encouraged at the local level through a systematic planning approach. Likewise, the economic development strategies recently completed by the Thompson Industrial Commission and the Leaf Rapids Town Council reflect the desire of community residents to participate in planning their future. Similarly, the LGD of Churchill and the Churchill Chamber of Commerce have jointly initiated a strategic-planning process for their community over the past few months.

Some past economic planning exercises had limited results, either because they were too short-sighted or because they lacked credibility within the community. Often, they were seen as imposed on the community by outsiders who had little knowledge of the needs and preoccupations of northern residents. Communities have to recognize that they need commitment for the long haul; there is no quick-fix solution. This points to the need for active involvement of community residents in the planning process, in setting targets, and evaluating results. In this way, residents can play a significant role in shaping the future of their community.

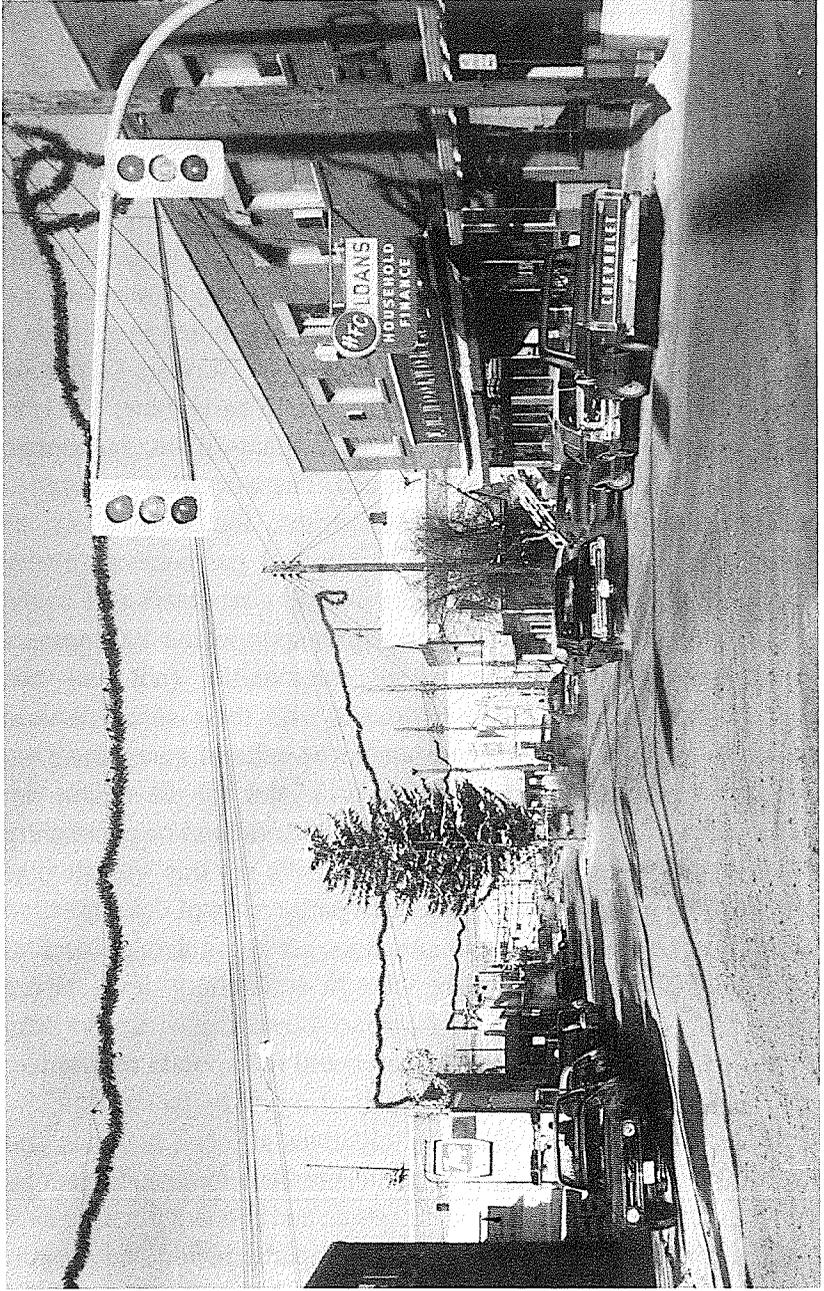
With the assistance of professional economic development officers, community members can undertake their own planning project. Their activities may include:

- identification of factors affecting the growth and stability of the local economy;
- consultation with employers, social organizations, and government agencies to assess their needs;
- identification of problems and formulation of recommendations to policy-makers in such areas as industrial, commercial, and residential development, and land-use and regulatory policies;

- provision of local input into employment, recruitment, and training programs;
- public advocacy on specific issues;
- marketing the community to potential investors; and
- targeting key sectors for support by private interests and government.

Through such activities, the entire community can be involved in charting its future course. In addition to community strategies, the Norman Regional Development Corporation is committed to a planned regional development approach and is hosting a Northern Manitoba Economic Development Workshop in The Pas in early June, 1990, to begin a process of developing a participant-driven, economic development strategy for northern Manitoba. The workshop is designed to create a northern vision of development, including a set of development principles from local and regional perspectives. Every community in the North has been asked to send a representative to the workshop to build consensus on the principles upon which development should occur. We are encouraging all communities (not only our members) of the region to come forward with their viewpoints on development, regardless of their economic or cultural base. Once we have greater consensus on development principles for the region, we intend to initiate or facilitate the process of sectoral and/or community strategies that relate to these basic principles. We see this workshop as the first step in a process that will set out a partnership of determination to develop such a strategy. Our communities are recognizing a need to set out guidelines for development through community development strategies. Eventually, the Norman Regional Development Corporation would like to see a regional strategy that would incorporate community strategies, which would eventually be part of a provincial strategy.

Consensus building and planning initiatives at local, regional, and provincial levels provide benefits to all stakeholders in development by encouraging the commitment, communication, and cooperation necessary for progress. Northern communities need the participation and support of all interest groups in order to ensure the development of meaningful strategies which will better rationalize the future of the region.



Downtown Flin Flon, Manitoba

Economic and Human Resource Development in Community Development Strategies

Oscar Lathlin[§]
Chief
The Pas Indian Band

I am pleased to be here this morning. First of all, on behalf of our Council and Band Membership, I bring greetings to everyone who is assembled here. My purpose for being here is to share with you our ideas, some of our projects, and the approaches that we have taken in our community, as far as economic and community developments are concerned. I should also point out that our way is not necessarily the right approach for every community. However, it is our hope that after I have gone through my brief presentation, somewhere along the way someone might benefit in a small way.

As Chief of my community, I would like to start off by talking about the experiences that we have had. I do not want to tell people what to do in their communities. I am just sharing with you our efforts in economic development. Some of what I may say here this morning might not be good for you, and if that is the case, don't take it with you. But if what I say is good, you are welcome to take that as well.

[§]Oscar Lathlin has wide experience with northern Aboriginal issues. He has been a band manager for The Pas Indian Band, and has also dealt with northern development issues as employed by the Swampy Cree Tribal Council as well as the Federal Government. He was elected Chief of The Pas Indian Band in 1985. He resigned as Chief in 1990 and has served as a Manitoba MLA since then.

Our philosophy at The Pas Indian Band has always been very simple. For instance, our motto – if you look at our letterhead – says "Progress and Independence". We kind of mix everything together I guess. If you talk to business people, the bottom line is always the almighty dollar – profit and loss statements. In our community we have to mix social concepts with business and economic-development concepts; we have no choice. So in our everyday dealings with economic development, we use social-work theories or buzz words almost interchangeably with the language you might hear an entrepreneur using. For example, I just want to refer to one study that was done by Robert Nixon and Associates in 1987 for the Assistant Deputy Minister or the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs. His recommendation was primarily that we deal with sectoral development, that we deal with financial institutions. He was trying to come up with some economic-development delivery mechanisms for the Department of Indian Affairs, Tribal Council Delivery, and the Band Council Delivery – the community itself. That's where we differ in a lot of cases.

Incidentally, I should point out that our approaches are not always the same as the other Chiefs and other communities. There is sometimes the perception that we may be compromising some of our treaty and aboriginal rights, whether or not they are recognized by governments. But we go ahead anyway, taking or ignoring advice from others. Our strategy at the band level is to start with me, then family, then community, and if we can ever get our community in order, then perhaps we can do a little bit of nation-building as well. That is the whole basis for our economic development strategy. We talk about regional development corporations at the tribal-council level (Norman Regional Development Corporation), province wide, nationally, and so on. Our approach has always been, "yes those are good, we will eventually get there, but first of all, what we want to do is get myself in order, my family and my community, and we will get to the big jobs in due time".

That's a little bit about the philosophy we use, and at the same time, we have to look at the social, the human side of things. We have also

found out in our travels and through our own experience that money just doesn't solve all the problems, no matter how much money you have. As a matter of fact, it creates many other problems for you and the community.

There is a very strong emphasis on human-resource development, for which we have two sets of strategies. One is economic development – the business or corporate strategy, if you will. In concert with that is the human-resource development strategy, where we look at everybody, no matter what situation they are in. The number of our people graduating from high schools and universities, I am happy to say, has been on the increase over the past ten years, and things are getting better at the band level. Where people may have quit school 10 to 30 years ago, we now have adults going back for adult-training courses, and some of them are even ending up in universities. We are building a school right now on the reserve in which we will control what happens in the education area. That's all part of our human-resource development strategy.

Our corporate statement of purpose includes words like: "managing our own enterprises in a responsible and profitable manner", which you will find in any corporate statement. We regard ourselves as a government, and practically all the businesses we have are owned by our government of The Pas Indian Band. Not unlike your governments, we also find it darn difficult to make a business profitable when it is being run by government. At the same time, we try to assist band members to develop their own independent business plan, so that there is a mix of band-owned and individual-owned enterprises.

We also try to ensure (and that is another component in our strategy) the maintenance of traditional, cultural values. Here we found ourselves in a big dilemma when we started to delve into business, because there was considerable conflict between outside business values and Indian values. Eventually, we had to try to resolve the problem because it was a liability to us initially. Since then, we found out that it can be an asset to maintain traditional cultural values. In that sense, we find that if we go back to our roots, find out where we came from, and where we are at today, we can have a better idea of where we want

to go tomorrow. At the same time, it makes us stronger and more effective in our dealings with all the problems on the reserve as well as on the outside.

We provide employment and training opportunities for band members, developing entrepreneurial opportunities through acquisition of business, or divesting band-owned enterprises to members. We also want to invest in other portfolios and business development on and off the reserve to achieve capital growth. Through sound public, industrial, and shareholder relations, we also try to make sure that the message is always being conveyed to band members as well as to outside people. Lastly, we use excellence as a standard in all our corporate activities. These are objectives from our corporate statement of purpose.

I have talked about the philosophy of our approach to economic development and strategy and now I want to explore self-government. There are several reasons why we went into economic development in a big way since 1972. Our annual budget at that time was \$25,000 to \$50,000, and the late Gordon Lathlin was Chief. I remember going into his office one day when I was still in high school. How proudly he showed off his office, which was a little two-bedroom bungalow. There he was, full of vision, dreams and hope, a modest budget, and a staff of three people. That is how we began.

Today, for those of you who do not know, we are situated right across the river, north of The Pas. Our population is about 2400 people. We are proud of our assets (around \$21 million) and our growth and development achieved since the day in 1972 that I visited Chief Lathlin. We talk now about self-government, and maybe a lot of us don't realize what it means. In our case, we see ourselves being in the driver's seat in everything that happens in our community. When interviewed one time by the press, I used the example of being on the passenger side of life – you go wherever the driver wants to go. We want to be in the driver's seat, so we can go where we want and in our own time.

We base our government on land, our economic base, and the people. We also realize that governing takes money, and we tell our people every day not to rely solely on government funding. I know a lot of people are asking how are we going to finance self-government. We

have started already imposing user fees on our people, for the water and sewer system, garbage collection, snow removal, and so on. That is all part of self-government evolution as far as we are concerned. We are also developing taxation bylaws on our reserve because, like it or not, we are going to have to be responsible for our programs and services. In effect, some components of self-government are already happening at the band level.

Up to now our development has been on the reserve with good reason. You find some Indian reserves doing very well in acquiring business ventures and investing outside the reserve, pursuing all of the things ordinary businessmen and people do on the outside. But on the reserve, there are many problems we run across when trying to develop economically. We purposely did not want to go outside at first because of our philosophy of fixing ourselves first, then our house and community, and only then go outside. So we have painstakingly been developing home base, but with expansion plans for tomorrow. By this means, the chances of success are greater, because the people are involved and they know what is going on. They become attuned to development and they support it.

It was not easy to work on our people first. We had to tell them that they were not lazy, that to be Indian was not to be out of school, to be unemployed, to be on welfare. In other words, there was 200 years of deprogramming to do, and for those of you who say that we are not doing enough, I purposely offered the example of our accomplishments since 1972. Also, I am purposely going to describe some of the problems that we encountered in our efforts to build economic development, because I am tired of hearing people say that we are apathetic, uninterested, helpless, and not aggressive or assertive.

I have to say that our human-resource development strategy contains programs that may offend some people, but nevertheless we think they are necessary. They are methodical, strategic, and manipulative, because we have to get our people out of the rut of thinking that they are not capable of going to high school and on to university; of thinking that they can never compete in the outside world. Not only do we have to deal with our people's attitudes and behaviours, but we must also cope

with the attitudes of the larger society. For example, citizens from The Pas used to say to us to get off your bums and go to work. So we decided to build a mall, and all of a sudden these people said that's not what they had in mind; that is too big, that's going to compete with our business. We want you to keep on digging ditches, working underground, and chopping trees. But we did not listen, and I'm happy to report, and I'm sure my friends from the town of The Pas will attest, that the mall on our reserve did not harm anybody. As a matter of fact, it has helped develop the whole community. Today, The Pas Band employs over 250 people, including 100 from the town of The Pas. That's an example of how we didn't listen or give in to pressure. There was a board injunction, but I don't believe it was ever filed.

