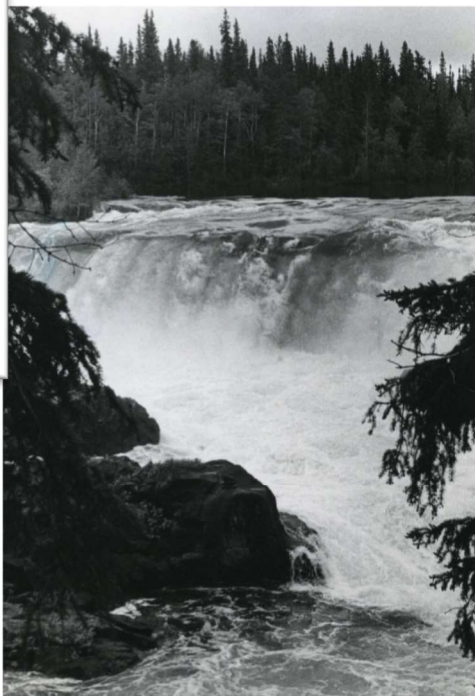


Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba

A History of the Development of the Churchill, Burntwood and Nelson Rivers, 1960–2015



This report is submitted by Know History Inc. to the Manitoba Clean Environment Commission, 305-155 Carlton St., Winnipeg, MB, R3C 3H8, Canada.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	5
PART 1: DEVELOPMENT.....	6
NORTHERN MANITOBA	7
Geography	7
People and History	8
The Need for Hydroelectricity	9
Northern Development	10
Amalgamation of Hydro Companies	12
Mining and Hydroelectricity	13
PLANNING FOR NELSON RIVER DEVELOPMENT	14
Nelson River Programming Board	15
The High-Level Diversion	18
Opposition to the Licence.....	22
A Change of Government	23
The Province Denies the Licence.....	24
New Management, New Diversion	25
Long Spruce and Limestone Generating Stations, 1972–1978.....	26
Lake Winnipeg Regulation or Churchill River Diversion?	26
LAKE WINNIPEG REGULATION	27
CHURCHILL RIVER DIVERSION.....	28
1972–1973: The Licence is Granted and Construction Begins.....	29
Opposition to the Project	31
THE NORTHERN FLOOD COMMITTEE	32
THE TRITSCHLER COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, 1977–1979	35
PART 2: IMPACTS, PROGRAMS AND COMPENSATION	37
IMPACTS AND AGREEMENTS: THE NORTHERN FLOOD AGREEMENT	38
Implementation of the Northern Flood Agreement	41
Supplemental Agreements with NFA Communities	43
IMPACTS AND AGREEMENTS: NON-NFA COMMUNITIES	45
MANITOBA HYDRO PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS ENVIRONMENTAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS	52
CONCLUSION	55
ENDNOTES	56
BIBLIOGRAPHY	74



Northern Manitoba Hydroelectric Facilities

Legend

- Population centre
- First Nations Reserves
- Waterbodies
- Region of interest
- Transmission lines
- ◆ Control structure
- Converter station
- Distribution station
- ▲ Diversion
- Generating station
- Transformer station



Author: Stacey Devlin, GIS Specialist, Know History Inc. Date revised: 2016/11/10. Projection: WGS 84 / Pseudo Mercator (EPSG:3857). Contains information licensed under the Open Government License - Canada and information derived from: Manitoba Hydro. "Regional Cumulative Effects Assessment for Hydroelectric Developments on the Churchill, Burntwood and Nelson River Systems: Phase II Report." Manitoba Hydro, 2015.

INTRODUCTION

When hydroelectric power was introduced to North Americans in the late 19th century, it marked the beginning of a rapid increase in the demand for electricity by industries and the public. By 1910, hydroelectric sites across Canada were harnessing the power of rushing water to spin turbines and rotate generators to create electricity. Between 1920 and 1950, more than 90% of the country's total generating capacity came from hydroelectric stations.¹ In Manitoba, hydroelectric development took off in the late 1950s. The province's distinctive system of lakes and rivers² had long played an integral role in its growth; these routes were used by Indigenous peoples, European explorers, fur traders and settlers alike for travel and sustenance. Water took on a new significance, however, when the provincial government began to explore the hydroelectric potential of the Churchill, Burntwood and Nelson River systems.

The Churchill River flows through Manitoba, dropping in elevation just below Southern Indian Lake by more than 240 metres, and then flows out to Hudson Bay.³ In the early 1960s, the province realized that by diverting the mighty Churchill, via the Rat and Burntwood Rivers, into the Nelson River, and using the increased flow for generating stations along the Lower Nelson, the hydroelectric power generated would fulfill much of Southern Manitoba's electricity needs. In 1966, Manitoba and the federal government entered an agreement to construct a series of massive projects that included the Churchill River Diversion, Lake Winnipeg Regulation and generating stations along the Lower Nelson River.

What neither the provincial nor federal governments understood at the time was the impact that these projects would have on the surrounding environment and the people who called northern Manitoba home. Communities across the north felt the effects of hydroelectric development—everything from erosion along once-pristine shorelines and damage to traplines and fisheries, to the flooding of vast tracts of land that forced part of a community to be relocated and forever changed their way of life.

This report examines the recorded historic policy decisions behind the licensing and implementation of hydroelectric works on the Churchill, Burntwood and Nelson River systems, and the actions and programs that ensued to address the impacts on the surrounding communities and landscapes. Part 1 explores the history of hydroelectric development in Manitoba, planning for hydroelectric generation, the politics and debates surrounding the projects and the objections of Manitoba's citizens. Part 2 discusses the environmental, economic and social impacts of hydroelectric development on communities in the region, as well as the compensation, mitigation and programs that were adopted to ameliorate some of the damage.

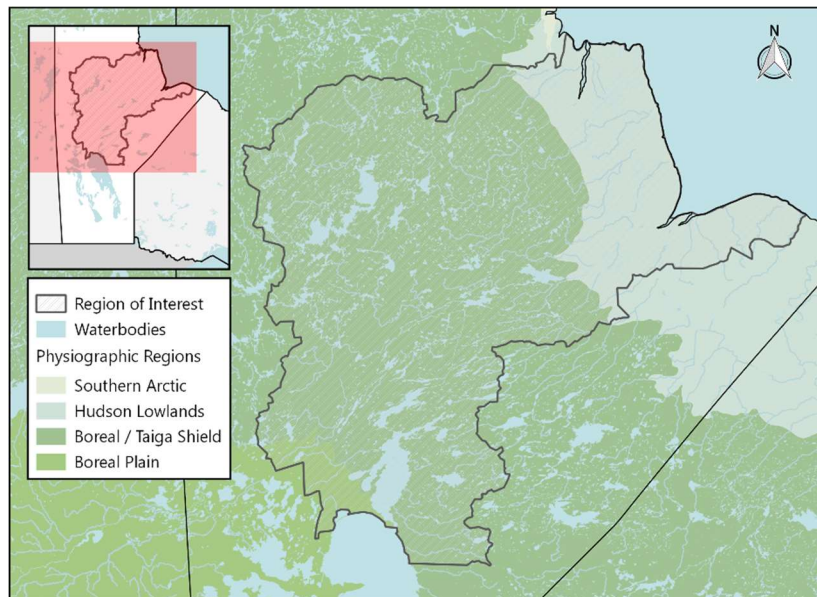
PART 1: DEVELOPMENT

NORTHERN MANITOBA

GEOGRAPHY

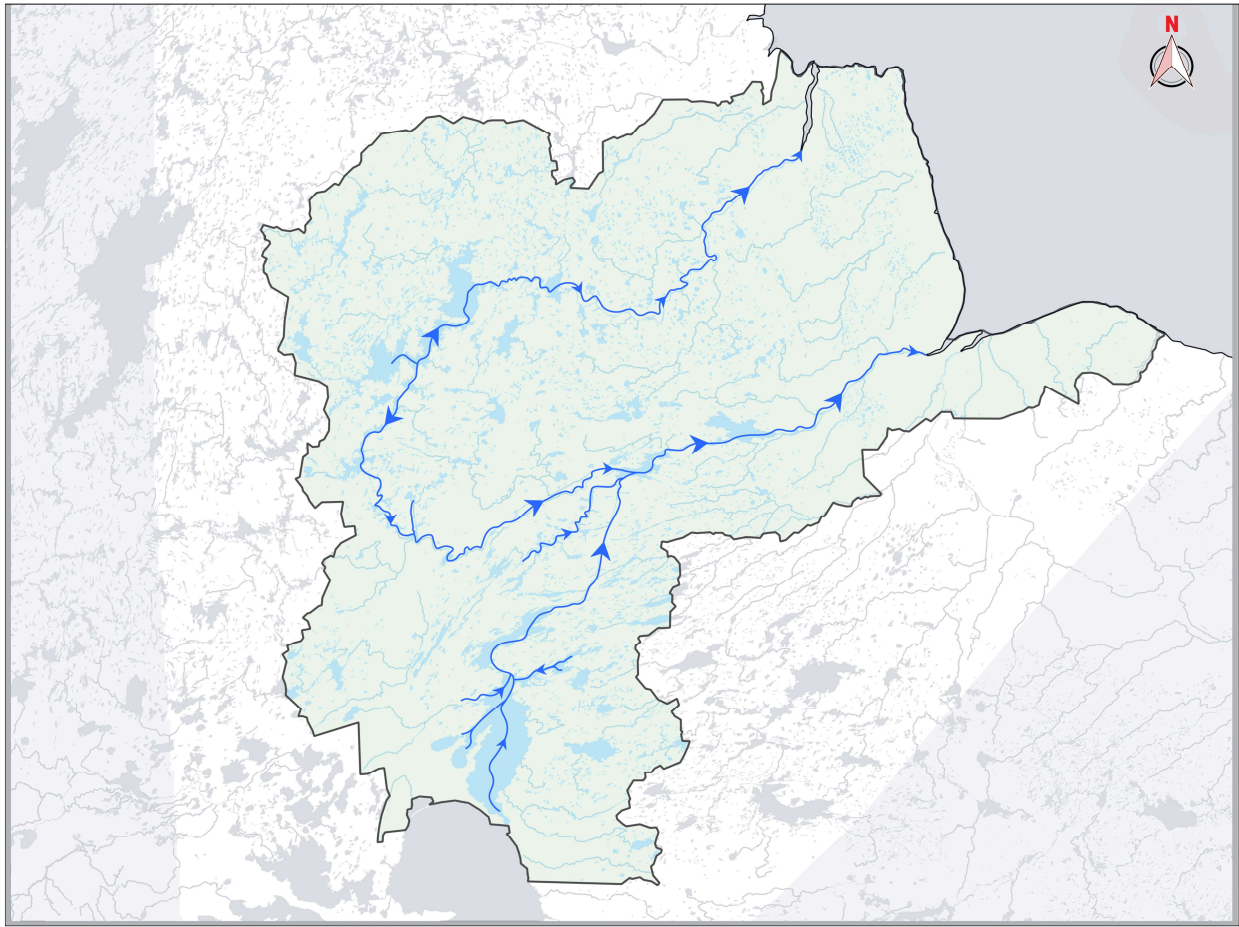
Northern Manitoba comprises approximately two-thirds of the province's total area. It is made up of two major physiographic regions, the Precambrian Upland and the Hudson Bay Lowlands (Map 1). The former is composed of granite and other crystalline rock that was scoured by glaciers during the Ice Age, leaving thin soil inhospitable to agriculture, but mineral deposits perfect for mining and lakes and rivers ideal for fishing and conducive to hydroelectric development. The Hudson Bay Lowlands sit on flat sedimentary rock, experience cold temperatures in winter and are sparsely inhabited.⁴

Northern Manitoba is primarily boreal forest (white and black spruce, jack pine, larch, aspen and birch trees) almost to the shores of Hudson Bay, where stunted spruce, willow and tundra mosses and lichens grow. The area's spruce, fir and pine have been harvested and processed for many years for lumber and pulp and paper products.⁵



Map 1: Hudson Bay Lowlands and Canadian Shield in Northern Manitoba.

Running across Manitoba is the Churchill River, which begins in Alberta and meanders for 1,600 kilometres before emptying into Hudson Bay at the town of Churchill. The 283,350-square-kilometre Churchill River drainage basin lies to the north of the Nelson and Saskatchewan River basins, and connects with the Athabasca River drainage basin on the north and west. The river's water flows east across Saskatchewan; in its lower reaches through Manitoba, it runs northeast, roughly parallel to the Nelson River (Map 2).⁶ The Nelson River flows a distance of almost 650 kilometres from the northern end of Lake Winnipeg to its outlet on Hudson Bay near York Factory.⁷ From the Churchill River, Southern Indian Lake empties into the Rat River, which flows east and south through Wapisi and Threepoint Lakes to the Burntwood River, which in turn flows generally east and northeast through a series of lakes to Split Lake, where it joins the Nelson River.⁸ The Burntwood River passes over the Thompson Nickel Belt, one of the richest nickel deposits in the world.⁹ This entire waterway served as an important artery for inland transportation during the fur trade.



Map 2: River and waterflow of the Churchill, Nelson and Burntwood Rivers.

PEOPLE AND HISTORY

The study area has been inhabited by Indigenous peoples since the beginning of time. Cree people lived on a vast territory stretching from the plains in the southern part of the province to the Hudson Bay Lowlands, generally timing their movements to follow the seasonal cycle of the area's natural resources, while Chipewyan Dene people inhabited the far north.¹⁰ In the late 1600s, European fur traders arrived, and the posts they built on the shores of Hudson Bay and at lakes along the Nelson and Burntwood Rivers became busy hubs in a business that dominated western development for nearly 200 years.¹¹

Beginning in the early 19th century, the First Nations way of life was challenged by illnesses brought over by Europeans, a decline in traditional food resources and a growing dependence on fur trade posts for employment and sustenance. Indigenous people once accustomed to travelling between seasonal camps for traditional resources were forced to settle permanently near forts, earning wages as wood cutters, longshoremen or paddlemen.¹²

In 1870, the Dominion of Canada created the small province of Manitoba, which was not much larger than the Red River Valley, leaving the remainder of present-day Manitoba as the Northwest Territories, which was administered by the government of Canada.¹³

Within five years, the Indigenous people living just north of and adjacent to Lake Winnipeg and along the Lower Saskatchewan River, including the people of Norway House and Cross Lake, surrendered their title

to the land in a series of numbered treaties, for which they were offered reserve land to be administered under Canada's *Indian Act*.¹⁴ This opened the area to railway development, which in turn extended the boundaries of Manitoba's farming, commercial fishing and lumber opportunities.¹⁵ Between 1876 and 1881, thousands of people settled just north of the small province and so, in 1881, its boundaries were extended yet again to give Manitoba legislative authority over the settlers.¹⁶ Between 1908 and 1910, Indigenous communities north of Lake Winnipeg, including Nelson House, Split Lake, Churchill and York Factory, along with the Métis residents of these communities, signed adhesions to Treaty 5 that gave the government even more access to northern lands and resources.¹⁷ Rail lines were built to give central- and southern-Manitoba farmers the opportunity to sell their livestock, produce and animal feed to railway construction camps, and northern fishing and lumber towns.¹⁸ Gypsum, limestone, gravel and sand quarries also provided settlers who lived on land unsuitable for farming with wage labour.¹⁹

THE NEED FOR HYDROELECTRICITY

Manitoba's population quadrupled between 1891 and 1921, from 150,000 to 610,000 people.²⁰ This enormous growth, combined with an increase in industry in Winnipeg, the province's largest city, accelerated the need for electrical energy in Manitoba. Until the turn of the century, the province primarily imported coal from the United States, which was used to heat water to create steam, or thermal power, for industries and trains. Hydroelectric generation, however, promised a cheaper way to produce energy, using fast-flowing water to turn turbines that would make electrical generators spin fast enough to produce power. Hydroelectric-generating stations were more expensive to build than thermal stations, though, so early projects were built where demand was highest and fast-moving, large volumes of water were easily accessible.²¹ Manitoba's first hydroelectric-generating station was built on the Minnedosa River just outside of Brandon in 1900.²²

In the 1890s, new technology allowed for greater loads of electricity to be transmitted over longer distances.²³ This ultimately made the process of getting electricity to people more complex, as the infrastructure required to supply communities with power for things like street lamps and streetcars was expensive and needed to be carefully planned. Local governments granted private companies licences to build the necessary infrastructure to generate and transmit electrical power. These companies charged prices for construction that were lower than their usual fees in exchange for the right to have exclusive contracts to supply electricity for an entire community's lighting and transportation needs.²⁴ This situation, however, soon led to the creation of corporate monopolies that charged their customers high rates for power. In Winnipeg, for example, the Winnipeg Electric Street Railway Company (WESR) won a 35-year franchise in 1892 to build and operate the city's electrically powered streetcars. The company also bought the Manitoba Electric & Gas Light Company in 1898, which gave it control over the construction, operation and distribution of electric light, power, gas and transit services in Winnipeg.²⁵ In 1904, WESR amalgamated with the Winnipeg General Power Company to complete the construction of a hydroelectric station about 100 kilometres northeast of Winnipeg, on the Winnipeg River. The new company, called the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company (WERC), completed construction on the Pinawa Hydroelectric Generating Station in 1906. Pinawa was the first station of its kind to be built on the Winnipeg River, and the first to operate year-round; it remained in operation until 1951.²⁶

In 1906, Winnipeg created the City of Winnipeg Hydro Electric System, or City Hydro, which gave the City greater control over the expansion and distribution of residential electricity. Blocking WERC's monopoly on hydroelectricity, City Hydro paved the way for lower power rates for private citizens, as WERC was forced to cut its rates by 10 cents per kilowatt hour.²⁷ City Hydro built the Pointe du Bois Generating Station on the Winnipeg River in 1911, and then reduced electricity rates once again to less than 3 cents per kilowatt hour.²⁸



Crew at Pinawa Generating Station, 1907. (Source: <https://www.ieee.ca/history/milestones/photos/pinawa/1907Crew.jpg>)

NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

In 1912, the territories north of Manitoba, which were part of the Northwest Territories at the time, were transferred from the federal government to the province, giving it jurisdiction over much of the Churchill and Nelson River water basins.²⁹ Studies undertaken in the region between 1913 and 1916 showed the potential for mineral and resource development, and confirmed that the Churchill and Nelson Rivers held the promise of significant hydroelectric power generation. Neither the demand nor the technology were available at that time, however, to warrant large-scale hydroelectric development of these northern rivers. Until they could be developed, City Hydro and Winnipeg Electric Company (formerly WERC) continued to utilize the power of the Winnipeg River, constructing five more hydroelectric stations between 1920 and 1955.³⁰