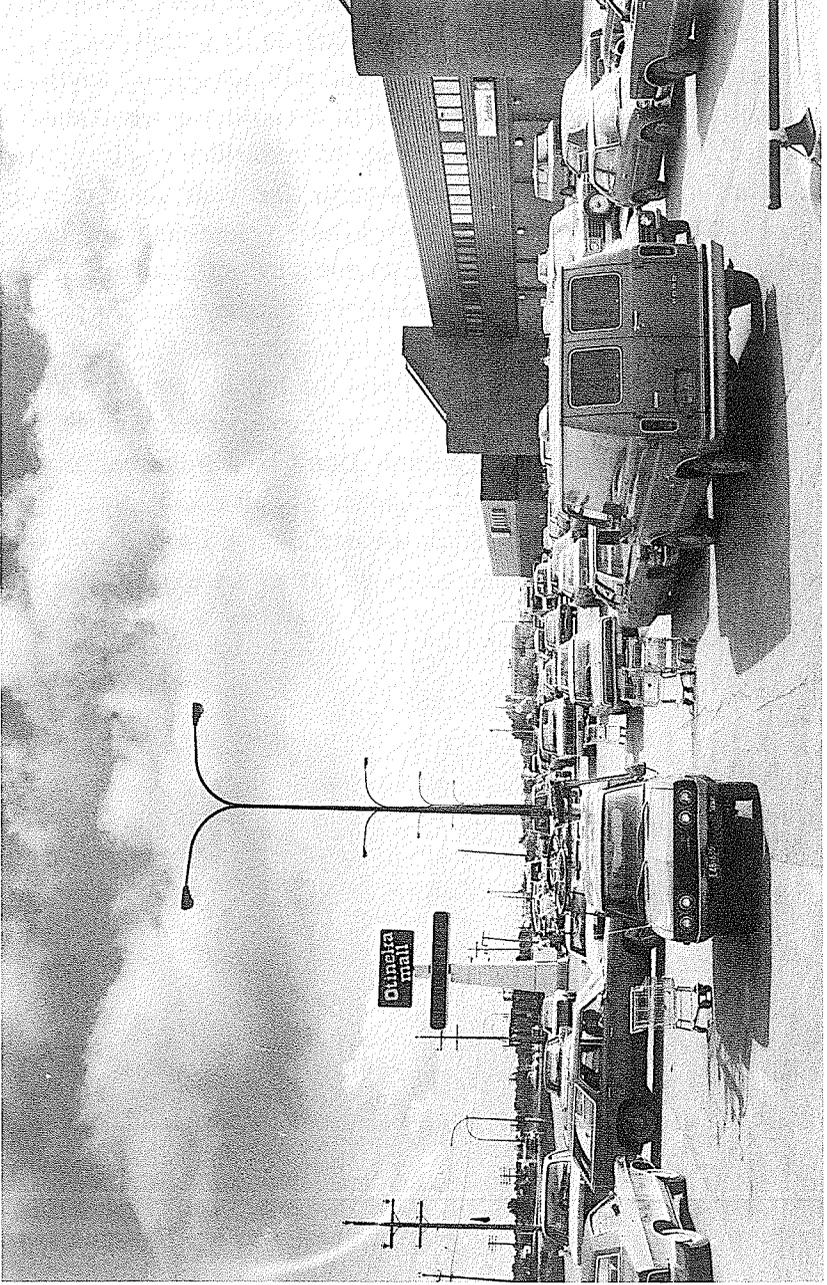
I will give you one example of banking problems for us on the Indian reserve, in securing an operating line of credit. Our mall is worth \$10 million dollars and our cash flow is something like \$17 million dollars a year, but just try to secure a \$30,000 line of credit from the bank. First of all, you must put all your cash flow in front, to commit all your assets. Then, on top of that, the bank wants the signature of the Minister of Indian Affairs; in other words, the whole Government of Canada has to back up a \$30,000 line of credit. Once that is done, it has to be signed by the "Big Boss" in Calgary. That's how we have to conduct business, and some people wonder why we are in the situation we are in!

We are always being compared to other bands, and sometimes that puts us in an awkward position. Yes, we are proud that we managed to put ourselves on the map, but you have to realize that we are right across the river from the town of The Pas, right by the highway, the railway, and air transportation. The market is there, so naturally we should be ahead of other communities who are isolated. But they too are moving, and will achieve things as they go about developing their own community economic development strategies.

Recommendations that I have for Native People are: don't dwell on or listen to the negative side, but concentrate on the positive, because you might as well put your energy into the positive rather than the negative; and don't be afraid to take a risk or make a mistake, so long

as you don't keep making the same mistake. If you don't do anything for fear of making a mistake, if you are afraid to be criticized by your people and your fellow colleagues, then you will not achieve anything. Lord knows that everyone makes mistakes, even other governments.

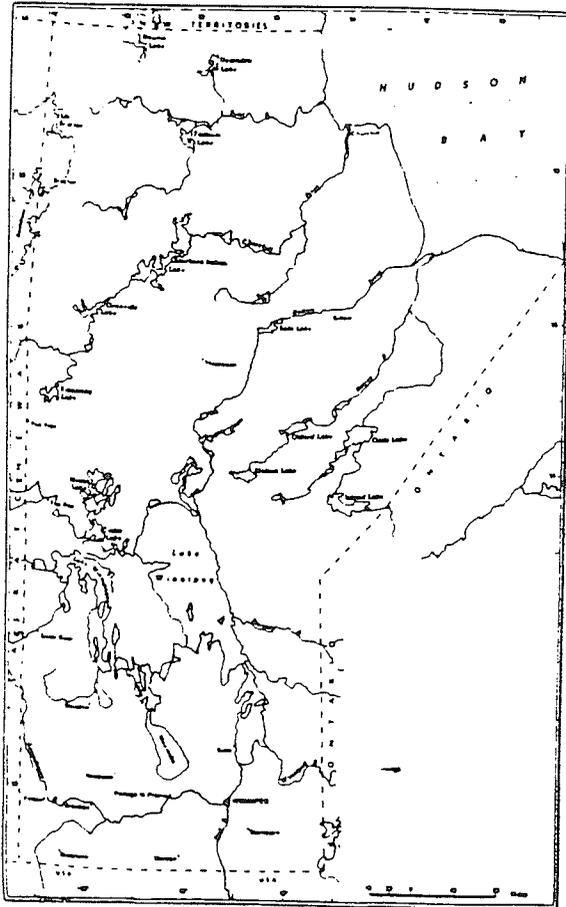
Be sure to take an accurate inventory of immediate resources, and prepare an economic development strategy for your reserve using common textbook theories and procedures in assessing resources, markets, training, and so on. Don't be let down by obstacles or failures. We are always expected to be super business people. Over 70 percent of all small businesses in Canada fail during the first five years, but when we fail, everybody says "I told you the Indians couldn't do it". I'm not set back by that. Don't be afraid to hire experienced managers, but at the same time, train your people. Don't be a follower, be your own person, because that is what leadership is all about. Again, you don't have to pound tables when you are negotiating. I say to you, beat them at their own game because that is what they try to do.

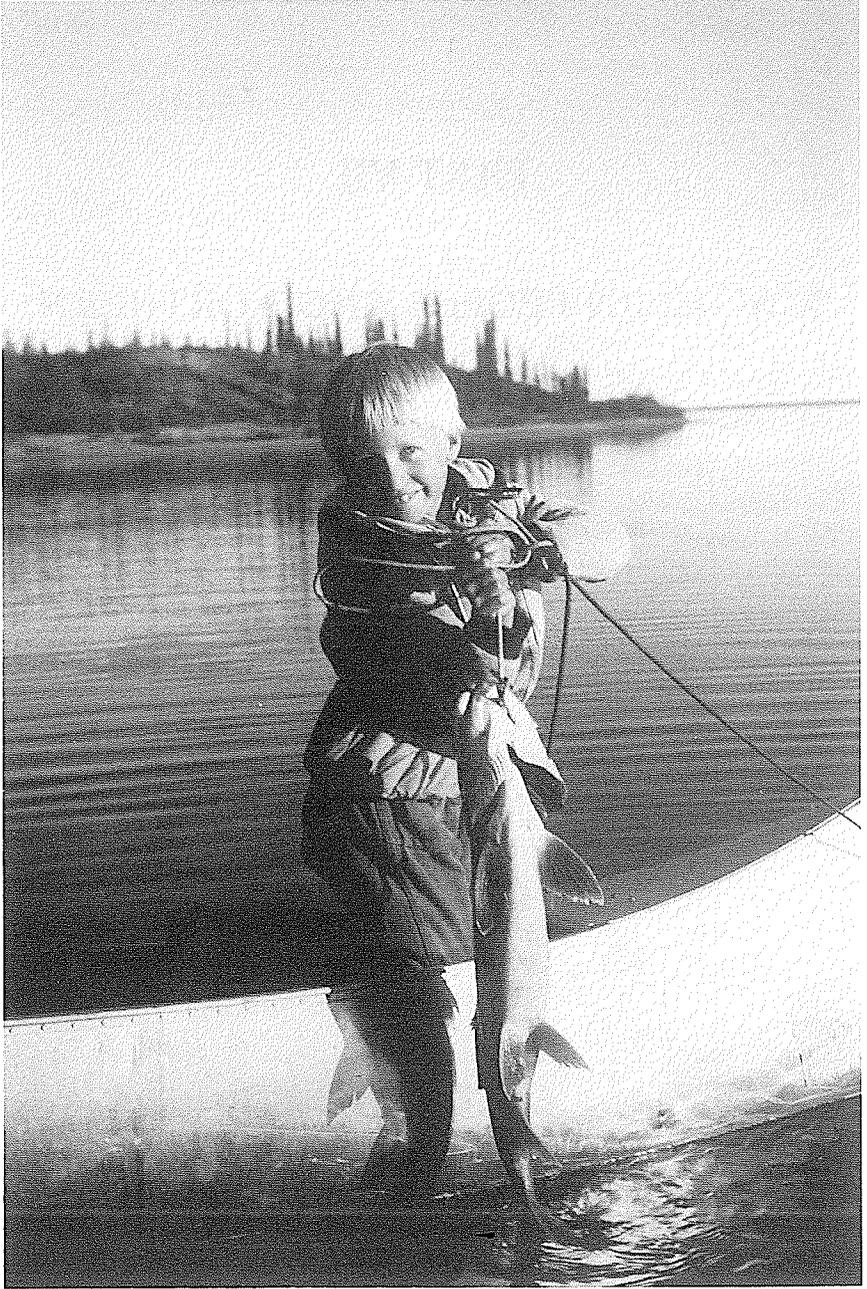


Orineka Mall, The Pas, Manitoba

PART VII

NORTHERN PEOPLE AND NORTHERN RESOURCES





Young sport fisherman on northern lake

The Land as Cultural Resource

Yngve Georg Lithman[§]

Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnicity
Stockholm University, and
Department of Anthropology
University of Manitoba

The ways in which we think about issues, such as the environment, development, and economic growth, have an almost automatic bias to them. A common response in our approach to complex issues is to divide them into small parts, and treat each of the parts in a considerable measure of isolation from each other. If ambitious, we may at the end attempt to accord each of the pieces different weights. So when, for example, we attempt to discuss an industrial endeavour in the North, we attempt to assess the consequences for the local economy, the national economy and the environment, and the impact on local and Native People. After having broken down the issue and examined each of its parts, we bring them together and say that this aspect is very important, that is less important, and so on. And the bottom line is some sort of compromise between all the various considerations that the examination of the various parts has revealed.

These are the kinds of exercises we are all constantly engaged in, but it is seldom acknowledged that there are several questionable things

[§]Yngve Georg Lithman is a social anthropologist whose works about native issues in Canada include *The Community Apart* (University of Manitoba Press, 1987) and *The Practise of Underdevelopment* (Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, 1983). Dr. Lithman has also written about migration issues in Europe as well as popular culture.

which this approach takes for granted. This is the bias to which I referred earlier – that what appears to be a rational and sensible approach in fact rests on a number of unstated premises, both with respect to what a society is and should be, and also with regard to what constitutes knowledge – scientifically or otherwise legitimized.

In this article, I will attempt to show how this mode of thinking, basically what can be termed a technologized understanding of the world, is unable to cope with one of the most important dimensions of the North – how life in the North, for many, achieves its meaningfulness through a cultural construction where the relationship to the land is a root metaphor.

There are three sets of issues which have prompted my thinking along these lines. The first of these relates to a general proposition about development. Without attempting any definition of development, I will use this term to signify all those activities that are related to an increased capitalization of pursuits, and all that which is usually associated with so-called modernization. Contrary to what probably most people think, development, almost by definition, has negative consequences. Increased capitalization in rural or remote areas will invariably make some people better off, but it will equally and invariably make some people worse off – most often not just in a relative sense.

So when, for example, fishing in a coastal village was transformed from one part of a yearly subsistence cycle involving small-scale farming, part-time winter logging, etc., to a big-boat operation where fishing was a full-time pursuit, one consequence was that the amount of fish caught increased. But this restructuring of the coastal village also resulted in a dramatic decrease in other activities. The small farms were difficult to maintain when many of the young men turned to fishing. The fortunes of fishing became determinative of the economic well-being of the village population as a whole. Many of those who could not partake in fishing (those who could not get access to the big credits to purchase a big boat, or get hired on them) became impoverished, both in relative and absolute terms.

This example, taken from a Newfoundland study, demonstrates one consequence inherent – except under particular circumstances – in development. Development is not a process where everyone benefits, and we usually legitimize this with an argument to the effect that development provides increased fortunes for the region or the nation. "To make an omelette", as the saying goes, "one has to break a few eggs". So development is almost never a uniform arch into prosperity and happiness, but a disrupting and tormenting process where some gain and some lose. A good example of this is of course the experiences of the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada.

The observation that must be made as a result of this discussion is that development can never be a technical or in a narrow sense an economic issue. Development must always be people issues. And this insight, which undoubtedly is getting increasingly recognized, has contributed to a lot of doubts about development, and to questions about what social and human costs we are willing to accept for development.

The second set of issues I want to use as a foundation for my main argument relates to the area of sustainable development, developing sustainable societies, and similar concerns. What I have in mind is the growing recognition that some of our notions about our own societies are thrown into doubt. No one, or at least increasingly fewer people, would doubt the importance of being aware that we live on a small and fragile planet. Gro Harlem-Brundtland, a leader of a traditionally growth-oriented, social-democratic party in Norway, and a staunch advocate of industrial society, advanced the sustainable development concept. The *Globe and Mail*, as much an establishment paper as any, regularly carries a separate section on environmental issues. Things have changed, and changed fast.

The third set of issues I want to touch upon by way of introduction is the present situation in the Native communities in the Manitoba North. In Native perceptions, the expanding non-Native resource extraction has paralleled Native impoverishment, reductions in the use of time-honoured Native pursuits, and a general devastating barrenness of social and cultural life of northern communities. A further concomitant to development has been the environmental consequences.

The mercury-contaminated fish in Cross Lake, the reduced fisheries in South Indian Lake, the diminished wildlife in the North – these are all indicators of the environmental degradation that takes place in the Manitoba North. And we now learn that avoiding these things has become important in decision making.

But what we have in the North is a number of communities with rampant unemployment and attendant social and human misery – spoils of the times, as it were. And how do we think about the future of these communities?¹ Well, by and large, it appears to me, our thinking seems to be directed towards the same kind of models that have been applied before, but we think we will now implement our models better. We are going to have better employment programs, better outreach, better development planning, more and better economic development. Somehow our thinking seems to be focused on notions that if we could only have a good mine or a good pulp mill or a good wood-harvesting operation close to each of these communities, we would be well on our way to solving the difficult problems facing many Native northern communities.

Well, to me, these are speculations which do not have much realism to them. But they are indicative of how we are prisoners of our own modes of thought. If we could only get that industry going, if we could only get some wage labour going, if we could only get those retraining or relocation or whatever programs in place, we would be just fine. And today, for sure, we would do it sustainably.

I believe that the time has come to be much more modest in our attempts to export solutions to the North, which are in large measure very little, but have already been attempted over and over again, with pretty well the opposite result to what was expected. And there is now a substantial literature documenting how these consequences are the result of a social structure with features of semi-colonialism and the administrative smothering of Native People. Some literature on this theme includes Geoffrey York's *The Dispossessed*, Kue Young's *Northern Health*, as well as some of my own writings (1983, 1986).

So, I would like to suggest that the situation confronting the northern Native communities requires a sort of philosophical

reorientation. A reorientation away from what? I would say a belief that the structure and philosophy of industrial society have to be hegemonic for all countries and their parts. A reorientation towards what? I would say towards a situation where the land is seen as a cultural resource. And it is towards this latter theme I now want to move in this article.

What do I mean by the land as a cultural resource? Not central to my argument, but still fairly important to remember, is that Aboriginal People, up to fairly recent times, made their living through a close and daily interaction with the environment. Lives were structured in the rhythm of the seasons. Food, clothes and shelter were immediate appropriations of the environment. And cultural life, including self-perceptions, mythologies and religious practises, reflected how Aboriginal People saw themselves as but one part of an inter-related system the Creator had put in place. So the land, in all its aspects, was in large measure exactly that which provided the symbolism that underpinned the totality of Aboriginal experience.

In this day and age, when we start questioning many things about our own societies, and many think that hybris has dominated our attitude to those conditions that actually determine our fate on a fragile planet, this Aboriginal-thought system is of course a dramatic contrast to our own. But Aboriginal People, as others in North America, are parts (perhaps a bit reluctantly) of lifestyles that do not have the relationship with the environment as the guiding rod. However much Aboriginal People may be conscious of how earlier generations saw themselves as one part of nature, the separation that has occurred between Native People and the environment has also drastically reduced the role of the environment as a continuous inspiration for everyday cultural expressions.

So what we can say is that the Native communities have become dissociated from the land, with social ills in abundant evidence. And to my mind, the realistic scenario for Native communities to have a better future has to be their reintegration into the environment. Please note the expression realistic, not unrealistic. What would this mean in concrete terms?

First of all, Aboriginal communities would not have to rely on non-sustainable exploitation of the environment or on transfer payments. So whatever activities take place would have to avoid impoverishing the environment. A forest is a forest, not a wood-lot. The various resources of the rich environment of the boreal forest would have to be harvested with this in mind.

So which resources, then, could be harvested with this in mind? Well, I think there is a whole range of them, and the substantial reason why we have not explored this line of thinking has to do with how we have structured our economic activities, including our thinking about them. Let me give an example.

Intense forest management could mean that we shun away from barecuts, at least from the magnitudes these presently have. (I am using the word barecut to signify the presently standard type of resource exploitation). Instead, we could accept the lack of (what the economists call) optimal economic efficiency in the cutting operation, because we start to put a value on the damage that we do not do to micro-climates, soil, water, and air, and also because we start to put a value on those things we can maintain. If we maintain a forest, as opposed to wood-lot, that in itself deserves recognition.

But what we presently do is of course to organize our interests so that for those who have to supply me and others with paper, the economic method is barecut. They can not include the maintenance of the forest as a forest in their balance sheets. And people have to eat, and can people in the North eat the forest? The barecut, at least, provides some jobs. Would an alternative mean the loss of economic opportunities in the North? The answer to this question is the opposite to what conventional wisdom would suggest. The alternative to the present-day type of 'modern' resource exploitation could mean an increased, sustainable, and economically worth-while activity in the North.

Let me give a glimpse of what one small part of an alternative to the barecut could be. In Sweden, which is roughly the size of Manitoba, moose meat is a commercial commodity. The moose population is approximately 300,000, and the annual harvest is some 130,000 animals.

For several reasons having to do with climate, vegetation, etc., Manitoba could probably never aspire to have quite such a large moose population. However, its present population is only some 20,000 animals, and its annual harvest is perhaps only some 3,000 animals. Now, imagine that Manitoba would build up its moose herd and the attendant harvest to half or two-thirds of Sweden's, and this is an eminently possible proposition. All of a sudden, Manitoba would be having a multi-million dollar venison industry. The returns would be counted in the tens of millions of dollars.

To achieve this kind of moose population requires careful, on-going management. Some feed programs may have to be instituted during parts of the year. It also involves strict guidelines about what animals may be killed (the ratio of young bulls to other animals will be very high). Licenses to kill the old bulls, the trophy animals, could be sold at an incredible premium to outside hunters.²

The moose population as an example of the resources that could be harvested in northern Manitoba suggests that there may be an alternative development strategy – an alternative to seeing power dams, barecuts, and mines as solutions to the social ills in northern Manitoba Aboriginal communities.

What would the alternative scenario have to entail? First of all, I believe that it would have to rest on a much more holistic approach to the inter-relationships between people, environment, and work process. If the northern Aboriginal communities are to be what we all, including those who live in them, wish for them, a first priority would have to be their reintegration into the environment. Features of this would be that they should neither have to rely on social assistance as a long-term economic input, nor upon a non-sustainable exploitation of resources from the environment. What we have seen so far is indeed how environmental destruction has gone hand in hand with Native alienation from the land and an increased significance of transfer payment.

The reintegration of the Native communities into the environment presupposes several things. One is, of course, that any resource exploitation has sustainability as a primary concern. This means that whatever activities go on, they must avoid impoverishing the

environment. There are two important dimensions to this. One is that we must try to keep our activities within that which can be regenerated. The other is that we must avoid destroying the variety of the environment. A forest, to make that statement again, is something more than a woodlot.

Another aspect of the reintegration of Native communities into the environment relates to the organization of human activities. It is pretty difficult to imagine that the urban and southern mode of organizing the work process will ever be feasible in northern communities. One example of this is the seasonal nature of much work in the North, be it construction or muskrat harvesting, bush work, or fishing. That the southern model, with one person having a year-round job, doing the same thing, will ever be the prominent feature of the northern work process is obviously unlikely. Instead, work organization in the North must take as a premise that people will be doing different things during different parts of the year. And the more the economic activities of the communities gear themselves towards environmentally sound practices, it is my belief that the cyclical nature of work will increase. A person in the North will have many jobs, performed during different parts of the year. This should be seen, I believe, as a sign of a successful adaptation to the specifics of northern living in resonance with environmental concerns. Even in these circumstances, there will of course be a large number of persons in professions, such as teachers, nurses, band and community council administrators, shop-keepers, etc., who will account for a large fraction of the jobs in any northern community and whose work style will be similar to that of southern communities.

Let me carry the various points made above towards a more general argument. I mentioned that Native communities are in the process of being dissociated from their environment. One aspect of this is a cultural one. What I mean is that people see how their home communities lose those things that used to be the very basis of their existence – their relationship to the land. The unhappiness attending the lack of what is seen as worthwhile occupations, and the damage this does to self-esteem, to community life, to the children's conception of education, and so on, are all things well known. As I see it, the solution will never be

the large-scale, exploitative projects that we have seen, and which have been so destructive to northern Aboriginal communities.

If there will be a better future for northern Aboriginal communities, it has to have a foundation where the land is seen as a cultural resource. Native communities will have to reintegrate themselves with the environment through a process that generates both income and community pride. This will, of course, dramatically improve the quality of life in northern communities. When this has happened, then the land will have been transformed anew into what it was once before – a cultural resource, which provides the social fibres for that rich, beautiful, uniquely human web we call community.

So, the main perspective that has to pervade all developmental activities, as far as the northern communities are concerned, has to be a holistic one. It must recognize that environmental concerns cannot be handled separately from economic concerns, or from the needs for the social and cultural rebuilding of Native communities. The way to arrive at this kind of thinking is, I believe, to see the land as a cultural resource. As such, it will always have to be protected from impoverishment. It also has to be the most important symbolic foundation for the cultural development of northern Aboriginal communities. Therefore, the land must be firmly integrated into the social and economic life of the communities.

However, all this will necessitate different strategies than those that are presently in place. Bureaucrats, businessmen and economists often pride themselves of being 'hard-nosed', 'responsible for the bottom line', 'persons of the practical world', etc. To some of them, what has been said in this article may appear to be fluff, a desire to return to days long since gone, something lacking in the proper appreciation of what development means. To this, can only be said two things. One is: look at what northern development has brought the Aboriginal communities so far. The other is: development presupposes *new* thinking, not the application of time-worn formulas. If we do not liberate ourselves from stereotyped ideas about how northern communities can have a good future, we will for certain doom them.

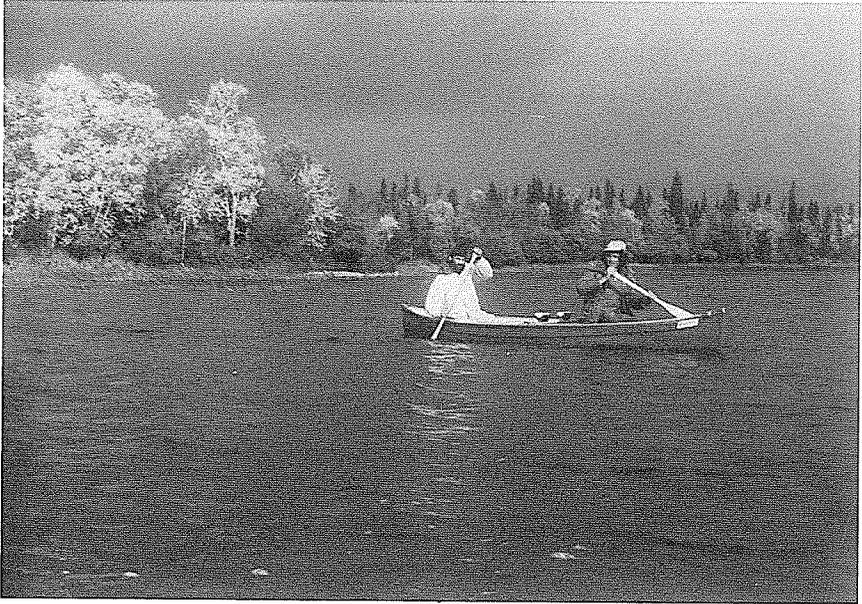
But maybe this is naive. Perhaps the power and control over the Manitoba North is so firmly lodged with particular interests in our capitalistic, industrialized society that any alternatives to present trends are impossible to put in place. And it must be remembered that the people in the North, of course, are also in large measure the prisoners of prevailing mainstream ideologies in society.

To realize an alternative perhaps presupposes impossible things. Is it possible that the future of the Manitoba North will in large measure be determined through other vehicles than those the big corporations and big government have already put in place? Is it possible to get a serious consideration of an alternative to the presently, widely embraced stereotyped notions about what economic progress entails in industrialized society? Or are the vested economic interests and the contemporary ideology in these matters fused into an unmovable monolith? Maybe, but maybe not. The ecological argument, demonstrating absolute boundaries to the quality of our lives, and the limits of how we can abuse our fragile planet, may become the ramrod that opens up new ways of doing things.