The extension of Manitoba's boundaries northwards captured the imagination of many politicians, businesses and prospectors, who envisioned a "boundless northern resource frontier to complement the agricultural economy of the south."³¹ Construction of the Hudson Bay Railway (HBR) started at The Pas, with the intent to run all the way to Port Nelson, where a related harbour project to facilitate the export of grain kept both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people employed between 1913 and 1915. The railway pushed

commercial trappers further north.³² In 1919, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) re-established a post at South Indian Lake to take advantage of the increased number of trappers moving into the area.³³ The following year, the HBC aggressively targeted independent traders by offering high prices for furs, essentially pushing any independent trappers (many of whom were of Indigenous descent) out of business. Although many of the trappers turned to fishing, northern lakes were not large enough to support the demand, and fish prices dropped dramatically during the decade.³⁴ Rail lines also brought gold, diamond and copper prospectors into the region, to places like Herb Lake and Snow Lake.³⁵

In 1926, construction of the HBR was taken over by Canadian National Rail, with one important change: The line from The Pas would now go to Churchill, as Port Nelson was deemed to be unsuitable. The line was completed in 1929,³⁶ further extending access into northern Manitoba. The HBC established a permanent post at Southern Indian Lake to accommodate new business generated by the line,³⁷ and thriving "Bayline" communities sprang up along the route, including Gillam, Ilford, and Churchill.³⁸ Other communities that were off the HBR line did not fare as well. York Factory, once a busy HBC post, was replaced by Churchill as a main port and storage headquarters. In 1957, the York Factory post was closed and the Indigenous people who lived there were relocated by the federal government to York Landing.³⁹



Hudson Bay Railway surveyors at the Kettle Rapids crossing of the Nelson River, just downstream of the present site of the Kettle Dam, 1913. (Source: University of Winnipeg Archives, WCPI 12583, Major L.J. Charles Collection)

In 1930, Manitoba "finally won beneficial control of its remaining natural resources" from the Dominion, and the Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources (MNR) was established. The province's victory was short-lived, however: The Great Depression in the 1930s had a profound impact on Manitoba's economy as the demand for fish, fur, timber and farm goods dropped.⁴⁰ As well, after decades of little to no regulation or protection, northern resources were dangerously depleted.⁴¹ A growing population of hunters and fishers, along with large lumber companies and mining concerns, had wreaked havoc on the province's once-promising timber, fish and fur industries. When Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting, for example, began operations in Flin Flon in 1928, the company's director told the Department of the Interior that he was not concerned that the tailings they were dumping into Flin Flon Lake would pollute the connected waterways, because the fish in these lakes, "although a valuable asset, [are] of small value as compared with the mine."⁴² In 1940, the MNR decided to intervene, developing a Registered Trapline (RTL) system that "placed defined geographic boundaries on the hunting, trapping and fishing areas of individual harvesters."⁴³

In a further effort to regulate unrestrained northern growth, the provincial legislature passed *The Local Government Districts Act* (LGD Act) in 1944.⁴⁴ The LGD Act was primarily concerned with community organization and planning in northern Manitoba. It granted wide powers to the province's Lieutenant-Governor to incorporate unorganized communities into LGDs, which would have similar rights to incorporated municipalities but with more restraints on their financial powers. The Lieutenant-Governor could also authorize surveys "with a view to determining the best methods of economically developing any part of the territory and the best utilization of lands or other natural resources of the territory."⁴⁵



"Progress and uncertainty go hand in hand in this photograph of Churchill's Hudson Square illuminated for the first time in the town's history by electric street lights," August 5, 1960. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, *Winnipeg Tribune* fonds (PC 18/1607/18-1607-004))

AMALGAMATION OF HYDRO COMPANIES

In 1945, the Manitoba Power Commission (MPC, created in 1919 to provide services to communities and businesses outside of Winnipeg) launched an initiative to bring labour-saving electrical technology to farms in southern rural Manitoba. The MPC installed transmission poles and lines, and individual farmers took on the job of wiring homes and barns. By the time the program ended nine years later, nearly 75% of the province's farms had joined the electrical grid.⁴⁶

This expansion of electrical power into rural Manitoba, along with a proliferation of household electrical appliances and a steady increase in agricultural and manufacturing production, forestry and construction, contributed to an exponential rise in the post-war demand for power in the province.⁴⁷ To determine how to meet current and predicted needs, Manitoba established the Manitoba Water Power Commission (MWPC) in the late 1940s. The MWPC released a report in 1948 that recommended the province assert greater control over electrical energy development by consolidating generation, transmission and delivery of services under a single, provincially owned monopoly. The report also argued that the more uniform electrical services were across the province, and the more reasonable the power rates, the more the province could attract new industry and foreign investment.⁴⁸ Further, a provincially owned monopoly would be able to use public funds in the coming years to construct the larger and more complex projects that would be needed to meet future power demands.⁴⁹

Fearing that a monopoly would lead to higher rates, Premier Douglas Campbell opted to leave the City of Winnipeg in charge of its own operations while the province took over power generation, transmission and distribution throughout the rest of Manitoba. The result was the creation of The Manitoba Hydro-Electric Board (the Board) in 1949, under the direction of the MNR.⁵⁰ In 1952, the Board purchased the generation and distribution assets of the privately owned Winnipeg Electric Company (WEC, formerly WERC), and in 1953, the two corporations amalgamated, with WEC now under the control of the Board.⁵¹ In 1955, City Hydro sold its suburban distribution properties to MPC, making MPC the sole distributor of power to

suburban Winnipeg and the rest of the province and allowing City Hydro to be the sole electricity distributor in Winnipeg.⁵² In 1961, *The Manitoba Hydro Act* amalgamated the Board and MPC to form Manitoba Hydro. City Hydro still supplied power to Winnipeg, while Manitoba Hydro supplied it to the rest of the province.⁵³

MINING AND HYDROELECTRICITY

The Manitoba Water Power Commission's 1948 report also noted that the province should expect mining power loads to "increase substantially if new ore-bodies are discovered and developed within reasonable transmission distance" of waterways that could provide hydroelectricity.⁵⁴ Indeed, Sherritt Gordon Mines Limited and Inco Limited (Inco) had begun exploring nickel bodies in the Lynn Lake and Moak Lake areas as early as 1941.⁵⁵ Mineral prices were high in the post-war period because the United States was stockpiling the metal for strategic defence projects.⁵⁶ Over the next seven years, Inco would identify 20



"Cat train moves supplies for the new town" (Thompson), 1957. (Source: Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 1987/363-T-41 Thompson, Manitoba)

potential sites for development in the area and, in December 1956, the company signed an agreement with the MNR to mine an ore body at Cook Lake.⁵⁷ Inco's decision to set up mining operations in northern Manitoba was motivated in part by the province's willingness to subsidize construction of a hydroelectric generating station on the Nelson River.⁵⁸ The ready availability of cheap power, combined with the remote location of the mineral deposits, encouraged the company to build a fully integrated facility designed to accommodate all stages of nickel production, including mining, refining and smelting.

The agreement between Inco and the province also included the establishment of a town site for 8,000 people and all the related infrastructure the new community of Thompson would require (including roads, sewers and water, electric power, parks, schools and a hospital).⁵⁹ The province drew upon the LGD Act to create the Mystery Lake Government District, an approximately 1,500-square-kilometre-tract of land that would encompass both the community of Thompson and Inco's industrial plant. The Mystery Lake Government District ensured against unwanted or unsolicited development around Inco, and enabled the local administration to impose tax levies on Inco's operations.⁶⁰

Thompson was planned by the province's Planning Service and the engineering firm of Underwood McLellan and Associates.⁶¹ Construction began in the spring of 1958, and by that autumn, people were already living at the town site.⁶² The Manitoba Hydro-Electric Board built the Kelsey Generating Station approximately 85 kilometres northeast of Thompson, on the Upper Nelson River close to where it enters Split Lake.⁶³ The station went into service in 1960.

PLANNING FOR NELSON RIVER DEVELOPMENT

Although the Kelsey Generating Station was only a local station, it was an important first step in the development of the Nelson River system. Geological surveys of the Nelson River in 1913, 1914 and 1916 had already identified it as a practical source of power generation, but it had not yet been developed due to lack of demand for power, and lack of technology to enable power to be transmitted over long distances. By the 1960s, however, Manitoba's economy was strong in manufacturing, construction and resource industries. The province's population had increased by 26% since 1941.⁶⁴ The demand predicted in the Water Power Commission's 1948 report was slowly being realized, and now the technology was available to transmit electricity over long distances. As well, the Nelson River's potential was significant enough to provide "a very large amount of power" for sale to other provinces or the United States.⁶⁵ From a government perspective, the Nelson River was an ideal location for hydroelectric development (see "A National Energy Policy" on page 16).⁶⁶



"Manitoba Hydro, Kelsey, 1961." (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg Tribune fonds, PC 18 (A81-12))

In its natural state, the Nelson River's water volume tends to be highest during the spring and early summer due to melting snow and spring rain, and lowest during the winter, when its tributaries freeze. This fluctuation runs contrary to consumer demand, which is higher during the cold, dark winter, and lower during the long, hot summer. Electricity, however, cannot be stored after it has been generated—but water can. Manitoba Hydro needed to create a reservoir in which to store excess water, and from which to release that water when it was required. The province and Manitoba Hydro therefore began planning to increase and stabilize the flow of water down the Nelson River. The corporation identified two storage options: It could restrict and regulate the outflow of water from Lake Winnipeg, turning the lake into a massive reservoir; or it could divert water from the Churchill River and regulate its flow down the Rat and Burntwood Rivers into the Nelson River.

Government researchers began exploring how the water levels of Lake Winnipeg could be controlled to prevent property and crop damage that could result from high water levels and recreational inconvenience that could result from low levels. The government also considered the suitability of Lakes Winnipeg and

Manitoba for hydroelectric development.⁶⁷ In 1958, a study of the issues found that regulation of Lake Winnipeg would only be cost-effective if it was undertaken as part of a broader plan to generate power from the Nelson River.⁶⁸

A National Energy Policy

Prime Minister John Diefenbaker began talking about a national power grid in the late 1950s, believing it would strengthen Canadian industry if energy-rich provinces shared their power, and that this would also reduce the tax burden on individual provinces. In March 1962, Diefenbaker introduced his national power grid plans to the provincial premiers, who were divided in their support. Some raised concerns about federal intervention into provincial resource management, while others were in favour of increasing the supply of electrical energy and reducing the cost of generation, but still worried about jurisdictions. Manitoba Premier Duff Roblin, however, was an advocate of Diefenbaker's plan; in fact, The Manitoba Hydro-Electric Board had completed interprovincial transmission lines from the Seven Sisters Generating Station in southeastern Manitoba to Kenora in northwestern Ontario in 1956, and from Brandon in southwestern Manitoba to Estevan in southeastern Saskatchewan in 1960. These lines allowed the three provinces to exchange surplus energy and better meet the demands of their respective customers. In 1963, Diefenbaker's Conservatives lost the federal election to the Liberal Party, which advocated for a more continental approach to the sale of power; nonetheless, developing the power of the Nelson River would make any type of export or exchange even simpler.

Sources: Karl Froschauer, *White Gold: Hydroelectric Power in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 31-39; Manitoba Hydro, *A History of Electric Power in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro, 2010), 26 and 29.

NELSON RIVER PROGRAMMING BOARD

Between 1955 and the beginning of 1963, the Water Control and Conservation Branch of the provincial Department of Agriculture and Conservation conducted numerous power investigations on the Nelson River and Lake Winnipeg, including topographic and hydraulic surveys and water-diversion options from the Churchill River into the Burntwood and Rat River systems.⁶⁹ It was not until January 1963, however, that Manitoba Hydro itself commissioned the engineering firm G.E. Crippen & Associates to explore the lower Nelson's hydroelectric potential, from Split Lake to Hudson Bay.⁷⁰ One month later, the federal and provincial governments entered into an agreement to share the costs of this investigation. The agreement created the Nelson River Programming Board, which comprised both federal and provincial members.⁷¹

Crippen released its report in March 1964. It stated that the Nelson River, if regulated by Lake Winnipeg, could handle at least six generating stations. It recommended that the first station be built at Kettle Rapids, followed by stations at Limestone and Long Spruce. It also noted that if the water from the Churchill River could be diverted at Southern Indian Lake into the Nelson River system, water supply to the six proposed stations could be increased by 30%.⁷² Further, if the Kettle Generating Station, the Lake Winnipeg Regulation (LWR), and Churchill River Diversion (CRD) were built at the same time, the project could be finished in just under four years.⁷³ The report was tabled in Parliament and in the Manitoba Legislature. On May 27, 1964, the federal-provincial cost-sharing agreement was renewed and the Nelson River Programming Board was given \$3 million and more time to study the hydroelectric potential of the river system.⁷⁴

In August, the engineering firm of Gibb, Underwood & McLellan was commissioned to determine the feasibility of diverting water from the Churchill River to the Burntwood River, and the estimated cost. Its report, released more than a year later in October 1965, confirmed that the CRD would not only increase the output from power stations located along the lower Nelson River, but would also reduce the cost of power per kilowatt hour.⁷⁵

In December 1965, the Nelson River Programming Board released a follow-up to the Crippen and the Gibb, Underwood & McLellan reports, stating that a “decision by Manitoba on its next source of new generating capacity is an urgent requirement.”⁷⁶ The Board’s interim report noted that if Manitoba wanted to make power from the Nelson River available by 1970, construction must start in early 1966.⁷⁷ It outlined a proposal for hydroelectric development, which included construction of:

- ◆ a generating station at Kettle Rapids on the lower Nelson River;
- ◆ a dam at the outlet of Southern Indian Lake, and other works, to divert water from the Churchill River to the Nelson via the Rat and Burntwood Rivers, and create a storage reservoir on Southern Indian Lake;
- ◆ a control dam, spillway and pumping station at the outlet of Lake Winnipeg to “lift water” from the lake into the Nelson River; and
- ◆ a high-voltage transmission system that would carry power to southern Manitoba.⁷⁸

The report also pointed out that the development would “make available a large source of low cost energy in a region of mineral deposits and forest resources,” and allow for the export of power outside of Manitoba’s borders.⁷⁹

Following meetings in early February 1966 to discuss the Board’s proposal,⁸⁰ Manitoba and Canada accepted the \$305 million project, and signed an agreement on February 15 to cooperate in the development of the Nelson River’s hydro-electric potential.⁸¹ D.M. (Donald) Stephens, Chair of Manitoba Hydro, presented the proposal to the Standing Committee on Public Utilities and Natural Resources of the Manitoba Legislature on March 8, 1966.⁸²

The 1966 agreement enabled Manitoba to acquire all lands not owned by the Crown that were, “in the opinion of Canada and Manitoba, necessary for or necessarily incidental to the construction and operation” of facilities.⁸³ This coincided with the provincial government’s introduction of *The Commissioner of Northern Manitoba Affairs Act* (NMAA), designed to oversee the planning, organization, and administration of northern communities.⁸⁴ The NMAA created the position of Commissioner of Northern Affairs, who was not only responsible for building and maintaining basic municipal services for small, non-reserve communities that were not governed by *The Municipal Act*, but also had the power to acquire property in the pursuance of his duties.⁸⁵

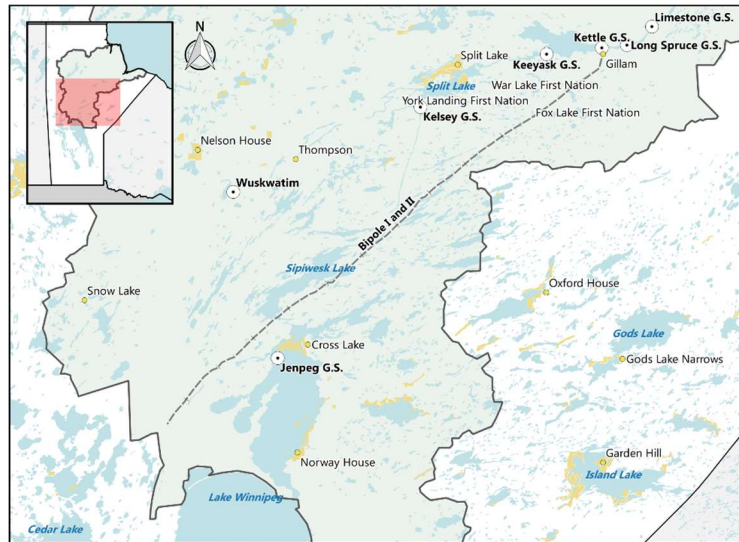
The NMAA was put to use almost immediately: Before the end of the year, contracts for the construction of Kettle Generating Station were signed and work had commenced. Six kilometres away from the Kettle site, the community of Gillam was suddenly inundated by Manitoba Hydro operations and administrative staff and construction workers. Up until that point, Gillam had remained relatively small, with a population of about 300 people comprising primarily Cree families.⁸⁶ Construction on the Kettle Generating Station quickly transformed Gillam into a modern town site, with Manitoba Hydro as “the primary landlord and economic contributor.” The town’s demographics changed with the increased number of young families from the south that moved north to work for Manitoba Hydro.⁸⁷ The corporation paid for portable classrooms, school equipment and housing, and contributed to the cost of a permanent school structure and a hospital.⁸⁸ Manitoba Hydro also built a new airstrip, a road to the site and work camps to provide housing for over 1,000 migrant workers during the busiest construction periods.⁸⁹



“Manitoba Hydro Trip to Gillam,” August 1968. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Nan Shipley fonds (Mss 21, Pc 21 (A.79-14, A.05-82))

Kettle Generating Station began operating in December 1970. This resulted in a 30-metre rise in upstream water levels from the station back to Gull Rapids, which tripled the size of Moose Nose Lake, turning it into a reservoir that was renamed Stephens Lake.⁹⁰ Water was diverted from the Butnau River into the Kettle River, which increased flows between Cache Lake and Butnau River.⁹¹ Kettle Generating Station became fully operational in November of 1974 and cost \$240 million to build—almost double the amount originally estimated.⁹²

A major component of the Nelson River project was the transmitting of power from the generating stations to ratepayers. The Radisson Converter Station was built two kilometres south of Kettle Generating Station to convert alternating current (AC) electricity produced at Kettle into direct current (DC) electricity, which was then carried via transmission lines to southern Manitoba (Map 3).⁹³ Construction on these transmission lines, known as Bipole I and Bipole II, was managed by Atomic Energy Canada, with financing from the federal government.⁹⁴ Atomic Energy Canada constructed more than 4,000 transmission towers across over 900 kilometres of land from the Lower Nelson River to southern Manitoba. Bipole I and Bipole II were completed in June 1972 and October 1978, respectively.⁹⁵



Map 3: Bipoles I and II from Radisson and Henday Converter Stations to Dorsey Converter Station.