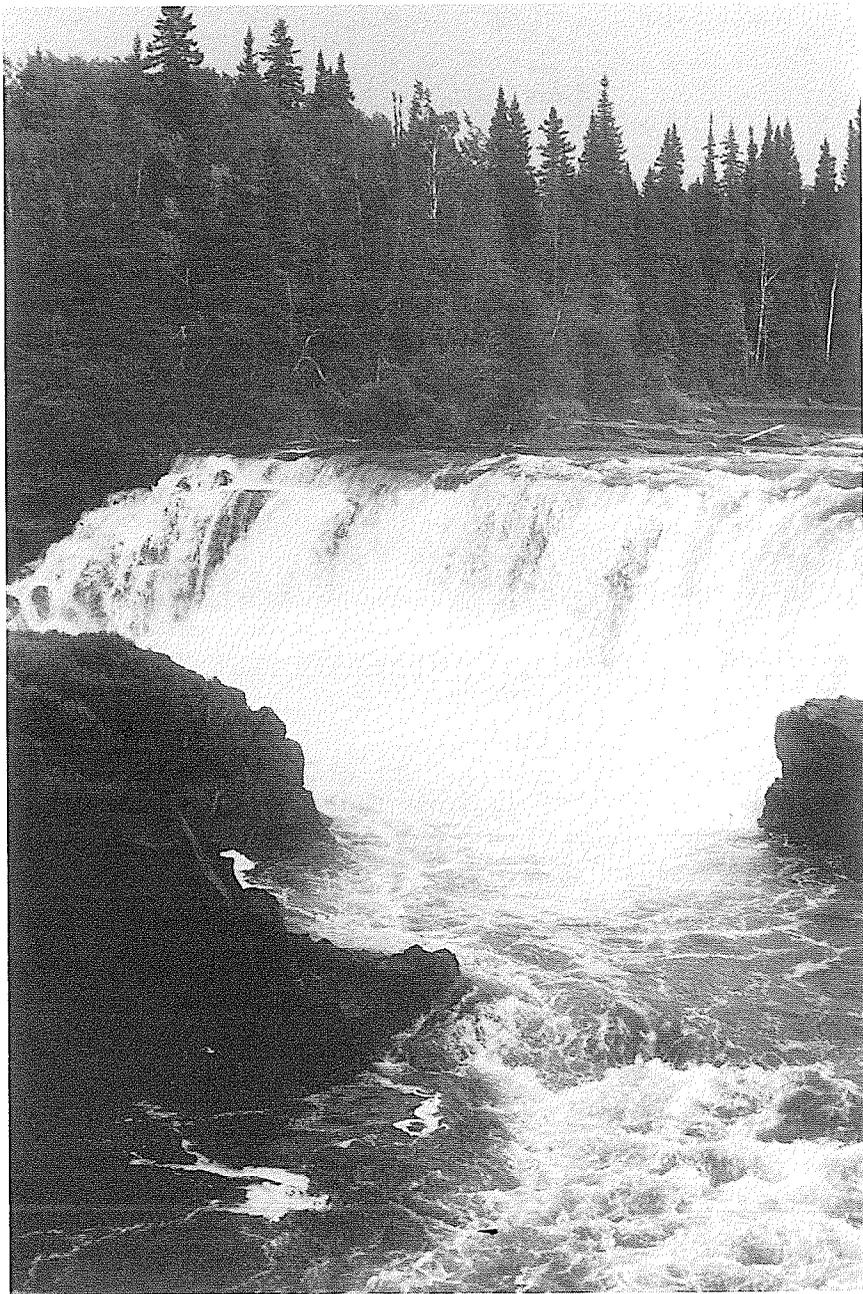
In northern Manitoba, an alternative exists, and to realize it would serve both the people in the North and also the ecological revigoration. It can be developed and put in place by the people in northern communities. The rest of us can avoid getting in their way, and, if we are lucky, we may even be able to provide some assistance.

NOTES

1. When I write about communities – northern communities – I am in fact referring not to all communities, but those where Native People constitute the significant population. The mining towns, etc., by and large fall outside the discussion in this article.
2. I am not advocating a general importation of the Swedish practices of boreal forest management. In Sweden, barecuts and insensitive forest practices have turned the boreal forest into something of a biological desert (with some exceptions, such as the moose population).



Top: *Sport moose hunters paddling across a lake in northern Manitoba*
Bottom: *Sport moose hunters in northern Manitoba*



Waterfalls near Thompson, Manitoba

New Occupational Strategies for the North

Cam Mackie[§]

Consultant

Peat Marwick Stevenson and Kellogg

In terms of what is happening in the North, there are some things to watch out for, because if we are not careful with what we are doing, we will miss some of the indicators of serious problems. Once again northern people will be the ones to suffer. First, new occupational strategies have certain similar patterns and trends. We know that between four and five different careers are likely to be followed by individuals entering the labour force today. That is a lot of career changes, isn't it? We are not just talking about changing jobs, but changing fundamentally what one does. Switching careers is a major part of what is happening in our society. While it may not occur in the North as quickly as in the South, it will inevitably occur over time for a whole variety of reasons.

Changes in technology, politics, society, culture will demand employment flexibility. We have heard what happens to the paper industry when, all of a sudden, people become more sensitive to the environment and start demanding recycled paper products. This has a substantial effect on the jobs involved in northern pulp and paper

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operations. There are also a number of changes of a technological nature that will effect mining. Certainly we have seen this in terms of petrochemical-resource development – demand fluctuates and pressure to develop and use this resource has diminished substantially. The evolution of technology and values that we hold will contribute to the need to continually change things. For a long time to come in the North, many people are likely to do different things throughout the year, such as industrial resource exploitation, hunting or trapping.

It is important to judge trends and for this reason I am going to quote from an article written by the American David L. Birch. For the last 20 years he has studied the history of 17 million firms in the United States – how they have changed and where growth has occurred. This tremendous resource points out what I am talking about in terms of being able to judge trends and to see what is happening in Canada and in our North.

By the way, a colleague once said, North in Canada is on the right if you are facing west. In a sense Winnipeg, even though we do not think of it as north, is clearly North in terms of North America and in terms of the kinds of winters we have faced for the last couple of years.

Let me just quote from Birch for a minute. "There have been forty million new jobs created over the past twenty years and not one of them has been in manufacturing. That is, there has not been any net growth in the manufacturing industry in the American situation. The worker population in manufacturing has remained static with only eight percent of the country's work force punching time cards in a factory every day".

Yet we tend to continue thinking that factory jobs, that manufacturing (taking raw material and turning it into a product that can be sold), is an area where there is opportunity for growth. In fact, in North America, that has not been the case. In 1988 alone, the economy added 3.6 million jobs but the Fortune 500 companies – and those are the largest 500 companies in America – eliminated nearly half a million job opportunities within their companies; only five percent of today's work force work for the Fortune 500 companies, a group just slightly larger than that working in agriculture. A very significant trend is that large companies are employing fewer people. Of course this means

technological application and changes in the way the basic economy is structured. And what it means to us, particularly those interested in working in the North, is that we have to find ways of positioning ourselves to take advantage of the trends as they come along.

The first thing is to be aware of what is happening. Television is helpful, but if you are not literate, you are going to have real troubles. The first basic skill in terms of positioning yourself to survive in the North, and any place else for that matter, is literacy, and we have not yet faced this issue in this country and in this province in particular. There are many people graduating from schools, whether in Winnipeg or in isolated communities in the Northern part of our province, isolated communities who are coming out illiterate, in fact unable to deal with an ordinary newspaper article. So I think this is the first adaptive skill that we haven't really begun to look at.

The second thing is, of course, to observe changes as they are occurring and be able to grasp what some of those are. This is more and more difficult, as the North is changing rapidly. I think others have alluded to the effects of resource exploitation, what technological changes are likely to occur there, and what this is going to mean in terms of employment. We have looked at jobs specifically, not just occupations, but jobs as something that people need to have now. We have looked at big business or big projects as generators of jobs, but in the North in Manitoba, we know big business is transitory to say the least; it is something that is going to come and go, not something that will provide permanent occupational security. You build a dam, and when finished you're gone. You may work on other dams for some time, but this is essentially not a permanent occupation – one that can provide people with continuing sustenance for long periods of time.

The point about doing different things at different times of the year is one that I was going to make as well. I think that inevitably we are going to have to look at how we can adjust our working lives, and how northern corporations and small businesses can adjust operations, to take into account the fact that at least a good portion of the population is going to want to do different things at various times of the year. It is

possible to organize structures in business to cope with this, but big business, as I said, is transitory.

So what do you do to measure their successes? Well, we have looked at a number of things in terms of small-business development. We have examined the trends that have occurred and there are a couple of things that are quite outstanding. First, of course, is that nationally about seventy percent of all small businesses fail in the first two years; this is a very high percentage, but there is a change here – the rate of failure of small businesses started by women is only half that started by men. So one of the things that is going to be crucial in the North, as we grow and as small businesses begin to develop, is that governments, communities, and people in those communities look very seriously at how women can take a role. Women tend to start with something that they know and can manage. They don't get into great debt to begin with, they are prepared to ask questions, and they don't have to be macho and show that they can do the job and be right the first time. Having been involved in a small business myself and having failed miserably, I can understand some of those things. What people in the North will have to be sensitive to and aware of is that many small businesses that provide services, that develop opportunities, and that create jobs for many people, are going to involve women.

The second quote from David Birch is an interesting comment. "There is a lot of talk about high tech, but the vast majority of net job creation is taking place in the application of technology, not in its production. Most of the application is taking place in small firms with relatively few employees, creating jobs in the service sectors as diverse as software and database creation, consulting, health-care administration, and even trash collection".

I think that's important. A young Native man in Toronto started going around with his machine that shredded confidential documents – and that has developed into a huge operation. Others have followed suit of course, and he now has competition, but the point is that he identified a way of using technology, of making it transportable, and getting it into the field where he could get some business, and created a job for several

people in the process. I think we have to look at how we are going to apply the technology to those jobs.

Finally, I think it's important that in the North and elsewhere, business really keeps in tune with the trends that are there. You are going to have to watch that carefully. We have had a trend in building since the Grand Rapid Dam. This trend has grown in volume, has tended to consume people's energy and focus their attention, and has created businesses related to major construction projects. Well, that is going to continue to occur for some time, but there is a lot of valuable spin-offs that can occur as well. The major one is how do you use that construction ability and opportunity to create northern corporations that are run by northern people. This will ensure that roads are built to make the connections between communities more viable, and to have the kinds of airports that we need. The opportunities are almost endless, but again, it is applying the technology and looking at the trends as we go along.



Black bear

Wildlife Co-Management

Harvey Nepinak[§]

Chief

Waterhen Indian Band

Harvey Payne

Wildlife Branch

Manitoba Department of Natural Resources

INTRODUCTION: CHIEF HARVEY NEPINAK

First of all I want to say that Waterhen is located in central Manitoba, and we have been interested in resource co-management for a long time. In the 1950s, beaver were introduced into the northern part of the Lake Waterhen area, followed by the setting up of fish committees. Five lakes were restocked and have been very beneficial to the community. Later a moose-management committee was formed, and most recently, one for the wood bison project. It is with much pride that I have played a part in these endeavours. We have worked with the Province throughout all these years and also with the Federal Government in developing these wildlife projects. These resources are important to us, as they are to other First Nations communities throughout Manitoba.

[§]Biographical notes for Harvey Nepinak and Harvey Payne appear at the end of this article.

I want to say that the co-management we see, I and my band, is only the view of the Waterhen Band. Like Chief Lathlin said earlier in his remarks on economic development, we are pleased to show various levels of government and industries how we see co-management. So, working in our community, a paper was developed jointly with Dr. Harvey Payne from Manitoba Natural Resources. I have been associated with Dr. Payne for eleven years now, and I will allow him to present our paper at this time. After he is finished, I want to come back and give you a brief background of our community and state how co-management is very important now and will be into the future.

CO-MANAGEMENT: HARVEY PAYNE

Harvey Nepinak did not want to say it himself, but he has been responsible for much of the philosophy of co-management being extended to many other Aboriginal communities in Manitoba, where it is having successful early beginnings. We are going to talk about wildlife co-management, although I know there is interest among various communities in extending this philosophy to other resources as well. However, for reasons that I think you will understand, you will see why we are restricting ourselves to wildlife co-management at this time. Michael Anderson postulated that Manitoba's boreal region might be the province's most intensively used landscape in North America. People of the boreal forest are mostly Aboriginal, and wildlife features prominently in their lifestyle and livelihood. Hunting, fishing and trapping are the major activities. Aboriginal rights to these resources were retained in treaty, recognized in Canadian and provincial laws, and were enshrined in the Constitution Act of 1982. This Act essentially forms the legal basis for co-management in Canada.

Wildlife has always been a significant Canadian fact. It was the beaver that resulted in the establishment of *Le Nouveau France* and its subsequent explorations by the *courier de bois* and the *voyageurs*, and eventually in the re-settlement of the Canadian landscape. Before the Natural Resources Transfer Agreement in 1930, wildlife, unlike the other resources, was managed by the Province because it was viewed as

a matter of local concern. This was done under the provisions of the British North America Act. Wildlife, to this day, remains a local matter of great importance to the Aboriginal People of the North.

Co-management could be a natural evolution on the Canadian landscape. Canada's history of conflict resolution, through reason and negotiation rather than force, is exemplified in the treaties with Aboriginal People. These provided for the retention of rights to pursue the vocations of hunting, fishing and trapping on the lands ceded, and generated an environment where co-management of wildlife with Aboriginal People is not only rational but perhaps obligatory. It is a reasoned solution to a vexing conservation dilemma of some magnitude.

There are many viewpoints and variations on the co-management theme. The common and critical element in them all is power and decision making, at least this is our viewpoint. The discussion deals with the need for human development, the treaties, the law, the nature of self-government, and the Manitoba landscape. Co-management as evident in Manitoba, can be managed in the best interests of conservation and of the Aboriginal People if we choose to understand and foster it. However, it has potential, if ignored or opposed, to become a major controversial dilemma.

Around 1930, as wildlife populations throughout Canada came under increasing pressure from settlement for agriculture, and economic development in general, the rights of Aboriginal People to hunt freely came under more and more scrutiny. There was little case law and few supreme court decisions. In the 1970s wildlife management sought a legal solution to the dilemma. The courts had essentially reduced Aboriginal hunting rights to those provided in the Natural Resources Transfer Agreement Acts. Many cases hinged on a definition of unoccupied Crown land. The provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba tried to give a particular interpretation to those words. The Supreme Court of Canada unanimously agreed that the provinces could not attempt to define the rights of Treaty Indians under the agreements, and declared the applicable sections of the Wildlife Act of Manitoba and the Saskatchewan Game Act to be *ultra vires*.

The management solution that the provinces had proposed was simple, but found to be essentially wrong in law. What they had proposed was to designate, for the purpose of Treaty Indian hunting rights, lands such as provincial parks, wildlife management areas, and other lands of that nature, as occupied by the provinces. If we accept the apparent impasse in which wildlife managers found themselves in contemplating wildlife-population management and the need for harvest controls, then clearly the predicament of Aboriginal People who have the rights and seek to preserve them, can also be understood. The fact that governments were trying to limit Treaty rights must also be recognized.

Successive Canadian governments have never effectively recognized Aboriginal cultural values in policy and programming for Aboriginal People. In many cases programming was designed to eliminate perceived negative cultural traits such as sharing and generosity, and to replace them with a White-European work ethic and a material accumulation philosophy. The Constitution Act guarantees to Aboriginal People rights that other Canadians do not enjoy. It is within this context that the contemporary concept of co-management is advanced to Aboriginal People and to wildlife managers toward effective wildlife management.

Co-management of wildlife is succinctly defined as the sharing of power between a group of Aboriginal People and the government. The power-sharing element separates co-management from other cooperative-management schemes. To understand its detail, we must first examine the power currently exercised and its impact, both real and perceived, on Aboriginal societies. For example, the power exercised by conservation officers in the enforcement of regulations within the normal professionally acceptable execution of their responsibilities is often perceived by Aboriginal People as harassment. This perception is real and is partly the result of lack of information and education in Aboriginal societies regarding the law, their treaty rights, and the justice system. Co-management authority would develop means to eliminate the perception of harassment.

Efforts of this nature have been developed, but have proved sporadic, inconsistent, and largely ineffective. Aboriginal People today

essentially learn the law, and what their rights provide through being charged with offenses, and whatever is left over essentially constitutes their rights. In mainstream society we inform, educate, promote, and advertise these changes to the law to enhance compliance. This effort is increasingly being applied to Aboriginal communities, however in the case of most Aboriginal People, this information is generally transmitted by the Conservation Officer through word of mouth, rumour, or the moccasin telegraph. This system leads to misinterpretation and understandably to low levels of compliance with the law, not because people are inherently criminal, but because they don't know the facts. Co-management power could better identify the problem, implement corrective programming, and therefore increase compliance. A balance of power would be perceived to exist and the perception of harassment would be reduced.

Why do we need to undertake co-management? This question is often asked. Legal jurisdiction, ownership, and proprietorship are recognized as key components, however its major utility is in easing conflict – a process for resource-conflict resolution. Co-management can be equally as important as legislation. A regulatory approach is often insensitive to the issues, while co-management can achieve policy objectives through agreement, often in a manner more constructive and with greater compliance than "laying down the law". Even constitutional limitations can sometimes be abated. Where two parties have rights and responsibilities, force is unlikely to succeed. The basic principle of co-management is that negotiation and consensus replace confrontation and imposed regulation. Co-management can create institutions such as boards and in some cases can even create bureaucracies.

The following reasons were advanced at a workshop I attended to explain why co-management was becoming a reality in the management of resources where Aboriginal People are involved. Firstly, government no longer has a choice in this matter. Secondly, and essentially similar, government cannot manage unilaterally. Competing interest and conflicting user groups will not accept the "big brother knows best" philosophy; for moral and ethical reasons, people should have a say. Thirdly, regulations are unenforceable in some areas, so there is little or

no compliance with the law. Increased information in public and management agencies is the fourth issue, and lastly is the case for migratory species. There is a greater need for co-management in fish and wildlife management because of treaty and Aboriginal rights, and the fact that most of Canada is remote and unoccupied Crown land, making compliance with the law through regulatory enforcement impossible. In addition, wildlife features most prominently in the culture and economy of Aboriginal life and is therefore a major political issue.

Why not co-operative management? This question is also asked. Why do we need a formal co-management agreement when we could just have a cooperative advisory group. Wouldn't that do fine? Essentially, co-operative management works well only where people and groups share the same values, goals, and aspirations, or at least close facsimiles. Those who advocate co-operative as opposed to co-management seek to extend the values of the dominant culture to the minority Aboriginal society. Some cooperative programs have achieved success, but it is the limitations that have resulted in demands for co-management. In some areas, it is the success elements in cooperative efforts that cause others to support the concept of co-management. Limitations to cooperative programs resulted from the failure to understand, accept and embody cultural differences. The professional, human-development element is lacking.

In co-management, there is a definite need for integrating wildlife management and human development. Wildlife extension, economic development, and human development are the major components of wildlife management when dealing with Aboriginal People. The general biology of the beast is most often as well known by Aboriginal People as it is by wildlife managers. Wildlife extension and economic development are well understood and will not be discussed further here. Human development in a cross-cultural setting is a difficult undertaking because the complexities of the issues are not realized and the difficulties are largely underestimated. Failures in this business are often written off and excused by statements such as, "There was a failure to communicate, . . . I can't understand where these people are coming from, . . . They won't listen to reason", and finally, "If they don't

smarten up . . .". Well, most of these problems can be summarized by a statement: "These people won't accept my social and cultural values".

Much wildlife-conservation law is based on social and cultural values and not always on biological-management principles. There is an anthropological view called *cultural relativity* which states that no culture can be properly seen as inferior to another. Effective cross-cultural human development demands peoples' unquestioned acceptance of this view. The cultural context of treating all people the same is not always equivalent to treating all people equally. Laws, policy, and practices that apply equally to all can be culturally discriminatory. An example was the old medieval law that would cut off a person's hand for stealing a loaf of bread, or the law which equally forbade rich and poor from sleeping under bridges in Paris!

We will move now to the Manitoba landscape and I will try to explain what is happening here regarding co-management. This morning, my Minister already outlined some of the major achievements in this area. The Beverley-Kaminuriak Management Agreement has been cited as an early advancement of co-management principles and there have been two wildlife-management agreements signed at Waterhen and another at The Pas. Co-management is desirable from a purely resource-management standpoint. The right of Treaty Indians to hunt food on unoccupied Crown land has long been a problem to resource managers. It is this conflict in many instances that has been the catalyst in motivating cooperative and co-management thinking in government managers.

In Aboriginal societies, the motivation for co-management has sometimes been different. In Pukatawagan, for instance, the motivation stems from a desire to perpetuate the wildlife resource in the area and to maintain the management system that has been historically affected by the people; in other words, there was no wildlife crisis in Pukatawagan that motivated co-management thinking.

There are 62 Chiefs and seven Tribal Councils in Manitoba and many of them are at varying stages of deliberation concerning co-management. There are many variations of the co-management theme but one issue is central – it is power. Delegating power for sharing the

decision-making authority can be an assertive act; a struggle for power could be confrontational. Co-management could be expensive programming, and in natural-resource management, it may mean some duplication but from the experience in other parts of North America, the returns have been worthwhile. Finally, co-management might well be the most critical determination with which natural-resource management departments have ever contended in Canada.

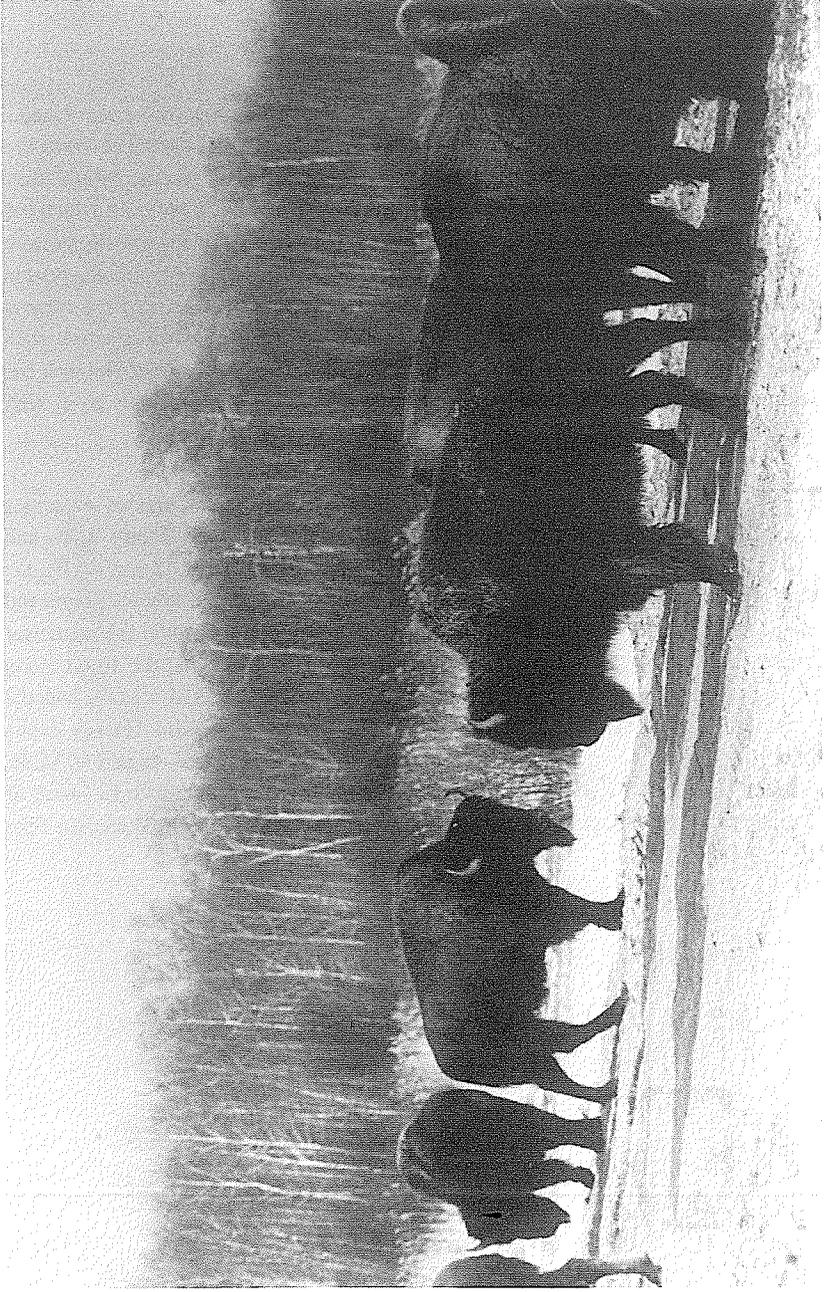
WILDLIFE RESOURCES AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL: CHIEF HARVEY NEPINAK

My community of Skownan consists of 630 people on 4500 acres [1820 hectares] of land, 2200 acres [890 hectares] of which is liveable, the rest being salt flats and marsh. Around the community is approximately 75 square miles [194 km²] where all the wildlife and fish, so important to us for generations, are situated. Dr. Rick Riewe described the methods of travel in the North – the people knowing their areas like their kitchens. It is the same with the Waterhen people until today. I guess we were never as concerned about losing these wildlife resources as we are today because of the proposed development that is taking place in our area as a result of Repap coming to Manitoba. We are beginning to sit down with our people, consultants, and governments in an attempt to keep these resources for future generations. Our kids were mentioned here, and in the next thirty years we want the resources to be here for them, because if we ever lose them, there is no way we can survive on the amount of land base that we have. The resource base is essential to our cultural survival. This is where I want to end this co-management presentation. It is very important to the Waterhen Band that it be understood exactly what we mean by co-management.

NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

Harvey Nepinak has been Chief of the Waterhen First Nation for most of the past decade. Throughout that time he has furthered the conservation philosophy of people of Waterhen First Nation and has developed programs for the restoration of moose, which have increased three-fold and the survival and restoration of wood bison, a program which has also achieved considerable success. Chief Nepinak has made significant contributions to co-management thought in Manitoba. Chief Nepinak has a strong personal conservation philosophy, which he learned from his father and grandfather, as he learned the cultural values of the society in which he grew up. These cultural values espouse such philosophies as: "The Earth is my Mother" and "I belong to the Land". Chief Nepinak has transformed these philosophies into contemporary terms and is advancing them with resolute advocacy through co-management initiatives with the Province.

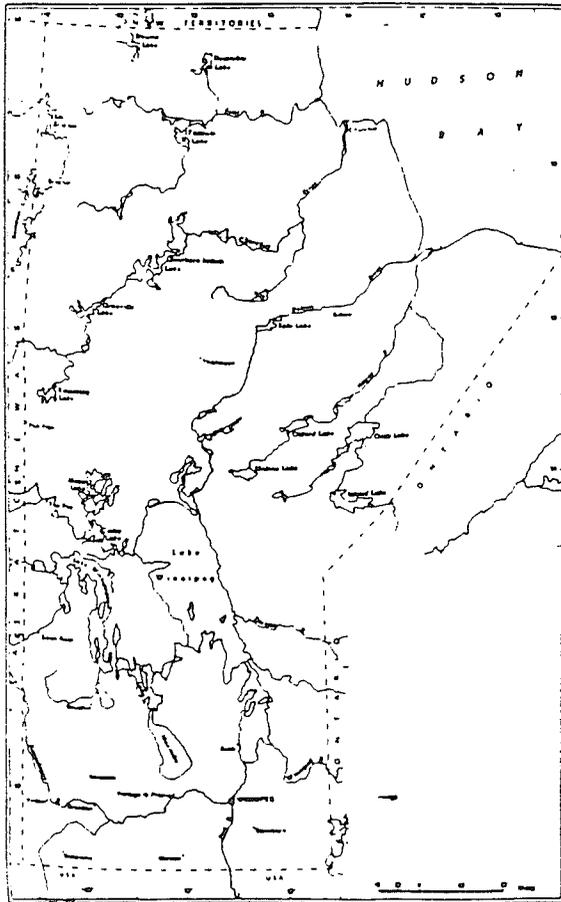
Harvey Payne worked for the Province of Manitoba for fifteen years in various capacities in the wildlife field. Throughout that time he studied Aboriginal and Treaty rights and developed wildlife programs that recognise the conventional wisdom of Aboriginal People regarding natural history and wildlife management. He contributed to the development and implementation of the Beverley and Kaminuriak Barrenground Caribou Management Agreement. Later with Chief Nepinak, he developed and implemented the wood bison restoration program at Waterhen. In recent years, he has studied and promoted the concept of co-management, jointly with Chief Nepinak of Waterhen First Nation. Harvey Payne graduated from the University of Manitoba with a B.Sc. (1973) in Zoology and an M.Sc. (1977) and Ph.D. (1987) in Geography. He has authored several publications, some of them jointly with Chief Nepinak. Dr. Payne is presently employed with Waterhen First Nation.