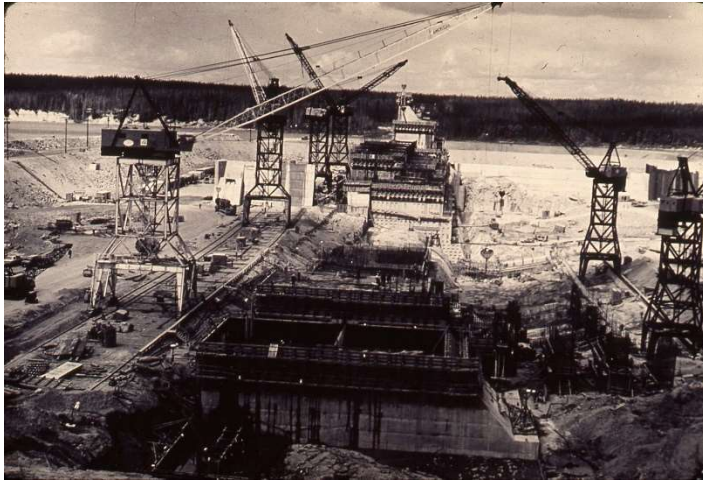
THE HIGH-LEVEL DIVERSION

As construction on Kettle Generating Station commenced, both Manitoba Hydro and the province commissioned investigations into the CRD at Southern Indian Lake that was proposed by the Nelson River Programming Board. The diversion was to include a 30-metre control structure at Missi Falls, at the north end of the lake where it drains into the lower Churchill River. This dam would raise the lake by more than 10 metres, essentially turning Southern Indian Lake into a giant reservoir. Water would then be diverted to the headwaters of the Rat River, where a 25-metre control dam at the Notigi Rapids would regulate and redirect the flow from Southern Indian Lake down the Rat River, into the Burntwood River, and then into the Nelson River at Split Lake. The storage reservoir at Southern Indian Lake could then be regulated in accordance with consumer demand.⁹⁶

The problem with this proposed “high-level” diversion, as it came to be known, was that the shores of the lake would be flooded, causing significant damage to forestry, wildlife, fishing, mining and recreation. As well, a community called South Indian Lake on the shores of Southern Indian Lake, which comprised about 500 primarily Indigenous people, would have to be relocated.⁹⁷

With these potential outcomes in mind, the MNR hired Professor H.E. Duckworth, vice-president of the University of Manitoba, to study the Southern Indian Lake area and the proposed diversion route. Duckworth’s group, comprising geologists, engineers, anthropologists, social workers and zoologists from the university, released a draft report in January 1967. After considering the effects of flooding, they recommended that Manitoba Hydro try to achieve the required diversion without raising the water levels of Southern Indian Lake.⁹⁸ The report described the community of South Indian Lake as an autonomous community whose members made a living from fishing and trapping, which flooding would largely destroy. Relocation, the report stated, “would be unjust to the present inhabitants and unworthy of the Province, although it might be in keeping with much past treatment of the Indians.”⁹⁹

Premier Duff Roblin forwarded the report to Stephens and asked for a meeting to discuss the diversion. He noted that if South Indian Lake was as self-sufficient as Duckworth believed, any compensation for relocating the community would have to be quite high.¹⁰⁰ Stephens, however, objected to the report, calling it subjective, and chastised Duckworth for his group's failure to rigorously evaluate quantifiable and non-quantifiable data.¹⁰¹ Manitoba Hydro looked instead to numerous hydraulic and generation computer simulations that were conducted throughout 1966 and 1967 to assess Southern Indian Lake storage



"Construction of the Kettle Generating Station on the Nelson River," 1968-01-01. (Source: University of Winnipeg Archives: WCPI 43472)

requirements. These simulations demonstrated that a higher storage level on Southern Indian Lake, created by increasing the capacity of the channel to be constructed between South Bay on Southern Indian Lake and Issett Lake on the Rat River, would be "much more economical than early Lake Winnipeg Regulation."¹⁰²

By early 1967, news and rumours about Manitoba Hydro's high-level diversion plans were causing considerable confusion and anxiety among the people of South Indian Lake.¹⁰³ The community elected a five-person Relocation Committee, responsible

for keeping the rest of the residents informed of Manitoba Hydro's plans.¹⁰⁴ Even at this stage, their understanding was that compensation would likely never "meet the standard requirement that those affected come out whole."¹⁰⁵ In a letter to Stephens in February 1967, Baldur Kristjanson, the Deputy Minister of the Manitoba Development Authority, wrote that compensation should be "in excess of" that paid to non-Indigenous people, and that the province and Manitoba Hydro should determine the exact amount to be paid *before* expropriating the community's property. He also noted that people of Indigenous descent could be assimilated in the same way people of other ethnicities were assimilated when they immigrated to Canada around the turn of the century: "through work on construction projects, work in the service industries, etc."¹⁰⁶ Stephens replied that while some of the "more adventuresome" community members might participate in training courses, "evidence" showed that Indigenous people lacked the necessary "entrepreneurial instincts and skills." Furthermore, he wrote, the term "come out whole" required careful consideration: just because a community worked very hard to produce a "precarious income" from a soon-to-be-compromised "skinny resource base" (e.g., fishing), did not mean they were entitled to the same level of income (i.e., compensation) for not doing any work at all.¹⁰⁷ A few months later, Stephens declared that Manitoba Hydro would be willing to allocate a minimum of one million dollars "toward the costs of 'unsettling' the community" if the high-level diversion was authorized.¹⁰⁸ In October of 1967, to alleviate some of the stress the people of South Indian Lake were feeling "because of those effects which seem inevitable," Manitoba Hydro gave South Indian Lake \$100,000. Part of this money was left with the Commissioner of Northern Affairs to be distributed as necessary by the Nelson Agency.¹⁰⁹

Kristjanson's views on helping the Indigenous people at South Indian Lake to assimilate into Canadian society were echoed in a May 1967 report commissioned by the Manitoba Development Authority. The firm of van Ginkel Associates was retained to conduct an "exhaustive examination of the settlement and the problems at South Indian Lake," and concluded that flooding the settlement would do "nothing more than move forward in time the breakup of this community and way of life." Community members should receive training, the report stated, both for future employment and to help them adjust to new social patterns that would result from relocation, thereby giving them the chance to make a "substantial contribution" to Manitoba's growth.¹¹⁰

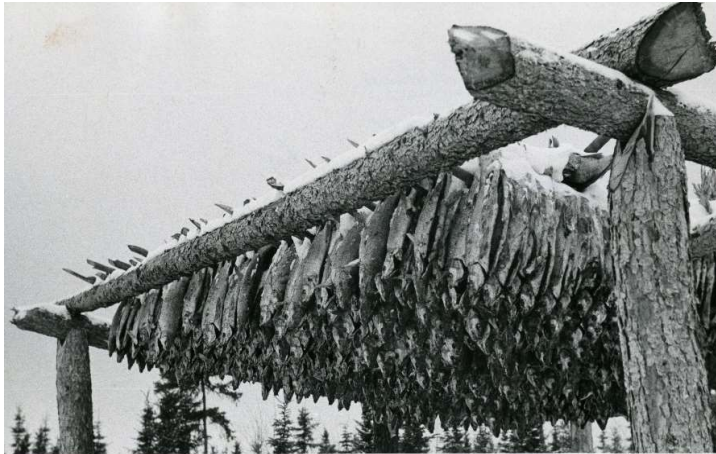
In June 1967, Manitoba Hydro engaged Underwood McLellan & Associates to obtain engineering design information that would enable the corporation to make a final decision on the most economic level of elevation for Southern Indian Lake. When the report was released in January 1968, Manitoba Hydro felt confident that detailed engineering could commence on the project, and that a licence could officially be applied for.¹¹¹ The province was not finished looking into LWR, however, and asked the Manitoba Water Commission



"Manitoba Power Missi Falls on Churchill River (dam for South Indian Lake)," 1969-01-25. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg Tribune fonds, PC 18 (A81-12))

in March 1968 to look into "the most acceptable and practicable range of regulation within which the levels of Lake Winnipeg might be controlled."¹¹² The Commission's report was released one month later, and warned that a high-level diversion at Southern Indian Lake would cause both environmental and social damage. However, it also reiterated that the high-level diversion "would increase the dependable flow on the lower Nelson River to such an extent that additional Lake Winnipeg storage would hardly be needed any more," as it would certainly yield "practically all of the potential storage benefits" needed by the province.¹¹³ By now, Manitoba Hydro did not need much more convincing. Even before the Water Commission's report was released, Manitoba Hydro's General Manager W.D. Fallis stated unequivocally that the corporation would not "in any event require Lake Winnipeg regulation for power purposes prior to 1978."¹¹⁴ Manitoba Hydro decided to defer further studies on the best method of regulating Lake Winnipeg.¹¹⁵

Neither Fallis's nor Manitoba Hydro's determination to proceed were communicated very effectively to the people of South Indian Lake, however, much to the consternation of George S. Bowman. Bowman was in charge of the Nelson Agency, an arm of the Manitoba Development Authority that was established in 1966. The van Ginkel report was given in confidence to the counsels of the affected communities, but neither it nor the Underwood McLellan report were made public; later, the Minister of Mines and Natural Resources insisted this was because the reports were "hastily done" and therefore "necessarily not in depth."¹¹⁶ Bowman was the consulting engineer to the Authority and the Premier on matters of economic development relating to hydroelectric projects on the Nelson River, and coordinator for the government with regard to anticipated relocation problems.¹¹⁷ Bowman wrote to Stephens on February 22, 1968, to say



Northern Manitoba – 1954. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, *Winnipeg Tribune* fonds – Fishing 1942-1957 (PC 18/3039/18-2330-053))

that "as a matter of common courtesy the people of South Indian Lake should be told of Hydro's plans for the area at least as soon as any announcement was made to the rest of the province."¹¹⁸ At the beginning of April, Bowman visited South Indian Lake with Stewart McLean, the province's Minister of Public Utilities, and heard that community members were anxious for more information about Manitoba Hydro's progress toward obtaining a licence for the diversion.¹¹⁹ Bowman scheduled meetings in South Indian Lake for April 22. Manitoba Hydro's Assistant General Manager, Kris Kristjanson,¹²⁰ heard community members

say that if the lake was raised by 35 feet (10 metres), it would decimate commercial fishing in the area: "all the whitefish is caught in between 10 and 30 feet of water whereas if we put another 30 feet of water on that it spoils all the fishing, spoils the spawning grounds." Others noted that nothing would hurt the people of South Indian Lake more than moving them from where they were born and raised.¹²¹ Kristjanson's main point, in reply, was that the community would be "making a sacrifice for the rest of the people of Manitoba." He told them that Manitoba Hydro expected to apply for the licence within the week.¹²²

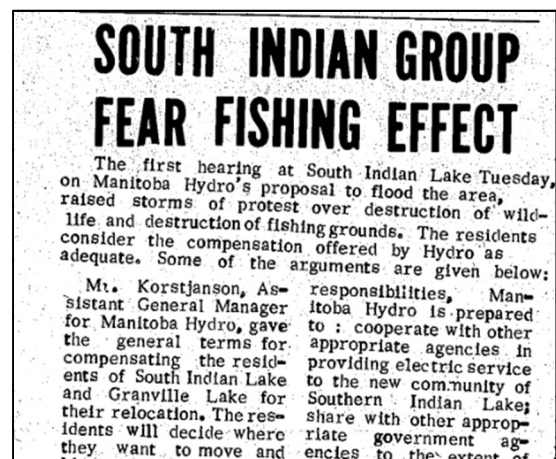
True to his word, Manitoba Hydro delivered its application to the Water Control Branch (WCB) on April 25, 1968.¹²³ On April 28, Tom Weber, the WCB's Director, attended a second meeting in South Indian Lake. He told the 45 community members present that it was now the Branch's job to decide, after more research and public hearings, whether the project would benefit "the total development of the province of Manitoba."¹²⁴

OPPOSITION TO THE LICENCE

With the threat of the high-level diversion looming larger, in the summer of 1968 the people of South Indian Lake retained legal counsel, paid for by the Nelson Agency, to represent their interests. The Relocation Committee travelled with the lawyers to Winnipeg in October to present their views to members of Cabinet. They made it clear that if the WCB could not prove there was a suitable technical and economical alternative to Manitoba Hydro's plans that would not force the relocation of South Indian Lake, then the community wanted to discuss compensation as soon as possible.¹²⁵ Residents expressed their concerns through their lawyers at a public hearing in South Indian Lake on January 7, 1969, at which MNR and Manitoba Hydro were represented.¹²⁶ South Indian Lake's counsel, Harold Buchwald, questioned Manitoba Hydro intensely, noting that the community believed "that fishing will be effectively destroyed as a commercial basis of earning a livelihood at least for a generation and maybe for ever [sic] directly as a result of the flooding."¹²⁷ At the meeting, a Manitoba Hydro engineer confessed that the corporation had not officially studied the impact of flooding on wildlife, trapping or commercial fishing in the area. He went on to say that one reason Manitoba Hydro was pursuing the high-level diversion was because the alternative would "increase the flooding which occurs at the South end of Lake Winnipeg [and] the people of Manitoba would want us to keep the lake level from flooding."¹²⁸ Despite the concerns expressed at the public hearing, the Minister of Natural Resources formally announced on January 20, 1969, that the government was going to issue Manitoba Hydro an interim licence to proceed with the high-level diversion.¹²⁹

At this point, newspapers began to pick up the story of South Indian Lake.¹³⁰ When two more public hearings were subsequently held in Winnipeg on January 27 and 29, so many people turned up to them that the room reserved by the Department was too small to allow everyone to participate.¹³¹ Briefs were presented by academics, churches, the Manitoba Wildlife Federation, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, the Natural History Society and many others on the effect that flooding would have on everything from the natural landscape, to the people who lived in the area, to the lake's commercial fishing industry. Representatives from Churchill, who worried how a decrease in the flow of the Churchill River might affect their community, complained that they were not even advised about the hearing.¹³² People from Thompson expressed concern about what an increase in water to the Burntwood River would do to their drinking water.¹³³ Others noted that a report released by the MNR in November had not yet been made public, making it difficult for citizens to inform themselves on the issues at hand.¹³⁴ Gordon Beard of Thompson stated: "Manitoba Hydro have taken years to arrive at their decision. They have spent money on studies which allows them to bargain from strength. Surely they do not really expect the people to come to a decision with anything less?"¹³⁵

Even after the public hearings in Winnipeg, people continued to write to their members of the Legislative Assembly to express their concern and learn more about the flooding of Southern Indian Lake and the CRD project. Manitoba Hydro's chairman, W.D. Fallis, drafted a letter that members of government could use to reply to their constituents. In it, he pointed out that public concern and controversy had accompanied each



Excerpt from *The Thompson Citizen*, Thursday, January 9, 1969.

of the hydro projects built in Manitoba since 1906, but now, "I believe we see that they have taken on an increased and improved socio-economic viability with each year that has passed."¹³⁶

The provincial Progressive Conservative government tabled the high-level diversion plan in the Legislature in February 1969. The people of South Indian Lake immediately instructed their lawyers to seek an injunction that would stop construction of the project.¹³⁷ This prompted the government to introduce Bill 15 into the Legislature. Designed to supersede *The Water Power Act*, Bill 15 gave the province authority to grant a licence to Manitoba Hydro without mandatory public hearings or a review by the Manitoba Water Commission.¹³⁸ Not surprisingly, this move subjected Premier Walter Weir and his Cabinet to much criticism from the opposition NDP and Liberals. Minister of Mines and Natural Resources Harry J. Enns defended the project, however, reiterating once again that it would provide more power for southern Manitoba, and bring mining and commercial ventures to the northern part of the province. He derided the usefulness of public hearings, believing that they simply gave critics the opportunity to underscore the government's lack of research into the long-term environmental impacts.¹³⁹ This gave the opposition the proof it needed to accuse the government of lacking transparency, which was only exacerbated when the two aforementioned "secret" reports were leaked to the press, confirming that the development would result in heavy losses to the local economy.¹⁴⁰ In May 1969, the Standing Committee on Public Utilities received further submissions detailing the mounting concerns of citizens, scientists, activists, and advocates.¹⁴¹ All of the controversy stopped Bill 15 from getting a second reading in the Legislature.¹⁴² Finally, on May 22, 1969, Premier Weir abruptly dissolved the House and called for a general election.¹⁴³

A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT

While northern hydroelectric development was not necessarily *the* major issue at stake in the 1969 Manitoba election, it was a significant factor in the downfall of Weir's government. Both opposition parties promised that they would review the planned high-level diversion if elected, and either modify the plan or scrap it entirely. Thirty-three-year-old Edward Schreyer was the leader of the New Democratic Party, and championed his party's belief "in an approach to government that is essentially activist."¹⁴⁴ This "emphasis on positive government" garnered the NDP the support of "non-British Canadians, and the so-called new forces in provincial politics—natives, recent immigrants, and working women."¹⁴⁵ Schreyer's victory on June 25, 1969 was slim—the NDP took just 28 of 57 seats, and only gained a majority after the defection of a Liberal MLA¹⁴⁶—but his government went on to usher in an era of more intensive northern development. In an interview with the *Winnipeg Tribune* soon after he was elected, the young premier emphasized his commitments to both social justice and economic growth, stating that "Northern Manitoba should get priority because to get Manitoba moving, we have to start with the north."¹⁴⁷



"Schreyer interviewed after election," New Democratic Party, June 26, 1969. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, *Winnipeg Tribune* fonds (PC 18-4608-001))

One of Schreyer's first priorities was to examine the proposed CRD and the situation at South Indian Lake. At the end of July, he hired David Cass-Beggs, former general manager of Saskatchewan Power Corporation, to review existing plans and identify alternatives.¹⁴⁸ Cass-Beggs agreed that the high-level diversion plan was excellent from a technical standpoint, but noted that the increased sensitivity of the public to preserving the environment and respecting the rights of Indigenous people made it impossible to proceed with such a scheme.¹⁴⁹ The original development proposal recommended the use of both the Churchill River and Lake Winnipeg to regulate the Nelson River, and even though a high-level diversion might postpone LWR for a few years, it would eventually be needed anyway. Further, Cass-Beggs wrote, when LWR was finished, water storage along the Churchill River would not be necessary, making the "almost irreparable damage" to Southern Indian Lake pointless.¹⁵⁰

THE PROVINCE DENIES THE LICENCE

Cass-Beggs's report convinced the province to deny Manitoba Hydro's request for a licence to begin work on the CRD project.

Schreyer outlined his rationale to Fallis, noting that although the government had "at no time questioned the technical merits" of the diversion, the anticipated effects on people and resources could not be ignored.¹⁵¹ The province asked Manitoba Hydro to proceed with investigations toward a new licence application for a more acceptable CRD project. Schreyer also placed responsibility for LWR in the hands of the Water Control Branch of the MNR.¹⁵²

Manitoba Hydro did not agree with Cass-Beggs or Schreyer that Lake Winnipeg should be regulated, however, prioritizing instead a low-level diversion of the Churchill River at Southern Indian Lake. In Manitoba Hydro's opinion, service at the Lake Winnipeg control structure could not be guaranteed for the winter of 1973–1974, as per the province's request.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, Fallis told Schreyer, "now that the decision has been made, for the present at least," Manitoba Hydro would hire consultants to work with the corporation's hydraulic and planning group to research alternative diversion options.¹⁵⁴

Fallis's use of the phrase "for the present, at least" infuriated Bowman, who believed it was evidence that Manitoba Hydro had only accepted the province's decision temporarily. Bowman censured Fallis for exposing "undesirable Hydro/Government relations and . . . an undesirable attitude on the part of Hydro."¹⁵⁵ Schreyer followed up in late October with a letter to Manitoba Hydro in which he sought to clear up the "misunderstanding" that had apparently arisen between the province and the corporation: "I can only repeat what was surely made clear to Hydro's senior management . . . Hydro should work to produce an alternative plan which avoids flooding . . . South Indian Lake." He encouraged Manitoba Hydro to ensure that their consulting engineers did not waste time looking into the high-level diversion, and did not consider any plans that would contribute to the deterioration of Manitoba's waters and shorelines.¹⁵⁶ This last point put the firm Manitoba Hydro hired to look into alternatives on edge. Underwood McLellan wrote to the corporation in early December to say, "No matter by what alternative Churchill River diversion is implemented . . . the ecology of the area . . . will be affected . . . Furthermore, we do not yet know if any

[sic] diversion of the Churchill River is compatible with this objective of not displacing the communities. For these reasons we have set no physical constraints on the studies.”¹⁵⁷ Concerned by the firm’s resistance to the province’s instructions, Leonard S. Evans (who succeeded Harry Enns as Minister of MNR in 1969¹⁵⁸) wrote to Schreyer to reiterate Bowman’s earlier suspicions: “After having been told by the Government that the high level scheme was not to be proceeded with Manitoba Hydro should have dropped the matter . . . Instead Hydro have persisted in their efforts to keep the matter open.”¹⁵⁹ Underwood McLellan did not change its approach, however. After its report was released at the end of December, it was criticized not only for lacking engineering data and costs, but also for prominently highlighting the high-level diversion, implying, said the Deputy Minister of MNR, “an effort to persist with the high level scheme.”¹⁶⁰

NEW MANAGEMENT, NEW DIVERSION

In November 1969, new members were appointed to the Manitoba Water Commission, including Chairman Cass Booy, a professor of civil engineering at the University of Manitoba. The Commission was charged once again with advising the province on the range within which Lake Winnipeg levels should be regulated, and reviewing high-level diversion alternatives.¹⁶¹ Two months later, at the beginning of the new year, the government accepted Fallis’s resignation (for health reasons) as Chairman of Manitoba Hydro, and appointed Cass-Beggs to the role.¹⁶² Cass-Beggs immediately formed an internal task force comprising 10 employees, including Leonard A. Bateman, to conduct its own evaluation of alternatives.¹⁶³

Not everyone in northern Manitoba, it should be noted, was happy with the denial of the high-level diversion scheme. The mayor of Thompson, Brian Campbell, accused the NDP government of preventing Manitoba Hydro from doing its job and developing “the north’s power potential.” The result, Campbell said, would be a “slow-down to northern development itself.” Campbell also believed that the people of South Indian Lake were living in such “primitive” conditions that relocation would improve their way of life, and that hydroelectric development would provide them with stable employment.¹⁶⁴ A store owner in Granville Lake, which would also have been inundated by flood waters if the high-level diversion had gone ahead, agreed with Campbell on both points. “Without power, we have nothing,” he said, adding, “Now . . . there is no future for the natives in Northern Manitoba.”¹⁶⁵ Andy Nabess, a member of the Thompson branch of the Manitoba Métis Federation, also cited hydroelectric development as a catalyst for industry and increased employment for northern First Nations and Métis people. At the organization’s meeting in January 1970, Nabess moved that the Federation support full hydroelectric development—a controversial stance, since it implied (but never fully stated) support for the flooding of South Indian Lake. At a follow-up meeting on February 26, the majority of Thompson Manitoba Métis Federation members in attendance favoured Nabess’s motion, against the wishes of the provincial Métis organization.¹⁶⁶

Schreyer’s interest in northern development fuelled enthusiasm for the potential of hydroelectric development to bring industry and employment to remote northern communities. In 1970, the NDP amended *The Commissioner of Northern Manitoba Affairs Act*, changing the name to *The Northern Manitoba Affairs Act*.¹⁶⁷ In line with Schreyer’s larger social policies, which focused on a more equitable distribution of resources, the amended Act created a Local Government Development Division that gave northern communities the power to develop self-government and provide their own municipal services.¹⁶⁸ Schreyer expressed his commitment to northern residents in a speech delivered at The Pas on February 13, 1970, when he stated: “The Government of Manitoba is committed to developing the northern part of this province in such a way that the people now living in this region get maximum benefit. The people’s progress to economic independence is our chief objective.”¹⁶⁹

LONG SPRUCE AND LIMESTONE GENERATING STATIONS, 1972–1978

Shortly after Schreyer's speech in The Pas, Manitoba Hydro began a detailed investigation into development of the Long Spruce Generating Station, located approximately 27 kilometres east of Gillam and 16 kilometres downstream of the Kettle Generating Station, with the aim of producing power by 1978.¹⁷⁰ Long Spruce was one of the six stations recommended for early development in the 1964 Crippen report, in anticipation of future export sales and increasing domestic demand. Although Manitoba Hydro's System



"Gillam, MB: Kettle Rapids/Long Spruce," 1975-10-13. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, *Winnipeg Tribune*/Jeff DeBooy Negatives (PC 89 A90-25))

Planning Division favoured construction of the CRD and a plant on the Burntwood River before Long Spruce, when it became clear that a licence for these was not forthcoming, Long Spruce jumped to the top of the list.¹⁷¹ By the summer of 1971, it was concluded that the station could be developed in time to produce power by 1977.¹⁷² The following June, the Board of Manitoba Hydro approved a program for development of four Lower Nelson River sites, in order of priority: Long Spruce, Upper

and Lower Limestone, and Gillam Island.¹⁷³ Construction on Long Spruce commenced in 1972, and Manitoba Hydro was granted a Crown Land Reservation from the province to construct a private-access road between Gillam and the Long Spruce site.¹⁷⁴ The interim licence for development at Long Spruce was granted on July 31, 1973.¹⁷⁵ The station was put into service in late 1977, at a total construction cost of \$508 million.¹⁷⁶

Construction on the Limestone Generating Station, located 23 kilometres downstream from Long Spruce, began in 1976 after Manitoba received an interim licence from the province on July 9. The work was halted in 1978, however, due to an unexpected decrease in consumer demand for electricity.¹⁷⁷ It resumed in 1985 and Limestone became fully operational in 1992, at a total cost of \$1.43 billion.¹⁷⁸

LAKE WINNIPEG REGULATION OR CHURCHILL RIVER DIVERSION?

The Manitoba Hydro Task Force established by Cass-Beggs concluded in April 1970 that construction of the low-level diversion of the Churchill River at Southern Indian Lake would be more economical, followed at a later date by the regulation of Lake Winnipeg.¹⁷⁹ Unbeknownst to the Task Force, however, Manitoba Hydro's new Chairman, Cass-Beggs, drafted his own 30-page report, which he included as a cover document to the Task Force's draft that was presented to Manitoba Hydro's Board on July 30, 1970. Contrary to the findings of the Task Force, Cass-Beggs recommended that LWR proceed immediately, to be put in service for the winter of 1974–1975. Additionally, if Lake Winnipeg were regulated by between 711 and 715 feet (approximately 216.7 and 218 metres), there would no longer be a need to divert as much water during the winter as the summer. This meant that seasonal long-term storage on Southern Indian Lake was no longer as vital, and that the community of South Indian Lake would not have to be moved. On July 30, 1970, the Board accepted the recommendations of the draft report, and specifically Cass-Beggs's cover document.¹⁸⁰

On September 22, 1970, Manitoba Hydro applied for an interim licence to regulate Lake Winnipeg between 711 and 715 feet.¹⁸¹ Schreyer publicly announced the plans on September 23, 1970—including the fact that South Indian Lake was not going to be relocated.¹⁸²

Not everyone was as convinced as the province that the Task Force's recommendations were correct. Both Cass Booy and Harry Enns took issue with the ease with which the government accepted the idea of raising Southern Indian Lake, even to a maximum of 850 feet (260 metres). Booy noted that while the limit meant that the people of South Indian Lake would not have to be moved, it did not prevent environmental damage that would weaken their economic situation.¹⁸³ Enns, the former Minister of MNR who defended the original high-level diversion, noted that Cass-Beggs's figures were not sufficiently supported by any solid research, and, "I find it disturbing that 10 feet of flooding can be talked about so lightly now, while any talk of flooding was seriously criticized two years ago."¹⁸⁴ The federal Minister of Fisheries and Forestry worried that the regulation of Lake Winnipeg, which would allow for a quick increase in water flow during winter and thereby increase the generating potential of the Kettle Generating Station located further down the Nelson River, would harm fish populations.¹⁸⁵

LAKE WINNIPEG REGULATION

On November 20, 1970, the province granted Manitoba Hydro the interim licence to proceed with LWR.¹⁸⁶ The terms specified that regulation would maintain water levels at between 711 and 715 feet, and would involve the construction of:

- ◆ two diversion channels, one from Lake Winnipeg to Playgreen Lake and the other from Playgreen Lake to Kiskittogisu Lake, which would increase the generating potential of Kettle Generating Station;
- ◆ river-channel excavations at the Metchanais and Ominawin Rapids channels; and
- ◆ two gated control structures across the Metchanais and Ominawin Rapids channels, each composed of reinforced concrete with two adjacent dams of rock fill.

Work on the two artificial diversion channels was expected to take the most time to complete. Although tenders for the work were issued in March 1971, and contracts awarded shortly thereafter, Manitoba Hydro undertook a new design review that convinced engineers to amend the intended structures. Instead of building two separate dams at Metchanais and Ominawin Rapids, one large control structure would be built at Jenpeg, near the entrance to Cross Lake.¹⁸⁷ The province issued a supplementary interim licence in August 1972,¹⁸⁸ and the licence to build the Jenpeg Control Structure was granted in December.¹⁸⁹ This delay in construction pushed the completion date from 1974 to 1976, and added about \$200 million to the total cost of LWR.¹⁹⁰



Excerpt from *The Thompson Citizen*, Tuesday, February 15, 1972.

Almost as soon as the licence for LWR was granted, the Manitoba Water Commission decided to hold public hearings to obtain opinions on the most acceptable levels of regulation.¹⁹¹ After much debate with Manitoba Hydro and pressure from the province, however, the Commission agreed to change the form of enquiry from public hearings—which included the right to both call and cross-examine witnesses—to “public information meetings” instead.¹⁹² Nevertheless, the series of six public meetings held in Norway House, Gimli, Selkirk and Winnipeg in February 1972 gave critics an opportunity to voice their concerns. Although less formal than the public hearings of 1969, the discussion was just as intense. Questions about the cost, sequence, purpose and impacts of development came from area residents and members of the Progressive Conservative and Liberal opposition parties. Undeterred, the government and Manitoba Hydro proceeded.¹⁹³

CHURCHILL RIVER DIVERSION

The decision to move forward with LWR allowed more time to study alternative CRD schemes.¹⁹⁴ In July 1971, Manitoba Hydro retained the engineering firm Alberly, Pullerits, Dickson & Associates to review a number of possible alternate diversion routes that limited impoundment at Southern Indian Lake to below elevation 850 feet (260 metres).¹⁹⁵ The following February, Manitoba Hydro released its own review, in which it noted that the diversion should be ready by the fall of 1975, not 1976.¹⁹⁶ Alberly released its report in April, and concluded that a gravity diversion from Southern Indian Lake was “the best scheme for lake levels down to about 847.0” feet (258 metres, 2.1 metres higher than the lake’s natural high-water levels), but that a full storage level on the lake of 850 feet might “ensure dependability of winter flows.”¹⁹⁷ The Board of Manitoba Hydro met on May 17, 1972 and confirmed that “it favoured a maximum level of 847 feet at SIL [Southern Indian Lake], and likely would adopt a staged approach with structures designed for 850 feet, and operated initially at 845 feet” (257.6 metres).¹⁹⁸

Although they were not yet final, these plans were announced to the public on May 25, 1972.¹⁹⁹ In his statement, Cass-Beggs noted that the new plan avoided any flooding of the community of South Indian Lake. In a letter to Schreyer on the 29th, however, Cass-Beggs asked that the premier wait “as long as possible” before scheduling any meetings with the community because, “although the level is reasonably well determined, the effects are still vague.”²⁰⁰ Schreyer did recommend, however, that all Northern Affairs staff working out of the Thompson office be fully briefed on the plans to help disseminate information, particularly those employees in charge of Northern Radio Program broadcasting in Cree.²⁰¹

Schreyer, meanwhile, pursued the idea that Manitoba Hydro might not need to be issued a licence under *The Water Power Act* to build the diversion, thus speeding up the process. In defence of this plan, he

reminded the Conservative government of its 1969 attempt to build the high-level diversion without a licence when it tried to push Bill 15 through the Legislature.²⁰² J.F. Funnell, Manitoba Hydro's general counsel, looked into the matter and reported that " *The Water Power Administration Act* gives the Minister of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management the power to construct in any part of the Province such water control works as he may deem necessary or expedient in the public interest." Thus, the government could proceed under this Act if the Minister deemed the diversion "necessary or expedient." Construction could commence under the terms of a contract between the Minister and Manitoba Hydro. The only caveat, Funnell said, was that Manitoba Hydro would want confirmation that it would have "complete control over all matters pertaining to the design and construction."²⁰³ That autumn, the province passed Manitoba Regulation 207-72, giving Mines, Resources and Environmental Management the right to issue licences by Order-in-Council without prior legal proceedings, involvement of the Legislature or extensive publication. In December, South Indian Lake's lawyers filed another injunction to stop the project from happening.²⁰⁴

1972–1973: THE LICENCE IS GRANTED AND CONSTRUCTION BEGINS

On December 19, 1972, Manitoba Hydro applied for, and was granted, the licence to build the diversion with a maximum operating level of 847 feet and the option of increasing the level to 850 feet if necessary.²⁰⁵ A particularly concise description of the project was outlined by Len Bateman in a letter to J. Angus Spence, the President of the Manitoba Métis Federation:

Below Notigi, the rivers will be carrying a larger quantity of water with, consequently, higher water levels. The water will generally be contained within the existing river banks, and rises in level lower down the river will be less significant than those closer to Notigi. For instance, levels on Threepoint Lake and Footprint Lake will be approximately 10 feet higher than present levels. Under ice or flood conditions, it could go as high as 15 feet The situation at Thompson will be that water levels will rise about 15 feet above present normal levels, but within natural flood levels, so that no land will be flooded The effect . . . upon Split Lake is not expected to be significant The effect of Lake Winnipeg Regulation upon Cross Lake, Split Lake, and intermediate points will be a slight increase in winter levels and a decrease in summer levels The effect . . . is expected to be a long term improvement in fish population and quality.²⁰⁶

Hoping to complete the project in less than three years, Manitoba Hydro solicited bids before the project requirements were fully understood. As a result, when Crippen Acres Engineering began design work on Missi Falls, South Bay and Notigi in early 1973, it found the project to be considerably more complicated and time-consuming than expected.²⁰⁷ For example, plans had to be significantly altered when engineers realized that the South Bay Channel had to be redesigned to allow for winter water flows under ice, instead of the open-water design already approved.²⁰⁸ Manitoba Hydro applied for a subsequent interim licence on April 30, 1973, with changes that "provided physical and operational advantages even though they did not alter the concept of the project."²⁰⁹ This was approved by the province on May 10, 1973.²¹⁰ In July 1973, the South Indian Lake Community Council's long-standing request for an interim injunction against the CRD was denied, and while a new hearing was scheduled for a permanent injunction, Manitoba Hydro was allowed to proceed with construction.²¹¹ One month later, the south channel of the river at Missi Falls was closed by cofferdam (or "rock plug"²¹²), representing the first time that Southern Indian Lake's levels were raised by Manitoba Hydro development.²¹³ In November, the federal government approved the licence

under the *Navigable Waters Act*, stating this was “necessary if we are to protect the public right of navigation at some future date.”²¹⁴

Complications with planning also caused some debate about water levels along the route. Bateman told Schreyer on March 5, 1973, that the maximum elevation of Footprint Lake, where the Nelson House Indian Reserve was situated, would be 802 feet (244 metres) in summer, and that it could increase to 804 feet (245 metres) in winter under ice jams. That autumn, C.J. Goodwin, Manitoba Hydro’s Director of System Planning, advised Mines, Resources and Environmental Management that, under extreme ice conditions, the practical maximum water elevation at Footprint Lake could be maintained at 810 feet (246.9 metres) by carefully controlling the flow of water from Notigi. He also said that at 810 feet, 10 houses and 18 other buildings at Nelson House would be affected.²¹⁵ This was virtually ignored until February 1974, when the Systems Planning Division recommended building a weir or dam at Footprint Lake to stabilize water levels at Nelson House. Manitoba Hydro decided not to build any mitigation works, however, because the cost was too high.²¹⁶ The Nelson House Band passed a resolution on May 4, 1974, that denied Manitoba Hydro permission to enter the reserve to conduct survey work, which prevented the Board for over a year from finalizing a policy to limit Nelson House water levels.²¹⁷

Even though Manitoba Hydro’s Hydraulic Design Department first reported internally, in 1972, that at least part of the community of South Indian Lake might, in fact, have to be moved before the diversion was finished, this fact was not communicated to the province until 1973.²¹⁸ The western and eastern halves of the community were separated by a narrow channel; when the diverted water began moving through the channel, the increased current would prevent a safe ice cover from forming in winter, thereby preventing safe travel between the two halves of the village. In the spring of 1974, the province decided to consolidate the community on the eastern shore, and began the process of moving existing homes and building new ones, the cost of which was shared by Manitoba Hydro and the provincial and federal departments of Indian Affairs.²¹⁹

In May 1974, the Rat River at Notigi was closed by cofferdam to allow for construction of the Notigi Control Structure. All Rat River flows upstream of the cofferdam were closed off, and Rat River water was stored for future use.²²⁰ This “resulted in near zero flow and extremely low water levels downstream.”²²¹ A few months later, Ken Dillon of Northern Manpower painted a sobering picture of the early impacts in an August letter to Schreyer. Dillon reported “drastically reduced” water levels in the Burntwood River, and his suspicion that this would affect the quality of the water supply for nearby communities. He also noted that float planes operating from the river base were grounding because of low water levels, and that if the water were to recede much further, flying operations from the river base might have to be suspended. He had received reports that hundreds of dead fish had been observed floating on Threepoint Lake, and algae growth on the lake was “abnormally high.”²²² Manitoba Hydro engineers admitted that low flows in the Burntwood “have been aggravated by closure of the Rat at Notigi,” but also noted that by September, the flow in the Burntwood River entering Threepoint Lake had started to increase, and rising levels could be expected at Nelson House. Bateman told Schreyer that Manitoba Hydro was “well aware of the problem and has been monitoring the flows and levels in the Burntwood,” but added that the corporation did not yet intend to take any direct action.²²³ The following year, in April 1975, the Air Radio Division of the Department of Northern Affairs reported to Bateman that it was unable to operate its water bomber or any float aircraft until water levels on the Burntwood were raised, and suggested that Manitoba Hydro build a weir to back up the water.²²⁴