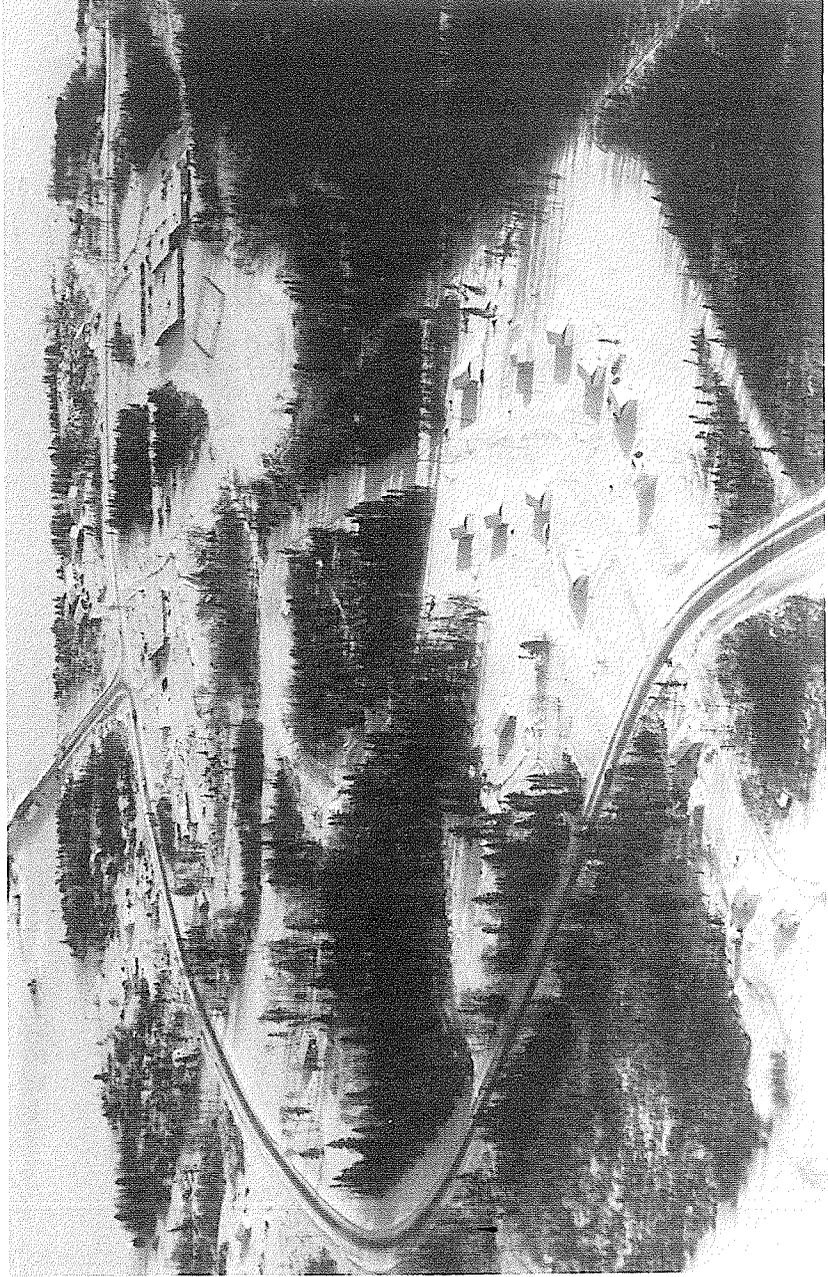


Wood bison at Waterhen, Manitoba

PART VIII

PEOPLE AND LAND IN NORTHERN MANITOBA – REASSESSMENT





Norway House, Manitoba

Workshop Report on 'Life Styles and Sustainable Development'

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INTRODUCTION: DIANE F. MALLEY

I propose we focus on 1) how societal attitudes and beliefs are changing and 2) how we shall change the way we live to reflect our new belief system. I'm making several assumptions. One is that the root of our environmental problems lies in the unsustainable nature of our industrial, western society. The second assumption is that major aspects of our society need to be and are changing.

[§]Biographical notes for D.F. Malley, M. Smith, and P.D. Watts appear at the end of this article.

I'll begin with an intense personal experience which I have had recently with "change". As Doris Young points out in this volume, experiencing a situation teaches us in ways impossible to achieve from reading about or imagining it. Some months ago I unexpectedly found myself in a major life crisis. I had not anticipated or prepared for it, but nevertheless I had to face and deal with it. Today we all face a major, unplanned and unanticipated life crisis – the global environmental crisis.

I learned two things from my experience. One was that to accept and explain this event in my life and maintain my ability to go on with my everyday life, I found that over a period of a few weeks I changed most of my basic beliefs about the meaning of human life and experience, the nature of the universe, and how I fit in. The second was that I discovered that I had inner resources of strength, creativity, acceptance, and ability to adjust that I had never been called upon before to use.

We are all in a collective personal crisis – a turning point, a time of decision and of change. The dominant world culture is not sustainable. We will drastically change the course of society or it will, if it has not already done so, bring us close to global ecological changes that will be increasingly hostile to human populations. My personal experience tells me that to cope with and reverse the environmental crisis, we in the western technological societies will have to change our beliefs about the nature of the world and about the relationships among human populations, societies, and the biosphere. On the positive side, I believe we have within us, collectively, vast reserves of creativity and enormous capacities to change and to adapt.

Major shifts in belief systems are not unusual. The process of human maturation involves continual change of beliefs. As infants we believe we are the centre of the universe. Next we believe that our family is the centre of the universe and so on. As we grow and mature we discard narrow beliefs that increasingly are in conflict with our experience for beliefs that are more comprehensive and less rigid. We become less important in the egocentric sense, but we see ourselves as part of a much larger fabric and, therefore, in a sense more important and significant. Part of us dies in order that new awareness and beliefs

can be born. It is a parallel process of societal maturation which we need to consider here. Because of the dominance of the European heritage, most of us in western society operate as though we believe the world is mechanistic, that it can be fully understood if only we determine the nature of the smallest particles of matter, that it is linear, and that progress is in one direction. The mechanistic perception of our world is based upon the work of great scientists such as Galileo, Newton, and Descartes. Their reductionist paradigm depends upon careful analytical dissection of individual parts of the system. Moreover, viewing the world as a machine, we feel sure we can improve upon nature and make use of all the wasted resources such as unused rivers running into the sea or overmature forests.

For the world to work, we insist, competition is essential. Darwin's theory of survival of the fittest was adopted as the flagship of the economic sector. As Fritof Capra (1982) says, "Competition has been seen as the driving force of the economy, the 'aggressive approach' has become the ideal of the business world, and this behaviour has been combined with the exploitation of the natural resources to create patterns of competitive consumption". There is still, today, the belief in unlimited material progress through economic and technological growth and innovation. Capra further states, "Our progress has been largely a rational and intellectual affair, and this one-sided evolution has now reached a highly alarming stage, a situation so paradoxical that it borders on insanity".

There is much discussion in many circles now of a paradigm shift – a profound change in the thoughts, perceptions, and values that form a particular vision of reality. Valleryne and Beeton (1988), in describing the ecosystem approach, call for a change from a view of environment in a political context to a view of politics in an ecosystems context. This implies that a more appropriate balance is needed between concern for nature and concern for human pursuits, and a recognition that ultimately durable human pursuits are grounded in a healthy biosphere. As Capra (1982) states, "In a healthy system – an individual, a society, or an ecosystem – there is a balance between integration and self-assertion. This balance consists of a dynamic interplay between the

two complementary tendencies, which make the whole system flexible and open to change".

Figure 1 provides a representation of the nature of Western society, a society that glorifies one of the poles of dualities inherent in life and undervalues or eclipses the other. The nature of the paradigm shift which is required is a move from the dominance of the values and beliefs within the ellipse to a balance between the poles within and outside of the ellipse.

If the mechanistic, competitive view of the world no longer works, and more and more of us see that we require radical changes, then what is preventing real change? No doubt the status quo still benefits many of the power holders in the world and real change is resisted. In spite of this, why aren't individuals in society changing their beliefs more rapidly? The reason, I propose, is that there are profound and pervasive forces operating on all of us to maintain the status quo. Three powerful forces are socialization, advertising, and propaganda. These are forces that deaden our attention, reduce our individualism and capacity for creative and original thought, and substitute pleasure for the joy in living which is our birthright.

Socialization is information that is provided to us about the nature of our society, our place in it, and the expectations society has of us, given our place in it. We begin to receive this information at a very early age when we are uncritical in our thinking. Socialization often deals with things that are not self-evident and probably not "true"; otherwise, there would be no need to spend so much effort in teaching us. One of the most profound aspects of socialization still affecting us has been the imposition of patriarchy. One of the important functions of patriarchy has been to skew individuals, regardless of gender, towards being "masculine" and therefore aggressive and assertive, or towards being "feminine" meaning "passive". Patriarchy then proceeds to eclipse women (Smith 1978). It thus maintains societal attitudes supportive of and consistent with an aggressive, linear, growth-oriented, competitive economic system and weakens opposing, cooperative tendencies. Advertising is communication in which the purpose is to make us buy a service or product. It narrows our attention to that product. Propaganda

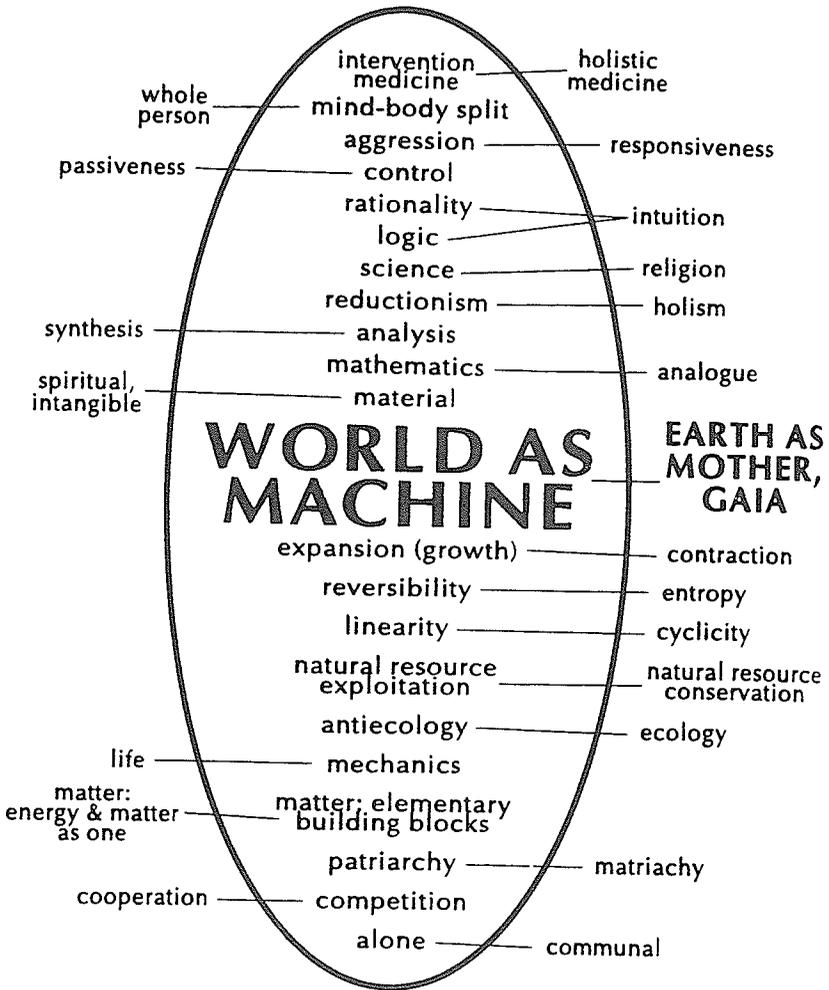


Figure 1. The properties inside the ellipse are characteristic of the dominant, western world view – world as machine. Excluded to greater or lesser extents from the dominant world view are the opposing tendencies, shown outside the ellipse.

is communication in which the purpose is to make us "buy" an idea or philosophy. These two activities operate in opposition to education which "opens minds to arguments for and against any particular conclusion, rather than closes them to the possibility of any conclusion but one" (Carey, unpublished MS). Enormous financial, material, and creative resources are spent in the development and application of socialization, advertising, and propaganda. If these activities were redirected, they would represent enormous potential for public education and dispersal of information.

There is only one counteractive force against socialization, propaganda, and advertising – that is, awareness. Awareness includes attention and critical evaluation on the part of individuals. It also means having the capacity to gain knowledge intuitively as well as through scientific analysis and logic. Awareness means knowing that humans and nature are interconnected within one system. Awareness means living fully with one foot firmly in the material world and the other in the world of the human spirit.

The following questions were posed to the participants to stimulate discussion:

- How are our attitudes and beliefs about the world changing?
How do they *need* to change?
- How do we *need* to change – and how *are* we changing – our life styles to reflect the new attitudes and beliefs of a sustainable society?

DISCUSSION BY PARTICIPANTS

Two central themes ran through the comments of the participants:

1. Is change necessary? Is change possible? Barriers to change include the momentum of the status quo, lack of awareness, use of propaganda.

2. Changes are needed in lifestyles and in society. These fall into several categories:
 - a. North/South balance; fairness; equity; meeting basic necessities;
 - b. individual vs corporate and government;
 - c. materialism vs "back to nature" and spiritualism;
 - d. education, public awareness, and the media.

NECESSITY AND POSSIBILITY OF CHANGE

"There's not a whole lot of documentation that shows we're running out of resources. It is the way we have exploited them that is causing the problems now, not the extraction itself. The talk this morning by the representative of Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting gave us one example of how to improve".