OPPOSITION TO THE PROJECT

Throughout the construction phase, different groups released formal statements of opposition to the project, including the Friends of the Churchill, the Manitoba Métis Federation, chiefs and representatives of northern Manitoba First Nations and the Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples.²²⁵ Other



"Hydro the centre of many protests: Ted Chartrand Protesting Southern Indian Lake Hydro Plan," 1972-12-22. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, *Winnipeg Tribune* fonds (PC 18 A81-12))

groups made an effort to work with hydroelectric development rather than against it. In a speech in Thompson in 1972, Dave Courchene, president of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, told the people of South Indian Lake to "give up the fight to stop the Nelson River power project and find other ways to use the development for their own advantage."²²⁶ He had already taken matters into his own hands, contacting Cass-Beggs in early 1971 for information about LWR employment prospects for local people in the Norway House–Cross Lake area. Cass-Beggs replied that because the channels were going to be excavated by "specially skilled dredge operators," there would be very few opportunities for local labourers.²²⁷ In the summer of 1972, Courchene went straight to Premier Schreyer to try and secure land-clearing jobs for northern Indigenous peoples in and around Southern Indian Lake.²²⁸ By February 1973, however, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood released a formal statement of its opposition, declaring that the potentially catastrophic effects the CRD might have on the livelihood and socio-economic position of the people of South Indian Lake was "a total rejection of their natural rights."²²⁹

Not content with simply issuing a statement, the United Church minister in South Indian Lake, along with some of his counterparts in southern Manitoba, decided to form a Task Force on Northern Flooding to document the fears of the people in his community and members of the general public. The Interchurch Task Force held a public hearing in Winnipeg in 1975 and heard from dozens of Indigenous people and other citizens. Its report recommended that Manitoba Hydro abandon the CRD entirely, or at least postpone it until it could be built without harming the people and environment along the route. The inquiry also pinpointed the government and Manitoba Hydro's continuing lack of productive communication with northern residents, pointing out that written reports and documents were largely ineffective when dealing with First Nations people more accustomed to oral interactions.²³⁰ In fact, a continuing lack of communication with affected communities remained one of the biggest issues during construction of the CRD, despite a warning in February 1974 from the Winnipeg Department of Indian Affairs that "meaningful consultations with the Indian people have not, to our knowledge, occurred with" York Landing, Split Lake, Cross Lake, or Norway House.²³¹ Effective communication between Manitoba Hydro and government departments was also a contentious subject. In 1975, Mines, Resources and Environmental Management decided to disburse information brochures to each of the affected communities to inform them of the possible impacts and advise them on how to make claims

for compensation, if necessary. Manitoba Hydro, however, objected to the brochures because they only discussed negative aspects of the project and did not highlight any of the benefits of hydroelectric development. "This will tend to reduce the credibility of Manitoba Hydro's subsequent discussion of benefits alone," Bateman wrote to Green. "Even more important, [it] would suggest to the public a lack of Provincial support for and agreement with Hydro's activities."²³²

THE NORTHERN FLOOD COMMITTEE

The strong opposition and concern from so many different groups, and the ever-growing fear among northern Manitoba's Indigenous communities, caused the Nelson House band to form the Northern Flood Committee (NFC) in April 1974. The NFC superseded previous flood organizations, such as the Cross Lake-Norway House Coordinating Committee,²³³ and was partially funded by the federal Department of Indian Affairs. Henry Spence, Chief of the Nelson House Band, was its first Chair.²³⁴

The original NFC included the First Nations communities of Nelson House, Norway House, Cross Lake, Split Lake, York Factory, Fox Lake and South Indian Lake, and was to be the voice of both treaty and non-treaty northern Indigenous people. However, because South Indian Lake was on provincial Crown land instead of reserve land, it did not remain a member of the NFC, and by early 1975, Fox Lake was no longer a member either.²³⁵ The first meetings were held in Winnipeg on July 3 and 4, 1974, and the NFC hired the legal firm of Richardson and Company as its representative. In a letter to Schreyer, dated July 5, 1974, lawyer Charles R. Huband indicated that the NFC was planning to seek a legal injunction to halt hydroelectric developments because flooding of reserve lands, which were the prerogative of the Crown, would be in violation of Treaty 5, signed in 1875. In no uncertain terms, the letter stated that "the northern residents are not in a position to compromise on their basic position; they wish to retain their lands in the form unaffected by any Hydro development."²³⁶ Huband acknowledged that "there might be temptations on the part of Manitoba Hydro or the province of Manitoba to deal with individuals or communities on a separate basis," but reminded the Premier that the NFC now represented the affected communities as a whole, and as such should be dealt with exclusively.²³⁷

Schreyer was outraged. He wrote to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, accusing the federal government of acting in bad faith by funding the NFC, and by opposing the terms of the 1966 Canada-Manitoba cost-sharing agreement.²³⁸ In August 1974, he stated that the provincial government would not negotiate with a "gun at its head."²³⁹ After the NFC declared that meaningful negotiation could not take place until the province recognized the NFC as the sole negotiating agent for its member communities,²⁴⁰ Schreyer penned an open letter to the "Residents of Northern Manitoba" to remind citizens that their interests were represented by the provincial government, which had "no intention of transferring this responsibility to the Northern Flood Committee."²⁴¹ Whenever possible, Schreyer tried to bypass or dismiss the legitimacy of the NFC as the voice of affected First Nations communities, which affected both public debate and private negotiations.²⁴²

By late 1974, the NFC gave up on previous efforts to seek an injunction declaring hydroelectric development illegal.²⁴³ Realizing that it would take too much time and money to prove that the province did not have the right to flood reserve lands, the NFC agreed to take part in formal negotiations with the federal and provincial governments. Leon Mitchell was appointed mediator.²⁴⁴ In early 1975, Huband told Schreyer that the NFC had created a negotiating team and wanted to meet with the Premier and members of his Cabinet

to discuss the anticipated effects of development.²⁴⁵ They met in Thompson on February 24, 1975, but Schreyer was still reluctant to allow the NFC to represent the interests of northern communities. In April, after reading the final report of the Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board (see "The Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board" on page 35),²⁴⁶ the NFC's lawyer reported that the Committee's new objective was to arrange "a negotiated settlement of all matters . . . which will ensure to the Native People in the North that they and the generations succeeding them, will be fully and adequately compensated for all effects and damages arising out of the project."²⁴⁷ The NFC also outlined those issues of most concern to them, which included safeguards to protect the environment, First Nations participation in development and full disclosure of all of Manitoba Hydro's northern activities.²⁴⁸ Many of these were eventually addressed in the Northern Flood Agreement that was finally signed in 1977 (see "Impacts and Agreements: The Northern Flood Agreement" on page 39).

In June 1974, Manitoba Hydro decided to revisit its original plan to have the CRD available for operation in November 1975, and to devise a more conservative policy. Fallis asked the production division to review the effect on the system if flows from the diversion were reduced during the early years of its operation.²⁴⁹ The division's review noted that operating at reduced flows would give the corporation more time to monitor and understand the water flow in both summer and winter conditions; reduce the amount of sediment passing Thompson, thereby improving water quality; cause less debris; and allow more time to complete mitigation measures, such as pump houses at Thompson and Churchill, and clearing at Nelson House. Most significantly, Southern Indian Lake would not need to be elevated right away, greatly facilitating clearing operations in the area.²⁵⁰ The Executive Committee of Manitoba Hydro approved the changes on September 10, 1975, stating that the CRD should be "phased in gradually during its first two years."²⁵¹ In fact, this plan did not materialize because the South Bay Channel was not finished until late 1976, and mitigation works at Thompson and Churchill were not completed until late 1977, when the diversion was brought into full service.²⁵²

In October 1975, Manitoba Hydro confirmed the necessity of a structure just above Manasan Falls, near Thompson, to control ice jamming and the flooding that could result from ice build-up. This decision enabled Manitoba Hydro "to establish flood elevations for the Thompson pumphouses, located on the Burntwood River."²⁵³ The Manasan Control Structure was built between June and November 1976.²⁵⁴

In November 1975, the north channel of the Churchill River was closed by cofferdam at Missi Falls, and the water that was being stored on the Rat River was slowly released, drawing the Notigi forebay down to approximately 830 feet (253 metres). The forebay was kept at this level until June 1976.²⁵⁵ From the end of April to the end of July 1976, Southern Indian Lake was raised from 840 to 843 feet (256 to 257 metres).²⁵⁶ On September 1, 1976, the spillgates at Notigi Control Structure were opened to permit Churchill River water to flow into the Burntwood River.²⁵⁷ This date was subsequently designated by the Water Resources Division of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management as the date of completion of initial development of the CRD, for the purposes of the interim licence.²⁵⁸

THE LAKE WINNIPEG, NELSON AND CHURCHILL RIVERS STUDY BOARD

The Lake Winnipeg, Nelson and Churchill Rivers Study Board (the Study Board) was formed in 1971 as part of the joint Canada–Manitoba agreement to study the environmental and social effects of Lake Winnipeg Regulation and the Churchill River Diversion on northern Manitoba communities. Comprising experts from government, academia and a variety of consulting firms, the Board was tasked with recommending modifications to hydroelectric works and remedial measures that would alleviate negative impacts. Because the study was conducted concurrently with development, some recommendations were given to Manitoba Hydro during the study period, to be acted on immediately. Composed of three members from the provincial government and three from the federal government, the Study Board reported that neither LWR nor CRD would have much of an impact on natural resource utilization, with the exception of the commercial fisheries on Lake Winnipeg, the Outlet Lakes, Southern Indian Lake and other lakes along the lower Churchill River. With regard to the other lower Churchill lakes, the Board predicted that commercial fishing would “likely cease to be commercially viable” following hydroelectric development, representing a huge loss to the community of Ilford, in particular. The Southern Indian Lake fishery would also suffer, from not only a 10% reduction in long-term productivity, but also the increased number of floating hazards with which fishers would have to contend. The Board also predicted that registered traplines around Norway House, Nelson House and South Indian Lake would experience short-term production losses, but that some traplines around Cross Lake and along the lower Churchill River would experience ongoing disruption, and might never recover. Although neither the fishing nor trapping losses constituted a major setback for commercial values in Manitoba as a whole, the report made clear that for the local economies affected, the losses were significant from both a social and economic viewpoint. For one, they contributed to a general cultural change among First Nations people, who were becoming influenced by and more dependent on the conveniences that industrialization brought to the north. Younger people in particular were in danger of losing interest in pursuits like fishing and trapping that served not only to provide sustenance for their communities, but also as valuable tools in the preservation of traditional culture.

The Study Board also predicted that hydroelectric development would alleviate northern unemployment by creating “large numbers of short-term construction jobs.” It estimated that hydroelectric projects would generate approximately 2,000 jobs annually until the year 1990. The Study Board looked at 1974 employment figures, which recorded approximately 1,385 workers on the LWR project, of whom 26% were northern residents; and 880 CRD workers, of whom 23% were northern residents. The Board’s use of the term “short-term” jobs is telling. Once hydroelectric projects were finished, there were few long-term opportunities for northern Indigenous people. Even by 1975, only 12% of Hydro’s workforce on five major northern construction sites were members of northern Manitoba’s Indigenous population.

Recommendations from the Study Board included the creation of an advisory board to oversee hydro development; that Manitoba Hydro (and other resource developers) provide appropriate compensation for damages; improved communications between all parties; a long-term ecological monitoring program; and mitigation measures, including debris and shoreline clearing. The report was not published until April 1975, when the CRD was well on its way to completion, but the Study Board continued to monitor the implementation of its recommendations over the next several years. These included Manitoba Hydro’s efforts to rebuild the floatplane base at Thompson, reconstruction of an access road to Nelson House and research projects to study water quality and quantity along the lower Churchill River.

Sources; Lake Winnipeg, Churchill, and Nelson Rivers Study Board, *Summary Report* (Winnipeg: Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board, 1975), 26, 28-29, 56-57, 61-63; James B. Waldram, “Manitoba’s Hydro Employment Program for Native Northerners,” *Native Studies Review* 1, No.2 (1985): 48; Letter from J. S. Roper to L.A. Bateman, re: semi-annual report of the Lake Winnipeg, Churchill, and Nelson Rivers Study Board, February 8, 1978. [PAM, Question 13 - [Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers - Study Board], 1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-15].

In July 1970, the budget estimate for the Churchill River Diversion was set at \$29.5 million. By December 1972, that number had been amended to \$109 million. By the time the diversion was finished in 1977, however, the total cost was approximately \$226 million. Combined with the price tags for LWR and the Kettle and Long Spruce Generating Stations, Manitoba Hydro found itself in debt to the tune of nearly \$1.3 billion.²⁵⁹ The utility increased its rates accordingly, by 17.7% in 1974, another 17.1% in 1975, 28.3% in 1976, 14.5% in 1977 and 16.3% in 1978.²⁶⁰

THE TRITSCHLER COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, 1977–1979

Schreyer's government faced regular opposition from the Progressive Conservative Party for the seemingly constant rise in hydro rates. The PCs called hydro bills "another example of NDP incompetence."²⁶¹ The government generally responded by pointing out that Manitobans continued to pay a low electricity rate relative to the rest of the country.²⁶² In the words of one editorialist, "It's the sort of situation that leaves a consumer not really sure whether to cry because rates seem to be on an ever-upward spiral . . . or to cheer because we've enjoyed such relatively low Hydro rates for so many years."²⁶³

Thanks in part to the public's discontent over the monumental cost of Manitoba's Hydro development on the Nelson River, the NDP lost the provincial election in 1977 to the Progressive Conservative Party. The new government, led by Sterling Lyon, immediately announced the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro (the Commission), to examine LWR and the CRD, as well as Manitoba Hydro's activities. Lyon appointed George E. Tritschler, a recently retired chief justice of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench, to lead the inquiry into "the scope, direction, timing and scheduling of northern power projects, and the question of costs involved."²⁶⁴

The Commission began public hearings in November 1978. Witnesses called before the Commission included former Premier Edward Schreyer, David Cass-Beggs, Leonard Bateman and members of the Manitoba Hydro Task Force formed by Cass-Beggs in 1970. External engineering experts were also called on to assess Manitoba Hydro's plans and construction activities.²⁶⁵

The Commission ultimately revealed that Manitoba Hydro's decision to construct LWR before the CRD was premature, resulting in costly delays because the utility issued construction contracts before fully understanding the project's size and requirements. External consultants also argued that if the diversion had been built first, the province would have had more than enough power to meet future demand, which would have given Manitoba Hydro more time to investigate LWR options.²⁶⁶ Manitoba Hydro Task Force members talked about their 1970 report, which indicated that it was more economical to build the CRD before LWR, although both would eventually be necessary.²⁶⁷ The Commission critiqued the cover report that Cass-Beggs had attached to the Task Force report, stating that he had largely ignored the expert advice of the Task Force members and indeed, that he altered some of the Task Force's recommendations before urging the Board to make a decision that complied with his own findings.²⁶⁸ For their part, members of the Board did not read the Task Force's report, but chose to focus instead on Cass-Beggs's 30-page introduction.²⁶⁹ Cass-Beggs, who left Manitoba Hydro at the end of 1972 to chair BC Hydro, tried to justify his position by testifying that he formed the Task Force to provide advice, not make decisions. He said that he proposed LWR first because it was less damaging to the environment and an easier way to provide power. Further, the high-level diversion scheme had wreaked havoc on Manitoba Hydro's reputation, and therefore LWR was an easier "sell" to the public.²⁷⁰

As Cass-Beggs was no longer with Manitoba Hydro, the new Chairman Leonard Bateman bore the brunt of the public's shock at the Commission's findings. Bateman testified that when Cass-Beggs presented his recommendations to the Board in July 1970, he knew the Task Force's findings had been misrepresented, but he did not want to contradict his boss.²⁷¹ He remained silent at several points over the next few years when he might have chosen to speak up.²⁷² In 1976, Bateman told the legislative committee that Manitoba Hydro decided to restrict the level of Southern Indian Lake to 850 feet (259 metres) because the utility's engineers called this the "optimum level." In truth, Bateman knew that the Task Force had advised a higher level for Southern Indian Lake, but that Cass-Beggs had overruled its findings. When questioned by the Tritschler Commission, Bateman admitted that 850 feet was only regarded as "optimum" because the provincial government had already decided it would not allow higher levels of flooding.²⁷³ His testimony suggested a fundamental lack of accountability within the governance structure of Manitoba Hydro. As a result, Bateman was dismissed from his position on December 29, 1978.²⁷⁴

The Commission's final report, released on December 27, 1979, stated that Manitoba Hydro did not follow its mandate "to promote economy and efficiency in supply of electrical power," and that the province's decision to restrict the elevation of Southern Indian Lake to 850 feet was "arbitrary" and "not based on economic considerations." Manitoba Hydro's decision to construct the diversion "without knowledge of its downstream effects led to substantial claims for cost overruns and financial penalties . . . and to costly confrontations with communities."²⁷⁵

Premier Lyon made three significant changes based on the Commission's findings. First, the role of Manitoba Hydro's chair was officially separated from that of chief operating officer. The chair would now be a liaison between Manitoba Hydro and the government, keeping the utility informed of government policy, and the province informed about Manitoba Hydro budgets and research; while the chief operating officer would be in charge of day-to-day administration and business decisions.²⁷⁶ In addition, Lyon formalized and clarified the province's role in setting hydro rates, taking this responsibility away from the Public Utilities Board and leaving it solely in the government's hands, with the Public Utilities Board as advisor.²⁷⁷ Finally, Lyon implemented *The Energy Rate Stabilization Act* in 1979, which allowed the province "to absorb foreign exchange losses on Hydro's \$2 billion debt." Most of Manitoba Hydro's debt was due to construction costs, but much of it was owed in foreign currency; and as the Canadian dollar declined, Manitoba Hydro's foreign debt rose. The Act ensured that the provincial government would pay the increases resulting from the dollar's devaluation, effectively transferring debt from ratepayers to taxpayers.²⁷⁸

By the time the Commission was over, export sales of hydroelectricity were steadily rising: Manitoba Hydro exported \$24.6 million in power to the United States, Ontario and Saskatchewan in 1978.²⁷⁹ In the 1978/79 fiscal year, the utility saw gross revenues of \$325 million, up 35% over the year before. Thanks to *The Energy Rate Stabilization Act*, the utility was able to declare a \$45.7 million net surplus, its first profit in three years.²⁸⁰ This positive upswing was gratifying to both Manitoba Hydro and the Progressive Conservative Party, and gave Lyon the chance, in 1979, to announce a five-year freeze to hydro rates.²⁸¹

PART 2: IMPACTS, PROGRAMS AND COMPENSATION

IMPACTS AND AGREEMENTS: THE NORTHERN FLOOD AGREEMENT

After months of negotiation, the Northern Flood Agreement (NFA) between Manitoba Hydro, the province and the Northern Flood Committee was signed on December 16, 1977.²⁸² Before the NFA could take effect, however, it needed to be ratified by vote in the five signatory communities. First Nations leaders spent three months reviewing the NFA to better understand its implications and provide their members with a full accounting of what they were being offered.²⁸³ In March 1978, the NFA was approved by a margin of 65% to 35%.²⁸⁴ Less than a quarter of eligible people voted, however, and different communities showed various levels of support (Table 1).²⁸⁵

TABLE 1: SUPPORT FOR RATIFICATION OF THE NORTHERN FLOOD AGREEMENT ²⁸⁶	
COMMUNITY	APPROVAL LEVEL
York Landing	81%
Norway House	70%
Nelson House	70%
Split Lake	58%
Cross Lake	57%

The NFA provided a clear acknowledgement of the fact that water systems in the north had been, and would continue to be, adversely modified and impacted by development (see Table 2 on page 40 for all of the NFA's key provisions).²⁸⁷ Canada, Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro pledged that any individuals or communities affected would be treated "fairly and equitably," although it was "not possible to foresee all the adverse results of the Project nor to determine all those persons who may be affected by it."²⁸⁸ The NFA also reaffirmed that the federal government was obligated to support First Nations communities as per their existing treaty rights, and that the NFA would not interfere with these rights. Because the NFA only applied to First Nations members of the signatory communities, and did not extend to "persons not defined as Indians under the *Indian Act*," it therefore did not benefit non-First Nations people or communities affected by the Churchill River Diversion (CRD) or Lake Winnipeg Regulation (LWR).²⁸⁹ Agreements subsequently signed by non-NFA communities are under "Impacts and Agreements: Non-NFA Communities" on page 46.

The NFA mandated that the province would give four acres of land for every one affected acre to any band whose land was flooded because of hydroelectric development. These "exchange lands" did not have to be adjacent to a reserve, and a band could select any land it wanted, as long as that land was not required for development by Manitoba Hydro or the province. Once selected and approved, the exchange lands were transferred to the band's reserve, and subject to the same rights and regulations as any other reserve lands. Article 23, however, assured communities that they would not be required to relocate in order to avoid impacts due to development, and that if they did want to move, they would not lose any of the NFA's benefits.²⁹⁰ The band also received mineral rights to the exchange lands. If a band was unhappy with its choice, it would have five years to decide whether or not to return the land to the Crown and exchange it for a different piece of land.²⁹¹ Manitoba Hydro still received easement land below specified elevations at each reserve, to allow for raised water levels, but only if the corporation kept those levels below certain

predefined limits, which varied from reserve to reserve.²⁹² Manitoba Hydro also set aside “hold areas” for five years, from which bands could select the exchange lands they wanted.

The NFA also ensured that Manitoba Hydro would remove debris from navigable waterways, supply reserve communities with safe drinking water and minimize the destruction of wildlife by controlling water levels and flows. Residents of the reserves would receive first priority to all game and fur-bearing animals in their trapline zones (established in 1975 under the Registered Trapline Program), and to fish in the lakes and rivers they traditionally used.²⁹³ Further, the province promised to encourage residents of reserves to “achieve the maximum degree of self sustenance” and take advantage of and maximize income-earning opportunities.²⁹⁴ Manitoba Hydro agreed to fund community projects relating to shoreline protection, docks, beaches and recreational facilities; and to provide compensation for buildings and roads damaged by development.²⁹⁵ Whenever possible, the parties agreed that work on community projects should be carried out by local band members. Further, the federal and provincial governments agreed to fund comprehensive community development plans for each community, to “provide continued opportunity to carry on their traditional lifestyles . . . [and] deal with social and economic problems that may be identified.”²⁹⁶

Manitoba Hydro promised not to make any future development decisions without consulting with northern communities, but it also promised to provide opportunities for education and on-the-job training for potential future projects. In the meantime, the NFA held Canada and Manitoba to a promise to properly compensate individuals for any damage to their lifestyles and assets.²⁹⁷ The NFA also provided insurance against any future disagreements by stipulating that a formal arbitration process, with an arbitrator chosen by all parties, would be followed if claims were not settled or compensation not adequately provided.²⁹⁸ Further, the onus would be on Manitoba Hydro to prove that no adverse effects had occurred whenever a claim for damages was made. Significantly, however, the corporation still retained the right to settle individual claims as it saw fit, including claims to administer the Registered Trapline Program.²⁹⁹

TABLE 2: KEY PROVISIONS OF THE NORTHERN FLOOD AGREEMENT (1977)

Article	Title	Key Provisions
	Preamble	Identifies reason for the Agreement: to compensate affected communities for altered water regime caused by LWR.
		Long-term responsibility to improve the “social and economic conditions of the communities.”
1	Definitions	Defines terms of and parties to the Agreement.
2	General Provisions	Provincial and federal governments agree to implement the NFA, once ratified.
		The NFA only applies to First Nations individuals.
		The NFA will not affect existing First Nations treaty rights.
3	Land Exchange	Bands will receive four acres of Crown land in exchange for each flooded acre.
		Manitoba Hydro agrees to maintain water levels below certain established limits.

4	Land Use	Province will set aside hold areas, from which bands will select exchange lands.
5	Navigation	Residents have a right to "free and normal navigation of the waterways."
		Province or Manitoba Hydro will remove debris.
6	Quality of Water	Federal government will ensure that clean water is available on reserves.
7	Cemeteries and Objects of Significance	Manitoba Hydro will pay to move cemeteries affected by flooding.
8	Maps	Manitoba Hydro will provide maps showing affected areas, as well as maps indicating areas where it may be unsafe to travel.
9	Notice to Parties	Manitoba Hydro will not engage in any future development without "bona fide and meaningful consultation with the communities."
10	Minimization of Damage	Province agrees to minimize damage to wildlife, whenever possible.
11	Accident, Disability and Life Insurance	Arbitrator will decide if a group insurance policy for affected communities is practical.
12	Community Infrastructure	Manitoba Hydro will pay for a variety of infrastructure improvements in the affected communities, although this work will be carried out by band members, whenever possible.
		Anticipated works include shoreline protection, shoreline restoration, beaches, new docks, recreational facilities and transport (roads and ferries).
13	Additional Cleaning	Parties acknowledge that other areas may need to be cleared of standing trees, if flooded.
14	Policy Matters	Arbitrator has authority to award damages, as Articles 15-18 "have implications that require clarification."
15	Wildlife Resources Policy	Reserve residents have first priority to all wildlife resources in their trapline zones, and in lakes and rivers traditionally used.
		Hydro will make new resource areas available.
16	Planning Policy	Federal and provincial governments will pay for each community to create a comprehensive community development plan.
17	Environmental Impact Policy	Federal and provincial governments will implement the recommendations of the Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board.
18	Miscellaneous Policy	Canada and Manitoba recognize that "it is in the public interest to ensure that any damage to the interests, opportunities,

		lifestyles and assets of those adversely affected be compensated appropriately and justly.”
		Federal and provincial governments and Manitoba Hydro agree to employ local residents in work connected with LWR, and to provide training if necessary.
19	Registered Trapline Program and Fishing Program	The Registered Trapline Program (from 1975) is only an interim program.
		The program will be reviewed and amended if necessary.
		The province and Manitoba Hydro will fund and implement a similar program to compensate fishers for any losses.
20	Community Liaison Committee	A committee will be formed, comprising two members from each band plus representatives from the provincial government and Manitoba Hydro.
		Committee will share information and facilitate communication
21	Employment Task Force	Task force will be created to achieve employment goal established in Article 18.
22	Remedial Works	Manitoba Hydro will pay for agreed-upon works, including a control weir at Cross Lake.
23	Other Matters	No community will be forced to relocate because of flooding, and if it chooses to move, it will not lose any NFA benefits.
		When claims arise, the onus will be on Manitoba Hydro to prove that LWR did not cause damages.
24	Arbitration	Parties will agree on a single arbitrator to settle disputes.
		Manitoba Hydro still retains the right to settle claims on an individual basis.
25	Duration and Successors	The NFA “shall remain in force and be binding . . . for the lifetime of the project.”

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NORTHERN FLOOD AGREEMENT

At first, implementing the NFA went well, as claims for compensation were submitted to the Office of the Arbitrator and some infrastructure improvements went ahead. (See Table 3 on page 43 for the major NFA implementations.) For example, because of the NFA, the Neyanun Development Corporation was founded in April 1978 to promote economic growth and employment in the signatory communities.³⁰⁰ Cross Lake’s Chief George Ross was Neyanun’s first Chair. A fund of \$5 million was granted to finance development projects, the first \$1.8 million of which went toward infrastructure improvements at Cross Lake and Nelson House, while the rest was to be kept in trust until required.³⁰¹ As well, the federal and provincial governments initiated large environmental impact assessments: the Canada Manitoba Mercury Monitoring Agreement (CMMMA), which provided \$760,000 over four years to study mercury levels in waters along the CRD route; and the Federal Ecological Monitoring Program (FEMP), which studied water quality and aquatic ecosystems from 1986 to 1992. The federal government also reviewed potable water systems in the five signatory

reserves, which resulted in a settlement of nearly \$90 million to ensure the availability of clean drinking water. Water and sewer systems were updated by the Northern Flood Capital Reconstruction Authority, which tried as much as possible to employ local people.³⁰²

TABLE 3: MAJOR EFFORTS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NFA, 1978–1992

Year	Event
1978	Neyanun Development Corporation incorporated.
1979	Wildlife Planning and Advisory Board created.
1980	Judge Patrick Ferg appointed as first NFA Arbitrator.
1982	Major land-use study initiated.
1983	Land-use study completed.
	Canada-Manitoba Mercury Monitoring Agreement (CMMMA) signed.
1985	Canada/Manitoba Limestone Project and Employment Training Agreement (LETA) signed, to increase number of Indigenous workers on the project.
1986	Federal Ecological Monitoring Program (FEMP) begins.
	NFA communities receive \$7.8 million to upgrade water and sewer facilities.
1987	CMMMA study completed.
1988	Canada provides \$88.5 million settlement to NFA communities to upgrade portable water systems.
1992	FEMP completed.

Not all NFC community members, however, were happy with the way NFA articles were being implemented, nor with the level of compensation they were receiving for lost land and revenue. Manitoba Hydro had a habit, at first, of offering small compensation payments to individual communities instead of making larger payments all at once. Some communities believed this was simply the corporation's way of stalling for time whenever possible. As a result, relations between the communities, Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba worsened. Starting in 1980, communities expressed their discontent through the formal arbitration process,³⁰³ but by the mid-1980s, the federal government had to step in and help resolve outstanding claims when it became clear that the arbitration process was not working as quickly or efficiently as hoped. In 1988, the NFC, Canada, Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro began negotiations to address the implementation of the NFA on a global, rather than claim-by-claim, basis. This led to the development of Implementation Agreements, which provided money and land to settle outstanding NFA claims, and gave First Nations recognition of stewardship and co-management rights over resource areas, as well as control over compensation funding and programs implemented in their respective communities.³⁰⁴ Between 1992 and 1997, four of the five NFA communities accepted Implementation Agreements, as detailed in Table 4 (page 44).³⁰⁵ Cross Lake was offered an Implementation Agreement in 1997 that would have provided \$6 million per year for 24 years, followed by a \$60 million bond to be reinvested, plus a land-exchange deal that would have provided 16 acres for every one affected acre. Cross Lake rejected this offer because of concerns over the lack of self-government and the way in which future claims would be paid.³⁰⁶ It was many years before

Cross Lake, Manitoba Hydro and the province were able to come to an agreement (see “Supplemental Agreements with NFA Communities,” below).³⁰⁷

TABLE 4: NFA IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENTS, 1992–1997 ³⁰⁸			
Community	Date	Settlement	Land Component
Split Lake	June 1992	\$47.4 million	34,100 acres
York Factory	December 1995	\$25.2 million	19,000 acres
Nelson House	January 1996	\$64.9 million	60,000 acres
Norway House	December 1997	\$78.9 million	55,000 acres
Totals		\$216.4 million	168,100 acres

SUPPLEMENTAL AGREEMENTS WITH NFA COMMUNITIES

Some of the original signatories to the NFA, including the Cross Lake Band, have signed other agreements with Manitoba Hydro and the province since signing the Implementation Agreements in the 1990s, as detailed in Table 5.

TABLE 5: SUPPLEMENTAL AGREEMENTS WITH NFA COMMUNITIES			
NFA Community	Other Parties	Date	Agreement Details
Tataskweyak Cree Nation (formerly Split Lake Band)	Tataskweyak Land Corporation, Anglican Community of Tataskweyak Cree Nation, and Manitoba Hydro	2004	Easement Agreement: Authorized Manitoba Hydro to protect the shorelines at the community’s Anglican property up to 558 feet above sea level. ³⁰⁹
	Manitoba Hydro	2008, amended in 2011	Settlement Agreement: Relocated the severance line on the reserve, ensured protection of TCN's shoreline, updated compensation for loss and damage arising from future flood events and gave funding to provide Split Lake fishers with alternative employment opportunities. ³¹⁰
Tataskweyak Cree Nation and York Factory First Nation	Manitoba Hydro, War Lake First Nation and Fox Lake Cree Nation	2009	Joint Keeyask Development Agreement: A partnership arrangement for the development of Keeyask Generating Station on the Lower Nelson River, between Gillam and Split Lake. Construction on Keeyask began in 2014 and is expected to be in service in 2019. The Agreement provides the four First

			Nations involved with the right to own up to 25% of the project. ³¹¹
Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN, formerly Nelson House)	Wuskwatim Power Limited Partnership, Manitoba Hydro, Taskinigahp Trust	2006	Wuskwatim Project Development Agreement: Provides income opportunities through part ownership of the project, pre-project training, business and employment opportunities, joint management of environmental processes and ongoing community involvement. ³¹² As part of this agreement, NCN opened the Atoskiwin Training and Employment Centre of Excellence to provide job-training opportunities for Wuskwatim. ³¹³
	Manitoba Hydro	2015	Supplement 2 of Wuskwatim Project Development Agreement provides that Manitoba Hydro will pay NCN \$18 million upfront and approximately \$5 million per year until Wuskwatim turns a profit. ³¹⁴
Cross Lake First Nation	Manitoba Hydro	2012	Agreement provides compensation to address adverse effects from high-water events for the period from 1977 to 2016, as well as a Trust Fund to be managed by members appointed by the Cross Lake Elders Council. ³¹⁵
Cross Lake First Nation, as represented by Pimicikamak (governing body)	Manitoba Hydro	2014	Process Agreement: Provides a funded process for the parties to work together on identified NFA relationship and policy issues, to address the First Nation's concerns about ongoing flooding of land and damage to shorelines by Churchill River Diversion and Lake Winnipeg Regulation projects. ³¹⁶

IMPACTS AND AGREEMENTS: NON-NFA COMMUNITIES

Northern Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and communities that were not covered by the NFA also negotiated settlement agreements with Manitoba Hydro, starting in the mid-1970s. These included:

- ◆ First Nations governed by a Chief and Council: Fox Lake Cree Nation, War Lake First Nation and O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation;
- ◆ communities governed by a Mayor and Council under *The Northern Affairs Act*: Cross Lake, Nelson House, Norway House, South Indian Lake, Ilford, Wabowden, Thicket Portage and Pikwitonei;
- ◆ towns governed by a Mayor and Council: Churchill and Gillam; and
- ◆ one city governed by a Mayor and Council: Thompson.

The populations of the non-First Nations communities include former mining families, newcomers and Métis, as well as non-treaty Indigenous peoples and members of surrounding First Nations. Like the NFA signatories, each of the non-NFA communities experienced specific impacts of hydroelectric development depending on their proximity to facilities and the use of waterways and adjacent lands. In general, however, the most common impact affecting users of the Churchill, Nelson and Burntwood River systems and surrounding land was the flooding or partial dewatering of waterways along the route, leading to increased erosion and sedimentation. Natural seasonal water levels and patterns have been altered: The seasonal



"Manitoba's North: Trapper's Home," March 13, 1954. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections (PC 18/3186/18-2444-035))

pattern of water levels on Cross Lake, for example, was reversed, with lower water levels now occurring in mid-summer and higher levels in early spring.³¹⁷ After Kelsey Generating Station was built, in 1960, Nelson River water levels upstream of the station were raised by about 9.5 metres, which resulted in the flooding of traditional harvesting areas of the Split Lake Cree.³¹⁸ Southern Indian Lake was increased in size by nearly 300 kilometres,² and Kettle Dam flooded approximately 242 kilometres² of the Nelson River channel to create Stephens Reservoir,³¹⁹ which inundated traditional hunting, fishing and

trapping areas like Moose Nose Lake and Butnau River.³²⁰ Long Spruce Generating Station raised upstream water levels by approximately 26 metres and flooded over 3,400 acres of land, as well as the estuaries of smaller tributary rivers.³²¹ Limestone Generating Station raised water levels by 33.5 metres, but steep banks on either side of the river limited flooding to 500 acres.³²² Flooding also washed trees, soil and other debris into rivers and lakes along the CRD route, making the water dirtier, but also inhibiting navigation and

damaging boats, docks and fishing equipment.³²³ Conversely, three large lakes on the Lower Churchill River were reduced in area by 39% to 76% after the Missi Falls Control Structure depleted the flow of river water along the Lower Churchill River.³²⁴ The CRD decreased the width of river channels by approximately 30%, desiccated wetland areas, exposed large areas of the river bottom and produced significant sedimentation.³²⁵

Changes to the taste of potable water was a common complaint in these areas early on,³²⁶ but studies have not found any evidence that water near hydroelectric facilities is unsafe for human consumption.³²⁷ Fears about increased mercury levels in water affected by development have also been prevalent. However, Health and Welfare Canada tested people in South Indian Lake, Nelson House, Norway House, Cross Lake, Split Lake and York Landing for mercury between 1976 and 1985, and found that most had mercury levels below federal guidelines, except during 1978 and 1979, when many Nelson House and South Indian Lake residents exhibited mercury levels that were well above an acceptable range.³²⁸ At that time, 833 people were deemed to be at “potential risk” of mercury poisoning, while another eight people were at “higher risk.”³²⁹ By 1985, tests concluded that no one in these communities remained at “higher risk.” After years of testing, however, many First Nations residents were left understandably fearful about the safety of locally caught fish.³³⁰

Studies conducted in the late 1970s and 1980s concluded that elevated mercury levels in fish along the CRD route were due to naturally occurring mercury in the ecosystem.³³¹ Studies of “off-system” northern Manitoba lakes in the late 1980s showed that mercury levels in fish were generally below federal guidelines for consumption, but that the levels in fish found in Southern Indian, Issett, Sipiwesk, Stephens, Rat and Threepoint lakes remained unacceptably high.³³² In 2009–2010, researchers found mercury levels in fish along the upper and lower Nelson River had declined, although certain fish in the Churchill River and along the CRD still contained elevated amounts.³³³