"You can't change the world overnight. The changes that need to occur in this society probably won't occur within the next 20-40 years, but within the next 50-100 years there will be a noticeable change".

"While we talk about change to a sustainable society, change is going the other way. When we talk about quality of life, we mean more services and better things. This morning in the talk by Brian Ransom, reference was made to upgrading power service to some of the remote areas from 15 to 60 amp service. The question came up, is 60 amps enough? People want more regardless of what they already have. It's going to be a long time before individuals' wants and aspirations are reduced to basic needs".

"Getting back to nature, for people who have experienced it, it's the ultimate. But for those in the concrete jungles, I can't see that swing in the near future".

"I don't see the selfish attitude in our lifestyle changing. I see certain things we do changing as a matter of convenience or because of a 'feel-good' attitude. Last year, I think there was \$2-3 million spent on saving two whales and at the same time 30,000 people were drowning in typhoons in Africa".

"We are definitely faced with resource depletion. If one-fifth of our trees are cut down in the next 10 years in Manitoba, it's going to take 30-40 years after that to start harvesting the ones we just planted today. We're running out of fresh water. When the Americans run out of water, they'll come and get ours. That's the reality of it. Resources are definitely being depleted".

"An excellent example of propaganda is seen in the presentation of hydroelectric power as the only energy option in Manitoba. This option assumes that you and I are going to continue to demand ever-increasing amounts of power that can only be met by building a new hydroelectric plant. This assumption is patently false. People can individually change their consumption habits, resulting in society as a whole changing. Demand side management or conservation are alternatives to building more plants. There is a whole sweep of options that are not being presented in the public debate on the development of more hydro power in Manitoba. A lot of the debates on this issue in Manitoba are very uninformed and the public gets little chance to challenge the status quo".

"I think one of the biggest things that took us away from a gentler, caring society was that one world religion caused us to follow a set of precepts based around a philosophy and a social setting in the Middle East arising two thousand years ago during Roman occupation. It became all right to manipulate the Earth in pursuit of happiness and development. It was okay to operate on that level because in the Bible that was what it said we were supposed to do. There is a big clash between the Nativistic spiritual beliefs which sprang from the Earth and observed the cycle of the Earth and the Christian beliefs which elevated man to the image of God".

"It could be that societies have their own life span and their own peaks and lows and that this materialistic-oriented society has run its course. Maybe the joke's on human beings. Maybe this is the way it's supposed to be. Maybe we are supposed to destroy our world and then move on".

SCOPE FOR CHANGE

Redressing North/South Imbalances, Fairness and Equity

"All we're asking for in the North is some basic fairness. For example, one of the things that's accepted in the South is a bathroom. At home it's not there. I've got running water all right, but I have to run for it. We've got clean water but that's fast deteriorating. So what southerners have and take for granted, is not necessarily what the northerners have".

"In terms of people and the land in northern Manitoba, I don't think we want to change our lifestyle. We shouldn't have to change our lifestyle in order to take an active part in development. The only reason why some of our lifestyles have to be changed is because when they bring in a major development, they bring in other stuff, dumping garbage down the river and polluting the air. So we have to change our lifestyle to live there. What we're asking for is enough money for three meals a day and a good place to sleep. To do that you have to circulate some of that resource money to northern people so that we can have a proper lifestyle".

"Ultimately, environmental issues and social-justice issues like the settlement of land claims are totally, inextricably bound. When the Native People in this province start to be treated fairly and justly, then I think we'll find that the environment will be fairly treated, too".

"As a society we are going to have to come to grips with equity. Should any group in society be entitled to a larger share of resources than any other group? For example, is it a God-given right that I drive an automobile, considering its environmental effects and the amount of resources that are tied up? In Manitoba, who gets hydro service and who doesn't? It's a very curious thing that those dams were built on the Nelson River years ago, but it wasn't until we were contemplating large sales to southern Ontario that reserves 50 miles [80 kms] away from the dam suddenly got power service".

"There's a danger inherent in the equity question. That is, that everyone's right to access to resources will be attained by complete

uniformity. We should give some thought to diversity, whether it be diversity of lifestyles, community size, ways of making a living and so on. What is a resource to one person is not necessarily of value to another person. For example, for some people the only thing they want from life is wilderness; for others, that's the last place they want to live. We have to maintain diversity along with equity".

Responsibilities of Individuals vs Corporations and Governments to Act

"Big business people are the ones that determine the direction of the government; it doesn't matter which party. They're the ones who determine the direction because they've got so much money. They control through force. And at the same time, they're bugging up our resources and the economy and even the environment. When we tell them to fix up the environment, they go to the government and say, you've got to give us some more money or you've got to give us a tax break. Nobody mentions the tax breaks they already get. Nobody mentions the long-term hydro agreement they have. Nobody mentions the royalties they receive that they're supposed to use to clean up their act in the first place".

"It's very difficult to get any government or agency to be accountable. But it's easy for them to accept \$120,000 salary after they get elected".

"We should be looking at how not to leave it up to big business or big government to take care of us. It's a personal attitude. That's where it starts. We should make the environment the issue, the number one concern, and develop a system to carry that forward to future generations. This is the kind of attitude that our politicians and big business have to start to think about because the public is starting to wake up".

"One of the things that disturbs me most is hearing Brian Ransom [Chairman of Manitoba Hydro] say that they're going to do more development. First of all, they didn't ask us whether we needed that power [from the Churchill-Nelson Diversion] or not. Now that we've got that power, they say we need more. They haven't proved we need more.

A third power line is going to Ontario. Now, who needs the power, Manitoba or Ontario? Is Ontario going to come and clean up the mess?"

"In the statement Dave Young made after Brian Ransom spoke, he said 'we'. Not all Manitobans had anything to do with it [the Churchill-Nelson Diversion], just a small minority. It's not fair for the general public to be sucked into something that is someone else's responsibility, especially when it's a mess".

"It seems to me that the Provincial Government is saying one thing by setting up images of sustainable development through the Round Table, through hosting the International Conference on Environment and Economy last year and setting up a structure within government for sustainable development. On the other hand, these are not changing anything yet and it's pretty well business as usual. Repap purchased Manfor without any public scrutiny. Unless the voters vote on the side of sustainable development, we're probably going to continue to have business as usual".

"I find it really annoying that 90% of the appointees are political, like in the Clean Environment Commission. Where are the biologists? Where are the people who make it their life study to know ecology? Why aren't they on these committees and decision-making bodies instead of people who have no environmental background?"

"I think the government responds to public demand. I don't recall being asked about the flooding of Southern Indian Lake, but at the same time it's up to us as individuals to make the government live up to promises and to criticize and analyze them. The simplest, most direct way is to go to the ballot box and then escalate to being part of a citizen's group".

"After becoming aware of the issue, my next step is to start putting pressure on my MLA or MP. I'm going to start talking to everyone I can and give them information. Everyone of us has certain talents, everyone has certain connections with other people, and this is how things spread. Once you become environmentally conscious, you become environmentally responsible".

"Why does everything have to grow exponentially? Why does there always have to be a 25% increase over and above profit margins? If a

company's not growing it is seen as not being responsible to its shareholders. These attitudes have to be challenged".

"Whether or not we can grow without increasing material consumption is, I guess, the question we're trying to answer now. Can we grow and change and make environmental concerns part of that growth?"

"The way I see this move toward environmental consciousness is that it has to start with one person, with the individual belief that one can do more with less".

"The problems look too big for individual action. When you look at a smelter like the one in Flin Flon, putting out 300,000 tonnes of sulphur dioxide a year, it seems monumental. It's great to recycle paper, but how do we approach the bigger problems?"

"If we talk about cleaning up the environment, the elected decision-makers haven't even begun to clean up the areas for which they are responsible [damage associated with flooding for hydroelectric projects]. I'm not going to clean it up. I haven't got the resources. If all Manitobans down here who consume electricity, all went back there [north] and cleaned it up, I suppose we could do it in a day".

"What can I do as an individual? There are so many things that obviously have to be looked at in order to start to cure some of the ills that we have. But the most basic thing is that you can't really do anything for anyone else. You can only do it for yourself. There are simple things, like the three environmental R's – reduce, reuse, and recycle. It's like an ant colony, all of these little ants running around doing their thing. All of them doing it together makes something happen. The first thing we can do is start being environmentally responsible in our own environments. Then we hope that these actions start to impress our children and our children's friends. People shouldn't get discouraged because the problems are too big".

Materialism vs "Back to Nature" and Spiritualism

"The kinds of things we need to start with are encouraging people to move into places where they are stripped of the material world as

much as possible and they exist for a period of time more by their own exercise, by the things they do for themselves. We need to experience more of the very basic things that keep us alive, and learn to reconnect to the appreciation that comes from those basic things".

"This question of getting back to nature is a real dilemma. The majority of people have opted for another life style. The question is what are the aspirations of the people who are not as well off as we are?"

"Although not everyone wants to get back to nature, everyone does need to connect to the reality that we live within nature and that we can't go beyond the functions of the planet. Each of us has to identify what our role within nature is and that may mean getting back to nature".

"The fact of the matter is that we still do need nature to sustain our lives. The air is nature; we need air. The same with the ozone layer, we will have a great increase in cancer".

"The whole concept of cities is destructive because in one sense they provide us with an unreal material world that tells us we're alive, that we have comfort, that we've done things for ourselves, but it's not true. Cities isolate us. I've never been so isolated from people in my whole life as when I was living in a city. You know less about your neighbours than you do about the people in another country".

"What has to happen is the modernization of very old, basic concepts – sharing, taking care of one another, putting other people first before yourself, respecting the old people, teaching the young by doing rather than by telling. We need to get back to a caring society".

"I think that rather than trying to create a balance we should be leaning toward the intuitive, spiritual side. In this way maybe over time, things will balance out".

"There are material limits to growth, but are there any spiritual limits? I think the whole spiritual area needs to be examined".

"Some indigenous people have a seven-generation concept of what's good for us. If it passes this criterion it will be good for several generations down the road".

"There's too much segregation between ethnic groups. We've got to start thinking about standing together as one country, because essentially we are".

Education, Public Awareness and the Media

"Our beliefs are changing because of all the information we're getting. Everything around us is being shaped by increasing communication".

"There will not be accountability as long as the general public accepts whatever it is fed. People have to start thinking and questioning what they're told. The media produces just enough to satisfy our curiosity; they don't give us the full facts".

"A lot of this is just a big public relations scam to keep everybody busy. Divide and conquer. Get people fighting amongst each other here and talking there and nothing will ever get done".

"One of the institutions that has to change is the school system. Our school system is based on training people to work in factories. We're no longer a factory-oriented people or society. The school system is used to control people by what is taught. We need to grapple with the school system in this country and change it away from the industrial society. We need to bring it back to the reality of people and deal with the problems. Then we will become one people".

"Earth Day was first celebrated 20 years ago by 2 million people. This year it was celebrated globally by 500 million people. Something is happening".

INTERPRETIVE CONCLUSIONS

The discussion among the workshop participants points out the needs for both southerners and northerners to undergo change in life style. But the direction of change is different for the two groups. As participants in western society, southerners need to change their beliefs in the dominance of man over nature, in unlimited economic growth, and in materialism and consumerism as measures of progress. On the

other hand, the change in life style required for many northerners is towards meeting their basic needs – material, social and spiritual – in our present times.

The future of many species on earth, including our own human species, may depend upon the ability of members of the Western society to change their belief systems about the world and to use their inner resources of creativity to avert global environmental crisis and move towards sustainable societies. Some members in our Western society have begun to question their basic beliefs and to look for alternatives. But other individuals and groups within society have not yet internalized the scope and significance of our environment and social crises because they do not perceive themselves as functionally within these crises. It may well require a large scale catastrophe in order for Western society to overcome inertia and build collective action.

There is a continual need to improve information dissemination that will assist individuals and groups in their formation of action plans. Because of their very different directions of change, the northerners and southerners must carry on exchange of information. Southern society must change its basic beliefs with regard to the value of the North and the role that northern people contribute to southern lifestyles. The people of the North can be a resource for urbanized, Western societies as they look for models of sustainable life styles. In turn, northerners look to the South for education, technology, information management, and financial resources. The willingness to listen and to learn from each other will provide the foundation for the solidarity that is needed to implement positive change for both northerners and southerners.

There is a role for more government leadership during this time of change. The role of economics within a high quality social and environmental framework must be reexamined. The sometimes conflicting perspectives of equity and diversity need to be addressed in planning. If we are to maintain diversity, limitations will have to be placed on the way industries develop and need to enhance their responsibility in funding institutional activities that will promote sustainable life styles.

Universities have a role to play as well. Increasing opportunity should be given to people to become educated across, as well as within, disciplines such as ecology, biology, chemistry, physics, metaphysics, sociology, anthropology, history, psychology, philosophy, and health sciences. In part, our global crisis is the result of the failure of institutions, industries, and decision-makers to think of the broad and long-term consequences of their actions. Universities need to develop multidisciplinary programs and to teach synthesis as well as analysis and specialization.

In a sense, southerners need to gain non-material resources from the northerners, such as alternate values and lifestyle models. Perhaps southern society should strive toward the Aboriginal perspective that a decision should look good for the next seven generations before it is adopted. Northerners need to make material and technological gains based upon input from the South. To a large extent the needs of both societies can be met by reduced exploitation of the North by the South, by sharing the profits made in the North by the southerners, and by returning ownership of northern resources to the northerners.