Fish-population numbers were also affected by development, most notably at Southern Indian Lake, where the commercial fishery saw a significant decline after Missi Falls was dammed, preventing fish from swimming upstream.³³⁴ Altered water regimes were also shown to flood the dens of aquatic furbearers like beaver and muskrat, or block them with ice, thus limiting their survival and resulting in a reduced number of animals. Changes to these populations, however, have been difficult to accurately determine based on limited historic baseline data.³³⁵

Some communities also voiced concerns about the impact of development on recreational lands, such as the flooding of beaches used by picnickers and fishers, and the ugliness of uncleared stretches of shoreline following flooding.³³⁶ The City of Thompson expressed dismay at the potential destruction of Manasan Falls, for example, a local scenic attraction.³³⁷

The NFA itself had an impact on some non-NFA communities. As outlined in Articles 4.1 and 15.1, “Hold Areas” and “Resource Areas” were granted to First Nations for hunting, fishing and trapping. Some of these areas covered waterways and land that were also used by non-treaty Indigenous people (for example, the proposed Hold and Resource areas for the Cross Lake Band covered much of Sipiwesk and Duck lakes, which were used by residents of Wabowden in particular).³³⁸ As well, Métis people living in affected communities were excluded from the NFA, and spent years in litigation and negotiations with the province and Manitoba Hydro to settle for damages to their hunting, trapping and fishing ways of life that were



“Roger Carriere in Rat Skinning Competition,” February 24, 1964, Northern Manitoba Trappers Festival 1949-1980. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections (PC 18/5031/18-4222-016))

caused by development.³³⁹ In a 2013 presentation to the Clean Environment Commission about the proposed Keeyask Hydropower project in northern Manitoba, Manitoba Métis Federation President David Chartrand noted that the project would have “significant ‘spill over’ effects on Thompson and the Bayline communities of Thicket Portage, Waboden [sic] and Pikwitonei, where significant numbers of Métis live today. While mitigation measures and adverse effects agreements have been put in with First Nations in the region, the Métis community continues to be excluded.”³⁴⁰ In their statement to the Keeyask Public Involvement Program, Pikwitonei community members added that small communities like theirs continue to be frustrated when overlooked by Manitoba Hydro for employment.³⁴¹

Development on the Churchill, Burntwood and Nelson River systems also had a number of intangible impacts on First Nations, Métis and non-status Indigenous people.³⁴² Split Lake Cree call the waterways of the north the “lifeblood of their existence,” providing food and drink, and a mode of travel, since the beginning of time.³⁴³ Disruption and devastation of fishing and hunting resources threatened to destroy their “whole way of life,” for Indigenous people do not view either activity as simply a casual or recreational pursuit, but rather as “inherent to the maintenance of social relations.”³⁴⁴ The inability to access traditional hunting, gathering and fishing sites affected many community members, interrupting the transmission of integral cultural practices between generations³⁴⁵ and alienating community members from their heritage.³⁴⁶ The natural environment was altered so dramatically that Indigenous people reported losing trust “in the land and waters which have always sustained them”.³⁴⁷

A hunter in his family’s traditional territory knows that he is walking the same paths and seeing the same sky, water and land that his ancestors saw generations before. He stops at many sites associated with personal family history: here a grandparent was born; this is the place where many generations have set traps for otter; this is where a great grandmother is buried; here is where families met each summer. Such a hunter is part of the land. He belongs to the land When he is deprived of access to the land, parts of his history are denied and a vital part of him is lost. When

roads are built, trees cleared for power lines and earth scraped away for foundations of structures, our peoples' histories are altered in profound ways.³⁴⁸

Relocation of communities and heritage resources also had a profoundly demoralizing impact on northern residents. The relocation of the community of South Indian Lake "disrupted traditional settlement and kinship patterns" and gave members the sense that they had little control over their own destiny or that of their community.³⁴⁹ Erosion and high

water levels, as well as construction activity itself, even threatened or destroyed traditional burial grounds.³⁵⁰ By disrupting homes, landscapes and traditional hunting and fishing areas, hydroelectric construction thus had an impact on the economic health of communities. Many Indigenous people in northern Manitoba had, for years, been supporting themselves through a mix of traditional pursuits and paid employment in railway construction, mining and forestry. Hydroelectric projects certainly held the promise of more paid employment. In 1972, the



Jenpeg Station after construction, 1979. (Source: Engineers Geoscientists Manitoba Heritage Wiki Site, accessed online, <http://heritage.apegm.mb.ca/>)

province formed a Crown corporation called Minago Contractors, for clearing, logging and other contracting work on Manitoba Hydro developments. The corporation was designed to give northern residents, particularly Indigenous people, job opportunities at Jenpeg Generating Station.³⁵¹ Most of these jobs were short term, however, and steady employment was difficult to attain. By 1975, just 12% of Hydro's workforce on five major northern construction sites were members of northern Manitoba First Nations.³⁵²

Unfortunately, for many years, Manitoba Hydro and the province took the stance that any social problems in communities along the Churchill, Burntwood and Nelson River systems were merely part of wider problems that existed prior to hydroelectric development.³⁵³ However, in recent years, Manitoba Hydro has made strides to involve First Nations and Indigenous people in project planning, and to pursue agreements that provide communities with jobs and revenue. The corporation has also funded initiatives designed to alleviate or prevent ecological damage along the Churchill, Burntwood and Nelson River systems, as part of implementation agreements formed with individual communities and groups. These programs and agreements are listed and briefly described in Table 6 on page 50.

TABLE 6: AGREEMENTS WITH NON-NFA COMMUNITIES		
Community/Group	Date	Agreement Details
City of Thompson	1976	Provides for substitute lands and the provision of mitigation work, including adequate protection for city infrastructure, such as the city's cemetery, golf course, storm and sanitary sewage outlets, roads and crossing, boat landing docks and float plane bases. Amended in 1982. ³⁵⁴
Ilford Community Council	1976	Provides \$100,000 in compensation to Ilford Community Economic Development Fund to address reductions in fishing by community members on North Indian Lake, Billard Lake and Fidler Lake, as a result of the CRD. ³⁵⁵
Local Government District of Churchill	1978	Provides for the relocation of the LGD's water supply intake to prevent salt water from seeping into the town's supply, which was affected by the CRD, including operating and maintenance requirements and road maintenance. ³⁵⁶
South Indian Lake Commercial Fisherman's Association	1984	Provides full, final and complete settlement of all past, present and future loss and damage to the commercial fishery on Southern Indian Lake. Funds used to support the development of a fishing lodge on Big Sand Lake. ³⁵⁷
Cross Lake Fisherman's Association	1984	Provides compensation for loss and damage to commercial fishery on Cross Lake and Pipestone Lake (excluding sturgeon). Amended in 1986, 1987 and 2008. ³⁵⁸
South Indian Lake Trappers Association	1985	Provides payment to settle NFA Claim 45 (trapping), and to resolve past, present and future damages relating to trapping and hunting activities in the South Indian Lake Registered Trapline. ³⁵⁹
Wabowden Community Council, Commercial Fishery Licence Holders on Sipiwes Lake	1986	With Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro. Commercial Fishery Agreement provides compensation to five claimants holding commercial fishery licences on Sipiwes Lake. The agreement also establishes water-regime parameters and monthly notifications of predicted water levels. ³⁶⁰
Pikwitonei Community Council (Pikwitonei Trappers Association)	1987	With Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. Provides compensation to address adverse effects associated with past hydroelectric development on trapping activities. ³⁶¹
Wabowden Community Council, Individual Nelson River fishers	1988	For individual Nelson River fishers. Provides compensation for adverse effects on both scale and lake sturgeon fishing. ³⁶²
Southern Indian Lake Commercial Fishermen's Association	1988–1990	Provides for the construction of the Sturgeon Narrows Fish Station, which includes payments to be distributed to commercial fishers (remainder of which to be used by the association and members in the future). ³⁶³

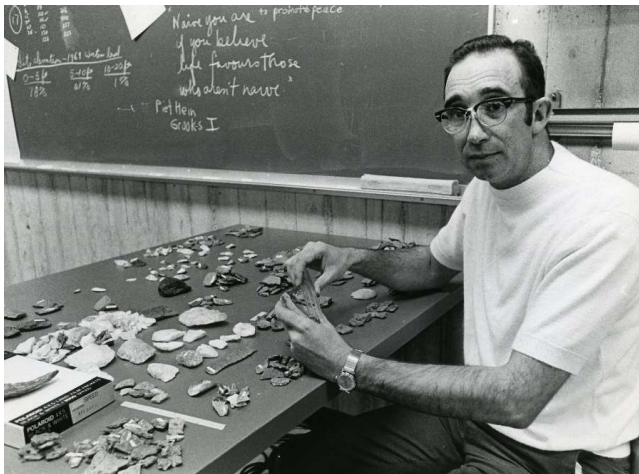
Cross Lake Trappers Association	1989	Seven-Year Agreement. Establishes a trapping program that provides income assistance, support payments and trapline rehabilitation and improvement. ³⁶⁴
Community Association of South Indian Lake and South Indian Lake Housing Association Inc.	1992	With Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. Resolves outstanding grievances from the NFA resulting from the CRD, and provides compensation. ³⁶⁵
Wabowden Community Council	1992	Provides compensation for adverse effects associated with past hydroelectric development, to be put toward community development. ³⁶⁶
Cross Lake Fishermen's Association, Cross Lake Commercial Sturgeon Fishermen's Association and Cross Lake First Nation	1992	Settles all claims regarding the commercial sturgeon fishery. ³⁶⁷
Town of Churchill	1993	Provides compensation for repairing or replacing the community's aluminum water supply line.
War Lake First Nation	1995	With Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. Provides compensation for adverse effects from past hydroelectric development, and includes a provision for future development. ³⁶⁸
Town of Churchill	1997	Adverse Effects Agreement. A significant component of this was the construction of a rock-fill weir upriver of Churchill, the largest physical-mitigation structure on the CRD system. ³⁶⁹
Southern Indian Lake Commercial Fishermen's Association	1999	With Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. Provides compensation to resolve NFA Claim 187 pertaining to impacts on commercial fishing activities on lakes other than Southern Indian Lake. ³⁷⁰
Kischikamee Treaty Council, Churchill	2000	This small, officially "unrecognized" band of Indigenous people, the majority of whom are Cree, is based in Churchill and its members possess Indigenous rights distinct from those of the Town of Churchill. ³⁷¹ The Kischikamee Treaty Council received a trust fund from Manitoba Hydro to compensate for infringement on activities such as fishing, hunting and trapping that were affected by CRD. ³⁷²
Norway House Community Council	2003	With Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. This draft settlement agreement will be finalized "pending the outcome of community consultations." ³⁷³
Fox Lake Cree Nation	2004	With Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. Provides compensation for extreme water levels, transfer of lands to the community, a process to address the adverse effects of future hydroelectric developments, etc. This agreement also establishes the Fox Lake Resource

		Management Area. Includes \$18.9 million and 2,169 hectares of land, mitigation and remedial works and future development. ³⁷⁴
Wabowden Community Council, Sipiwesik Lake Commercial Fisherman's Association	2005	Mitigates the loss and damage incurred by Sipiwesik Lake commercial fishers during the open-water season of 2005 as a result of water levels exceeding the upper limits as outlined in the 1986 agreement. ³⁷⁵
Nelson House Community Council	2006	Adverse Effects Agreement, with Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. Establishes a Trust Fund to encourage traditional pursuits, support Elder teachings and fund claims related to hydroelectric development (excluding future development). ³⁷⁶
Town of Gillam and Fox Lake Cree Nation	2007	With Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. Harmonized Gillam Development Process provides a framework for parties to undertake mutually beneficial projects to "build a community where all residents live, work, play and prosper together." ³⁷⁷
Cross Lake Trappers Association	2007	Provides compensation retroactively from 1995 to 2005 and for a future 20 years (until 2025) to address all adverse effects on trapping activities within the Cross Lake Registered Trapline. ³⁷⁸
War Lake First Nation	2009	Joint Keeyask Development Agreement with Manitoba Hydro, Tataskweyak Cree Nation, York Factory First Nation and Fox Lake Cree Nation. ³⁷⁹
Fox Lake Cree Nation	2009	Joint Keeyask Development Agreement with Manitoba Hydro, Tataskweyak Cree Nation, York Factory First Nation and War Lake Cree Nation. ³⁸⁰
Cross Lake Community Council	2010	With Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. Provides for pre-determined compensation for extreme water levels, lands provided to the community by Manitoba, a resource management committee, claims for compensation and a 13-year compensation payment plan. ³⁸¹
Wabowden Community Council, Sipiwesik Lake Commercial Fisherman's Association	2011	Commercial Fishery Agreement. Provides compensation for asserted losses to the commercial fishery due to unanticipated high-water events on the lake from 2006–2010. ³⁸²
Manitoba Métis Federation	2014	With Manitoba Hydro and Manitoba. Signed a term sheet to guide the preparation of the "Kwaysh-kin-na-mihk la paazh" Agreement (which means "turning the page" in Michif) that will outline measures for building productive relationships and addressing the impacts of development. ³⁸³
Fox Lake Cree Nation	2015	Bipole III/Keewatinohk Converter Station Agreement. Provides Fox Lake Cree Nation with funding to address impacts and develop community programming that provides appropriate replacements and opportunities to offset impacts. ³⁸⁴ In 2016, Fox Lake Cree Nation

		blocked Manitoba Hydro from accessing work sites after community members said that Hydro workers desecrated a ceremonial site during construction. A new agreement was signed, which includes more meetings and better communications strategies. ³⁸⁵
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MANITOBA HYDRO PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS ENVIRONMENTAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS

In 1969, the Churchill Diversion Archaeological Project was established with a grant from the Manitoba Department of Tourism and Recreation to survey rock art along the CRD route.³⁸⁶ In 1973, the group requested funds from Manitoba Hydro to continue investigative work “around the shores of South Indian Lake” before water levels were raised. Leonard Bateman was initially opposed, stating that past archaeological projects “have hardly been worthwhile from our point of view,” but in March, Manitoba Hydro granted the group \$150,000 and promised the same amount in the next two fiscal years if the work could be “sufficiently justified.”³⁸⁷ When the CRD went into operation in 1977, however, the project came to an end, and much data remained unanalyzed.³⁸⁸ In 1979, the Association of Manitoba Archaeologists



“Prof. Oscar Mallory and relics found up north - pottery fragments and stone tools,” March 30, 1970. (Source: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, *Winnipeg Tribune* fonds (PC 18/271/18-271-019))

criticized the 1973 allocation amount as a “last minute salvage” attempt, and noted that at the time, Manitoba Hydro stipulated that the funds should not be used for analysis or publication. The Association chastised Manitoba Hydro for not implementing heritage resource inventories or historic resource management plans during the early 1960s, which might have prevented negative impacts of development on 5,000–10,000 sites of environmental/historical importance.³⁸⁹

Manitoba Hydro’s approach to archaeological and heritage management, however, has changed significantly over the years. In 1990, residents of South Indian Lake asked the

Manitoba Historic Resources Branch to investigate a badly eroding burial site along the flooded shoreline near the community. The Branch initiated a burial recovery program, which uncovered other endangered burials and archaeological sites not previously recorded. This prompted the Branch to restart the Churchill River Diversion Archaeological Program that was halted in 1976.³⁹⁰ Manitoba Hydro became a partner in the archaeological program, which has identified, preserved and protected heritage sites and human remains affected by the corporation’s developments. Manitoba Hydro has also funded the Sipiwesk Lake Archaeological Program through the Cross Lake Action Plan and other mitigative programs to protect and restore archaeological sites throughout the province.³⁹¹

In 1998, Manitoba Hydro implemented a comprehensive Debris Management Program to collect and burn debris along shorelines, and an overall Waterways Management Program was designed to support the

safety of people travelling on affected rivers and lakes by clearing mobile debris. Boat patrols also map out safe travel routes for resource users and provide assistance to users in emergency situations.³⁹² The Safe Ice Travel Program employs Indigenous resource users to install ice trails, which are then monitored approximately twice a week by Manitoba Hydro employees for ice thickness and obstruction. Ice trails provide a safe route for hunters and fishers, and cabins have been built at various locations along the trails for emergency use.³⁹³

In 2008, Manitoba Hydro established the Lake Sturgeon Stewardship and Enhancement Program to contribute to Lake Sturgeon conservation in waterways affected by hydroelectric development, including different points along both the Churchill and Nelson Rivers.³⁹⁴ In 2013, the corporation signed an agreement with the province to increase these efforts, committing \$50,000 a year toward the recovery of sturgeon populations in rivers and lakes where they were once plentiful.³⁹⁵

Manitoba Hydro has also made improvements to provide training, employment and funding to Indigenous people. The Manitoba Hydro Keewatinohk Sipiia Partnership Fund (KSP) assists northern residents who use the developed waterways of the Nelson, Churchill, Burntwood, Rat, Laurie and Saskatchewan Rivers for traditional and commercial purposes by funding projects relating to traditional resource harvesting, culture, recreation, extracurricular education and youth programs, sustainability of local cooperatives and not-for-profit organizations. The KSP gives priority to projects that add value and security to community activities on waterways or adjacent land. Manitoba Hydro Indigenous Relations employees are available to provide assistance to eligible organizations in proposal development and reporting.³⁹⁶

In February 1985, the province provided funding to a group comprising the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak (a non-profit political advocacy group representing 30 sovereign First Nations in Manitoba³⁹⁷), the Manitoba Métis Federation, the Northern Association of Community Councils, the Brotherhood of Indian Nations and Métis and non-status women's groups to form the Limestone Partnership Directorate Board. The Board was created by the Working Group on Northern Involvement in Hydro Development, a government committee that met with northern residents throughout 1984 to discuss how to increase their involvement in construction activities.³⁹⁸ The Limestone Partnership's members represented the views of northern people in discussions with Manitoba Hydro and the government about the construction of the renewed Limestone Generating Station. The Board was also given representation on the Limestone Training and Employment Agency, which was established to provide northern Manitobans with education, training and jobs relating to hydroelectric development.³⁹⁹

Canada and Manitoba signed the Limestone Project Employment and Training Agreement in September 1985. The agreement contained "special measures for consultation with, and involvement of, northern Native groups represented on the" Limestone Partnership Directorate Board. The federal Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs stated that, since the previous April, nearly 350 northern people had participated in specially designed training courses for potential work on Limestone Generating Station.⁴⁰⁰ While the program had its challenges — for example, contractors did not hire as many apprentices as they were allowed to under the terms of the agreement — it was "successful in providing a series of short-term and long-term training opportunities for Indigenous Northerners who would have otherwise had difficulty accessing such opportunities." The program was ultimately criticized, however, for lack of effective communication on the part of the government, which erroneously led northern people to believe that their training would give them immediate employment at the Limestone site.⁴⁰¹