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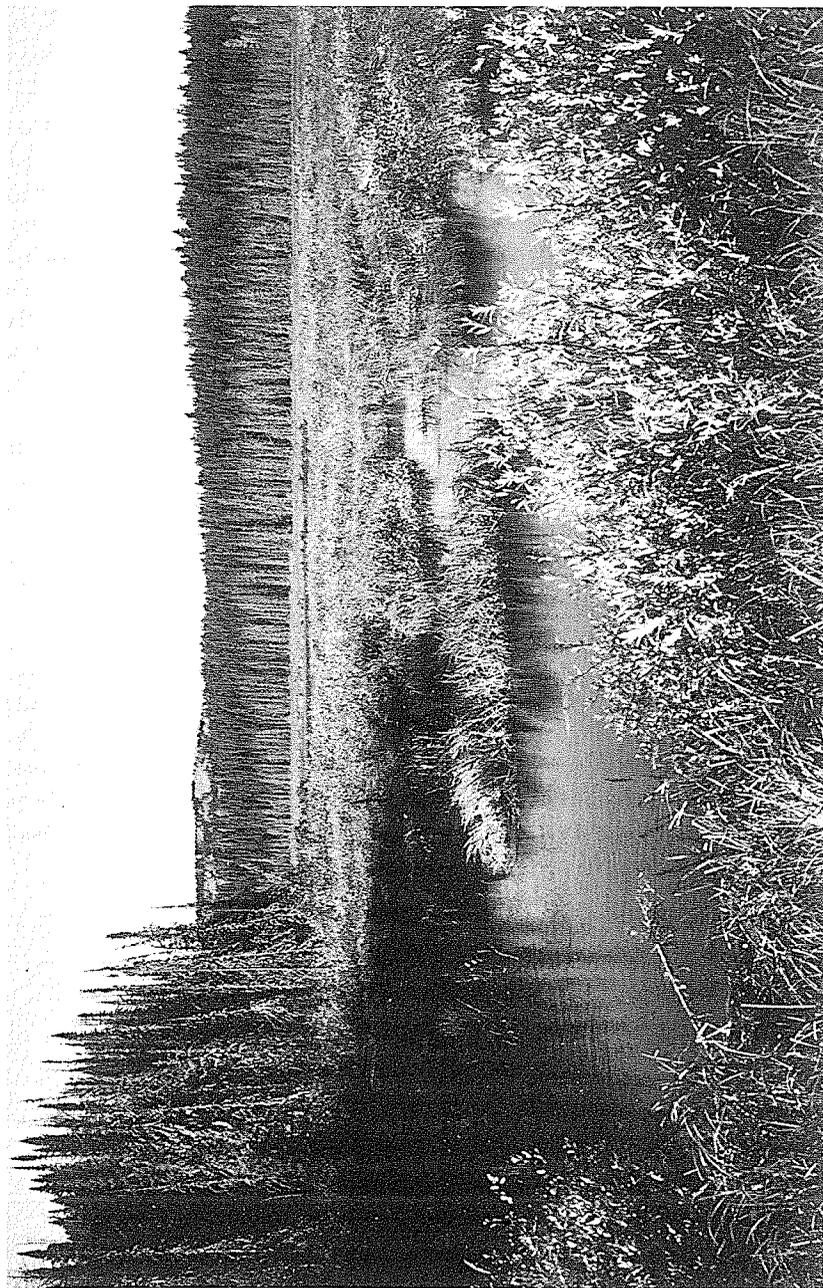
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NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

Diane F. Malley trained in Zoology at the University of British Columbia and the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. She spent several years in Malaysia working in the area of ecology in relation to economic development. Dr. Malley taught at the University of Victoria before joining the Freshwater Institute, Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Winnipeg, as a Research Scientist, then Manager of the Ecotoxicology Section. She is a former Chairperson of the Manitoba Environmental Council and a former Chair for Environment with the National Council of Women of Canada. She is a member of the Advisory Committee for the Natural Resources Management Technology course at Keewatin Community College, The Pas.

M. (Peggy) Smith received her B.Sc. Honours in Forestry from Lakehead University in 1991. She decided to change careers and further her education after working for fifteen years as a secretary. She is working as a Community Project Forester for KBM Forestry Consultants in Thunder Bay, Ontario, developing joint ventures in forestry projects with Aboriginal People. She is also working for the Forest Sector Secretariat of the Ontario Round Table on the Environment and Economy.

Paul Watts studied Zoophysiology at the University of Oslo, followed by Fish and Wildlife Management at the University of Guelph. Dr. Watts has worked in Churchill since the mid-1970s, recently returning there after teaching and administrating the development of the Centre for Northern Studies at Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario. He is the Scientific Director for the Institute of Arctic Ecophysiology in Churchill, a member of the Manitoba Environmental Council, and an Adjunct Professor at the University of Manitoba and Lakehead University.



Porcupine Mountain, Manitoba

People and Land in Northern Manitoba: Impressions from the Conference

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PREFACE

We were invited by the organizers to conclude the *Conference on People and Land in Northern Manitoba* with our impressions, and to chair an interactive session on future directions for development in the North. As non-residents of the province, although with various connections to it, the notion was that we would represent non-vested interests in the future of northern Manitoba. While in a sense we do represent that, we also share a general concern for the wise use of northern lands, and the implications of land-use choices for Aboriginal Peoples, the new northern residents, the environment, the economy, as well as the future of Canada as a leading industrialized nation in a global community. What follows is an edited version of our contribution to the conference and the interactive session.

[§]Biographical notes for J.K. Stager and M.E. Turpel appear at the end of this article.

INTRODUCTION

Issues of development, the environment, and Aboriginal rights are intimately related national-agenda items for Canada's political future. Key development projects in the past decade have been flashpoints of conflict and acrimony for Canadian society, which confronts the question of how to bolster economic growth in a post-industrial era, while not destroying natural resource wealth for future generations. Nowhere has this been as evident as in northern Canada. Northern Manitoba is a case in point. Major hydro-electric projects, mineral exploration and mining, and timber-cutting activities, among others, have focused the attention of prime decision-makers and interest groups in the province on the future of its North.

This conference, on "People and Land in Northern Manitoba", was a beginning, although perhaps a latecomer in terms of necessity, but nevertheless a beginning, in the direction of informed public discussion of the forces behind, and implications of, development and land issues in northern Manitoba. It was also comprehensive in that Aboriginal People were not only an item for discussion at an academic conference, which is so often the case, but were integrally involved in the organization and participation in the majority of the sessions.

The University of Manitoba both sponsored and organized the conference and did an excellent job of bringing together participants broadly representative of the variety of occupations and perspectives concerned with the future of the North, and issues surrounding its development. Those who participated were individuals who could speak with authority on the role of business, labour, government policy, non-government interest groups, academics, and Aboriginal communities. We believe that a conference like this has been a pacesetter for Canada, and we congratulate the organizers for arranging such an interesting and successful gathering. We also thank them for the invitation to participate by offering our impressions.

VISIONS OF THE NORTH

Many visions of the North were presented during the conference proceedings, and upon reviewing them, we were able to identify five which were represented in various guises in the presentations:

(1) *Industrial Vision*. This view is shared by industries and Crown corporations, who see opportunity in the North as a land of natural wealth and a frontier for economic expansion and development. The land consists of vast water, timber, and mineral resources which can be developed for economic gain, to provide employment, and to enhance Manitoba's economy within Canada and beyond. Industry's presence is in part conditioned by events and circumstances well outside the region, but large-scale investment in northern development is for industry a statement of commitment.

(2) *Vision of the Newcomer*. This vision is representative of people who came North to build new towns in support of one or more of the province's development projects. Newcomers are almost exclusively non-Aboriginal, are mostly wage earners, but also include the professionals and small-business owners. Their primary concerns are economic stability and security, orderly society, and the enhancement of the northern lifestyle that they chose.

(3) *Government Vision*. This view is held by prominent members of the Manitoba Government, beginning with the Premier and including many top officials who made presentations to the conference. It holds that Manitoba is a resource-dependent province, and the North is the key to the future. The developing North is to be managed in accordance with the views and for the benefit of the people of the province as a whole.

(4) *Metropolitan Vision*. This vision is evident among Manitoba's southerners and therefore is not always well informed by knowledge or experience in the North. It is sometimes based on a romantic view that the North is a majestic wilderness, but most recently includes a concern for the environment and ecology, and a desire that development be both environmentally friendly and sustainable. The metropolitan vision can also be a self-centred vision in which the North should serve all citizens of the province, the majority of whom are outside it.

(5) *First Nations Vision*. This concept belongs to those for whom the North is a homeland. This group consists of Indians, Métis, and Inuit peoples (sometimes called Aboriginal Peoples) whose home has always been the North and whose relationship with the land is the essence of their cultural, social and economic existence. This vision was expressed most eloquently by Phil Fontaine, the Provincial Leader of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, in his statement that: "To Aboriginal People, the North is not a romantic infatuation, it is not a place to be developed ... It is not a place where one goes to make money. To us, it is the land of our forefathers, our land, and – we hope – our children's land ... [It must] sustain us now ... and for generations to come". The First Nations vision is not well comprehended by outsiders and has not received much attention in the process of making policy for the North.

These various northern visions represent sometimes-conflicting and at other times compatible perspectives on how developments in the North should be approached. The articulation of differing visions under the rubric of one conference enlivened the proceedings and made it possible to see the complexity of questions raised by development, and the need for an ongoing framework for their discussion. Moreover, vision, expansion, and communication amongst different individuals and groups who have expressed them, are required for some kind of resolution of conflicts that surfaced during the proceedings.

The underlying theme of the conference in our view was how these competing visions of the North are played out in the decision-making process concerning land use in northern Manitoba. The past has shown one or two groups, usually representing government or business interests, dominating the directions for northern development. Michael Anderson's presentation on land-use conflicts in the North, involving the use of overlay transparencies to indicate overlapping land-use patterns among Aboriginal, mining, forestry, and hydro-electric land-users, was central for us in focusing upon the issues at this conference: the need for mapping or definition in some other concrete form, and the need for an articulation of different perspectives on the use of land. Too often it is those who undertake projects who have completed the "maps", frequently without consideration of impacts upon existing land uses such

as Aboriginal hunting, trapping, and fishing activities, or wilderness values. This conference presented an opportunity to begin mapping the conflicting land-uses, and exposing the need for fair resolution as a matter of public policy.

TOWARD A RESOLUTION

The conference was helpful in bringing into focus a variety of issues which must be addressed in order to bring harmony into the competing visions of the North. The first that cried out for attention was identification. We need to identify different approaches to the land, and the optional land-use patterns and requirements. The process necessarily includes acknowledging the problems left by previous developments (hydro-electric project flooding is an example), as well as informing ourselves about the distress of Aboriginal People who have been displaced or dispossessed of a homeland they once knew. Reparations for these past failures need to be made.

The second and more difficult issue coming out of the conference was resolution. How do we develop a process or framework for resolving conflicts arising from competing visions, and how do we handle future claims? There are two aspects to this issue. First, we must set out a philosophical and cultural framework within which competing claims and perspectives can be considered. One such framework is frequently cloaked in the now-fashionable concept of sustainable development, which was thrown into the conference proceedings at several points. It was defined in a number of ways, as the papers in this collection reveal. Its workability depends upon definition and the extent to which groups involved in northern development espouse it. The question is whether the concept of sustainable development can be successfully employed to resolve conflicts about land use. Is it sufficient to address, for example, the legitimate concerns of Aboriginal Peoples? In this particular conference, it was ambiguous to us just what we are trying to sustain. What are the limits on development, and who decides what those limits will be? What about notions of ethno-development?

Are they compatible with, or a consideration within, sustainable development?

A second aspect of this issue is the problem of method or process. In particular, it is essential to develop a way to accommodate conflicting visions of the land and its usage. How do we develop such a method? Where different values conflict, like public and private, or Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, and whose value will be dominant? What process can work, and start now? One example of a method introduced to the conference was co-management, regimes that involve the Provincial Government and Aboriginal groups in joint enterprise. Can this method be extended to other spheres of activity? Perhaps with some revisions it could, and it needs to be explored. One thing is certain – the approach of the past, in which decisions for the North were made primarily by industrial interests or bureaucrats in the South, is no longer an acceptable model. Those most profoundly affected by policy toward the North, namely the people who live there, must have and insist upon a meaningful role in making decisions that affect their livelihood and culture. The presentations at this conference already indicate an awareness of the new approach and its value to the developer.

DISCUSSION

During our summation of the conference proceedings we received numerous interesting questions, comments, and suggestions from participants. They are presented here in summary form and represent observations from the floor at the end of the conference.

Several individuals argued quite persuasively that there can be no fair resolution to the problems discussed without constitutional reform for Aboriginal Peoples. They argued that there needs to be a clear definition of Aboriginal rights, along with substantial progress on land claims and issues of self-government, before any additional development in the North can be undertaken. This is a clear requirement for any reasoned policy or mechanism for dealing with land conflicts in northern Manitoba.

A number of participants focused on the role of the University of Manitoba in bringing about change. It was suggested that the University has an obligation to educate the Provincial Government about life in the North. Another person suggested that the Provincial Government establish a university in the North, controlled by First Nations, Métis and Inuit who inhabit it.

There were also helpful comments about the actual organization of the conference. One participant pointed out that few Aboriginal women were invited to the conference as speakers. She observed that in Aboriginal culture, women are the educators and bear the primary responsibility for the environment. She also noted that women are traditionally the ones who bring about change within their community and should therefore be integral to discussions regarding future development. There was a forceful suggestion that a future conference be organized and convened in the North, especially given the large number of northern participants who travelled long distances to Winnipeg. Some noted the irony in a conference about development in the North being held in the South. They felt that holding a future conference in the North would add an important dimension to the discussions.

There were several comments about past behaviour of corporations in the North. One individual pointed out that even when the government has passed regulations to protect the land and its people, some corporations disregard the law, apparently with impunity. Another person argued that there should be no future development until the harmful effects of past development (e.g., flooding) have been ameliorated.

CONCLUSION

The Conference on People and Land in Northern Manitoba was an important first step in addressing issues of northern development in the province. We hope that there will be successor conferences held in the North, and that the interests represented at this conference will continue, and in some cases begin to contribute to new ways of problem definition

and resolution strategy in a constructive and cooperative manner. A forum for ongoing discussion is clearly needed in Manitoba. Framework negotiations on such a forum need to be started now so that decisions about the future of the North can be informed decisions. They cannot be decisions made exclusively in corporate boardrooms, or in cabinet meetings, or without the expertise and advice of scientists, Aboriginal People or interest groups. It will be in everyone's interest to discover this new way that is public, participatory, and a model for others.

NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

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