In the early 1990s, Manitoba Hydro outlined in its corporate strategic plan a number of specific goals meant to address inequities in economic development among, and to provide employment and business opportunities to, Manitoba's First Nations.⁴⁰² The corporation created the Aboriginal Relations Division, which reports to the Corporate Relations Business Unit, to improve corporate/Indigenous relations. Programs focused on increasing Indigenous representation within the corporation have been largely successful. For example, the Aboriginal Pre Placement (APP) program, which was established in 1998, provides individuals with paid academic upgrading and on-the-job training and experience. As of 2015, more than 400 Indigenous candidates had been recruited into the APP program, and subsequently employed by Manitoba Hydro in technical and other positions.⁴⁰³ In 2003, Manitoba Hydro, the province and Canada partnered with Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, Tataskweyak Cree Nation, War Lake First Nation, Fox Lake Cree Nation, York Factory First Nation, Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak and Manitoba Métis Federation Inc. to establish the Wuskwatim and Keeyask Training Consortium Incorporated, the administrative and coordinating body for the Hydro Northern Training and Employment Initiative, through which Manitoba Hydro sets standards and job protections, and the Indigenous partners train workers for jobs at the Wuskwatim and Keeyask Generating Station projects.⁴⁰⁴ Manitoba Hydro and the province also launched a Northern Trades Training Program in 2014 to provide primarily Indigenous participants with apprenticeship training for high-demand skilled trades, such as millwrights, industrial electricians, and steam and pipefitters.⁴⁰⁵ Recently, the corporation has worked hard to increase female Indigenous-employee numbers, which were previously quite low.⁴⁰⁶

In 2015, Manitoba Hydro announced that nearly one in five of their 6,300 employees are Indigenous, and that, in the north, 45% of its employees are Indigenous.⁴⁰⁷ In 2016, Manitoba Hydro was named one of the top 100 employers in the country in the 17th annual *Canada's Top 100 Employers* project, in part because of its paid apprenticeship programs for Indigenous candidates and a workforce that includes a total of 25.5% Indigenous employees and managers.⁴⁰⁸

Manitoba Hydro has also worked to increase how many services it purchases from Indigenous-owned companies. In the last decade, the corporation has awarded contracts to Indigenous companies for work totalling more than \$1.2 billion. In 2014–2015 alone, 100 Indigenous companies won hydroelectric development-related contracts, at a total of more than \$180 million of work.⁴⁰⁹

CONCLUSION

Starting in the late 19th century, thousands of people moved to Manitoba to farm, build railways and participate in the province's growing commercial fishing, trapping and lumber industries. Throughout the next few decades, communities sprang up on the rail line between The Pas and Churchill and mining companies began to exploit what turned out to be one of the richest nickel deposits in the world. By the mid-1950s, the growing need for electricity for industry and the public, in both the province and the country, motivated Manitoba to plan for hydroelectric development along one of its greatest natural resources, the Churchill–Burntwood–Nelson River systems. By the 1970s, generating stations, dams and transmission lines along the waterway were powering towns and cities across Manitoba and in its neighbouring provinces.

Hydroelectric development came with a disturbing price, however. Development flooded vast tracts of land and eroded heritage sites, destabilized commercial fishing and hunting areas, forced people to move from their homes and disrupted traditional practices that were central to the way of life of Indigenous communities across the region. The Churchill River Diversion and Lake Winnipeg Regulation were constructed despite a fundamental lack of understanding, on the part of Manitoba Hydro and the province, of the real size and requirements of the projects—and, consequently, the potential impacts. This lack of knowledge in turn led to a lack of communication with northern communities that drove a wedge between the government of Manitoba and its constituents, particularly Indigenous people.

For the better part of 30 years, hydroelectric projects in the north sparked outrage, protest, debate, and negotiation that pitted Manitoba against the federal government, Manitoba Hydro against the province, and even Manitoba Hydro employees against one another. Even after the detrimental environmental and social consequences of development became apparent, those most affected had to wait years for compensation deals that would never truly make up for their loss of income, traditions, and peace.

In 2015, the government of Manitoba formally apologized to its First Nations people for the impact of development on their cultural identity and relationship with the land.⁴¹⁰ Both the province and Manitoba Hydro have promised to work closely with Indigenous groups to ensure they benefit financially from any upcoming projects, and to implement policies that respect environmental considerations.⁴¹¹ The history of development on the Churchill–Burntwood–Nelson River systems continues to serve as a reminder of the possibilities for a better future.

ENDNOTES

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- ¹¹⁶ From notes of a speech, no author, but probably Harry J. Enns, Manitoba Minister of Mines and Natural Resources, n.d. [sometime between January 7 and 27, 1969]. [PAM, 21. Political Input – (C) General, 1969-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-8].
- ¹¹⁷ The Chief of the Nelson Agency was also charged with helping to supply manpower for the thousands of jobs that northern hydroelectric development was expected to create. Manitoba Department of Provincial Secretary, "New Agencies to Grasp Growth Opportunities: Springboards to New Development Is Aim," March 25, 1966, accessed online, http://news.gov.mb.ca/news/archives/1966/03/1966-03-25-new_agencies_to_grasp_growth_opportunities.pdf.
- ¹¹⁸ As reiterated in a letter from G.S. Bowman to Mr. Cass-Beggs, July 29, 1970. [PAM, 6. Mitigation – Split Lake, York Landing, Cross Lake, Nelson House (Including Northern Flood Committee), 1976-1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-14-5-19].
- ¹¹⁹ Nelson Agency, *South Indian Lake: The Position at mid-August 1968*, Appendix. [PAM, Churchill Diversion (H) South Indian Village prior to and including 1972, 1968-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba, A0064, GR2022, B-14-5-18].
- ¹²⁰ Kris and Baldur Kristjanson, the Deputy Minister of the Manitoba Development Authority, were brothers. See "Baldur Kristjanson talks about economic growth," *Winnipeg Tribune*, June 12, 1971.
- ¹²¹ "Transcription of Proceedings at a Meeting Held at South Indian Lake on Monday 22nd April 1968," 5 and 7. [PAM, Churchill Diversion (H) South Indian Village prior to and including 1972, 1968-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-14-5-18].
- ¹²² *Ibid.*, 1.
- ¹²³ From notes of a speech written by S. Green, Manitoba Minister of Mines and Natural Resources, n.d. [PAM, 21. Political Input – (C) General, 1969-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-8].
- ¹²⁴ "Transcription of Proceedings at a Meeting Held at South Indian Lake on Sunday 28th April 1968," 2. [PAM, Churchill Diversion (H) South Indian Village prior to and including 1972, 1968-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-14-5-18].
- ¹²⁵ G.S. Bowman, memo to file re: South Indian Lake Facts and Figures, June 6, 1969, 3. [PAM, 18. Cass-Beggs – 21. Political Input – (iii) Mines, Resources and Environmental Management (M.R.E.M), 1969-1973, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-5]. See also K. Kristjanson, memo to file re: Notes on South Indian Lake Relocation Committee Meeting, October 4, 1968, October 15, 1968. [PAM, Question 13 – Communications Between Government of Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro . . . Respecting the Churchill River Diversion, Regulation of Lake Winnipeg Including Jenpeg, Kettle Rapids, Long Spruce and Limestone, 1967-1973, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-13].
- ¹²⁶ The meeting was translated into Cree for the benefit of Aboriginal community members in attendance. Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources. *Public Hearings on Manitoba Hydro's Proposal for the Churchill River Diversion: Transcript of Proceedings in the United Church, South Indian Lake, Tuesday, January 7, 1969* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources, 1969), 30. [Manitoba Legislative Library, MAN, Manitoba Mines Natural Resources, c.2].
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 23-24.
- ¹²⁸ Testimony of Ed Overguard, Manitoba Hydro engineer, in *Ibid.*, 7-8.
- ¹²⁹ "Flooding of Lake to Proceed," *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 20, 1969, 1.
- ¹³⁰ Wilbert J. Friesen, "Development Ethics and the Canadian North: A Case Study Analysis of the Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydro Diversion Project" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1999), 136.
- ¹³¹ This huge turnout clearly surprised the hearings' organizers, who noted that they reserved the room when they sent out public notifications about the hearing, and that "we regret the situation that has occurred." The meeting adjourned for lunch at 12:30 pm, and reconvened in a larger hall across the street. "Transcript - South Indian Lake Hearing, Winnipeg, January 27-29, 1969," 5, 31. [PAM, Transcript – South Indian Lake Hearing, Winnipeg, January 27-29, 1969, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-16].
- ¹³² "Three Northern Briefs Presented on South Indian," *Thompson Citizen*, February 3, 1969, 1.
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁴ The report referred to is "Churchill River Diversion: A Preliminary Investigation of Resource Implications," by the Ministry "Task Force." "Transcript – South Indian Lake Hearing, Winnipeg, January 27-29, 1969," 4. [PAM, Transcript – South Indian Lake Hearing, Winnipeg, January 27-29, 1969, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-16].
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.
- ¹³⁶ Letter from W.D. Fallis to Gurney Evans, Manitoba Minister of Finance, February 19, 1969. [PAM, Question 13 – [South Indian Lake, Pickeral [sic] Narrows, Notigi], 1968-1969, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-14].
- ¹³⁷ W.J. Friesen, "Development Ethics and the Canadian North," 137.

- ¹³⁸ James B. Waldram, *As Long as the Rivers Run: Hydroelectric Development and Native Communities in Western Canada* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1988), 131.
- ¹³⁹ Scott MacNeil, "Walter Weir, 1967-1969," *Manitoba Premiers of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Barry Ferguson and Robert A. Wardhaugh (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre Press, 2010), 273-274.
- ¹⁴⁰ The "secret documents" were later identified as "Transition in the North" Volumes 1 and 2 and "The Churchill River Diversion – A Preliminary Investigation of Resource Implications" by Hon. Leonard S. Evans (Minister of Mines and Natural Resources) of the recently elected NDP government. Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, *Debates and Proceedings*, Vol. XVI, No. 15, August 29th, 1969 (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer for Province of Manitoba, 1969), 314. See also MacNeil, "Walter Weir," 273-274; Wayne Skene, *Delusions of Power: Vanity, Folly and the Uncertain Future of Canada's Hydro Giants* (Vancouver & Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1997), 167-168.
- ¹⁴¹ The Standing Committee on Public Utilities held hearings on May 20 and 22, 1969 where they heard and received 32 submissions from many of the same participants who had appeared at the public hearings on January 27-29, 1969. See PAM, Briefs – May Hearing, 1969, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, File B-13-2-16].
- ¹⁴² W.J. Friesen, "Development Ethics and the Canadian North," 139.
- ¹⁴³ Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, *Debates and Proceedings*, Vol. XV, No. 96, May 22nd, 1969 (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer for Province of Manitoba, 1969): 2305. See also MacNeil, "Walter Weir," 273-274.
- ¹⁴⁴ Edward Schreyer, *Ed Schreyer: A Social Democrat in Power. Selected Speeches and Interviews of Premier Schreyer of Manitoba*, ed. Paul Beaulieu (Winnipeg: Queenston House Publishing, 1977), 3.
- ¹⁴⁵ G. Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 421.
- ¹⁴⁶ Gregory Marchildon and Ken Rasmussen, "Edward Schreyer, 1969-1977," in *Manitoba Premiers of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Barry Ferguson and Robert Wardhaugh (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2010), 289.
- ¹⁴⁷ The NDP's victory also heralded a new era in federal-provincial relations, which was characterized in the 1970s by the theme of "western alienation." Canada's new Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau (elected in 1968), did not have a lot of experience in or contact with the region, and over the next few years, federal policies on tariffs, freight rates, grain sales, French-language services and provincial control of natural resources frustrated prairie residents. Western provinces believed that their resources belonged with them, but Ottawa did not always agree. Schreyer, *Ed Schreyer*, 198; G. Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 446-449.
- ¹⁴⁸ Manitoba News Service, July 30 1969, 1. [PAM, 18. Cass-Beggs – 21. Political Input – (i) Minister for Hydro prior to and including February, 1970, 1969-1970, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-5].
- ¹⁴⁹ Cass-Beggs, *The Proposed Churchill River Diversion and Associated Problems*, 5-6.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ¹⁵¹ Letter from Edward Schreyer to W.D. Fallis, September 15, 1969. [PAM, Political Input – (C) Relationship Between Hydro and (i) Minister for Hydro Prior to and including 1972, 1969-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-7].
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵³ Letter from L.A. Bateman to W.D. Fallis, September 19, 1969. [PAM, Task Force – (A) – Assumption Constraints – Political and Other, 1968-1970, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-14-5-15].
- ¹⁵⁴ Letter from W.D. Fallis to Edward Schreyer, September 19, 1969. [PAM, 18. Cass-Beggs – 21. Political Input – (iii) Mines, Resources and Environmental Management (M.R.E.M), 1969-1973, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-5].
- ¹⁵⁵ Letter from G.S. Bowman to Leonard Evans, Minister of Mines and Natural Resources, September 25, 1962. [PAM, 18. Cass-Beggs – 21. Political Input – (iii) Mines, Resources and Environmental Management (M.R.E.M), 1969-1973, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-5].
- ¹⁵⁶ Letter from Edward Schreyer to Chairman and Board, Manitoba Hydro, October 29, 1969. [PAM, 21. Political Input – (A) Gensis 850, 1969-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-9].
- ¹⁵⁷ Draft letter from R. Hood to L. Bateman, Manitoba Hydro, December 1969. [PAM, 21. Political Input – (A) Gensis 850, 1969-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-9].
- ¹⁵⁸ Manitoba Historical Society, "Memorable Manitobans: Leonard Salusbury "Len" Evans, 1929-2016," accessed online, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/evans_ls.shtml.
- ¹⁵⁹ Letter from Leonard Evans to Edward Schreyer, December 2, 1969. [PAM, 18. Cass-Beggs – 21. Political Input – (i) Minister for Hydro prior to and including February, 1970, 1969-1970, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-5].
- ¹⁶⁰ Letter from W. Winston Mair to Sidney Green, February 5, 1970, 60. [PAM, 18. Cass-Beggs – 21. Political Input – (iii) Mines, Resources and Environmental Management (M.R.E.M), 1969-1973, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-5].
- ¹⁶¹ Terms of Reference for Lake Winnipeg Study, November 1969, 28. [PAM, Sidney Green – 21. Political Input (C) Relationship Between Hydro and (i) Minister of Hydro, 1969-1973, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-13.]

- ¹⁶² Fallis remained General Manager until 1971. Manitoba News Releases, "Fallis Seeks to Give Up One of Two Hydro Posts," January 9, 1970, accessed online, http://news.gov.mb.ca/news/archives/1970/01/1970-01-09-fallis_seeks_to_give_up_one_of_two_hydro_posts.pdf.
- ¹⁶³ Manitoba Hydro Corporate Planning Group, *Summary of Reports – Nelson River Development* (January 1977), 44. [PAM, Questions 68-69 – [Limestone, Nelson River, Churchill Diversion, Long Spruce, Burntwood, Rates Comparison], 1964-1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-15]. Manitoba Hydro Task Force on Expansion of Generating Capacity, *Terms of Reference*. [PAM, 21. (C) (i) Political Input (C) Relationship Between Hydro and (ii) Department of Finance, 1968-1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-10].
- ¹⁶⁴ "Mayor Wants Campaign for Hydro," *Thompson Citizen*, January 26, 1970.
- ¹⁶⁵ "Mayor Gets Support From Flood Area," *Thompson Citizen*, March 2, 1970, 3.
- ¹⁶⁶ The approval of Nabess's motion was also controversial: Only 13 members attended the meeting on February 26th. "Métis Federation Hear Arguments," *Thompson Citizen*, February 16, 1970, 1; "Métis Group Will Back Power Stand," *Thompson Citizen*, March 2, 1970, 1.
- ¹⁶⁷ "An Act to Amend the Commissioner of Northern Manitoba Affairs Act, C. 73," in *Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba 1970* (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1970): 667-672.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 667; "Manitoba Aboriginal and Northern Affairs History," Province of Manitoba, Indigenous and Municipal Relations, accessed online, <http://www.gov.mb.ca/ana/about-us/index.html>.
- ¹⁶⁹ Schreyer, *Ed Schreyer*, 156.
- ¹⁷⁰ Tritschler, *Final Report*, 40; Manitoba Hydro, "Long Spruce Generating Station," accessed online, https://www.hydro.mb.ca/corporate/facilities/gs_long_spruce.shtml.
- ¹⁷¹ Tritschler, *Final Report*, 173-177.
- ¹⁷² Manitoba Hydro, Nelson River Projects Division, *Report on the Re-evaluation of the Long Spruce Project, 1970-1971* (June 1971), 51. [PAM, Question 121-125 – [Capital Budget Revisions on Long Spruce, Accommodation for Manitoba Hydro and Contractors' Employees at Henday, Limestone and Conawapa Stations, Burntwood River Studies, Executive Committee of Manitoba Hydro Meeting Minutes], 1971-1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-19].
- ¹⁷³ Board resolutions dated June 14, 1972, attached to letter from David Cass-Beggs to Edward Schreyer, "Subject: Timing and Financing of Lower Nelson Plants," October 16, 1972. [PAM, 7. Burntwood River Generating Station – (B) Preliminary Studies, 1967-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-14-5-20].
- ¹⁷⁴ R.C. Westcott, MH Property Manager to A.W. Knight, MH Projects Co-ordinator, Nelson River Projects, March 2, 1972. [PAM, Question 13 – [Long Spruce], 1970-1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-13].
- ¹⁷⁵ T.E. Weber, Director General, Manitoba Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management, to J.F. Funnell, General Counsel & Secretary, Manitoba Hydro, August 3, 1973. [PAM, [Long Spruce Project – Summary of History and Development], 1973-1978, A0064, GR2022, B-13-3-9].
- ¹⁷⁶ "Long Spruce Generating Station," Manitoba Hydro.
- ¹⁷⁷ MacLaren Plansearch Inc./InterGroup Consultants Ltd., *Limestone Generating Station Environmental Impact Study: Final Report* (February 1986), 25. See also Mary Ann Fitzgerald, "Hydro's Limestone Can Wait," *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 31, 1978.
- ¹⁷⁸ "Limestone Generating Station," Manitoba Hydro, accessed online, https://www.hydro.mb.ca/corporate/facilities/gs_limestone.shtml.
- ¹⁷⁹ Memo from G.G. Duncan to L.A. Bateman, April 27, 1970, cited in Tritschler, *Final Report*, 109.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 110.
- ¹⁸¹ Ibid., 113; Manitoba Hydro News Release, "Churchill Diversion and Lake Winnipeg Control Plans Announced," September 23, 1970. [PAM, Churchill Diversion (H) South Indian Village Prior to and including 1972, 1968-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR022, B-14-5-18.]
- ¹⁸² Manitoba Hydro News Release, "Churchill Diversion and Lake Winnipeg Control Plans Announced," September 23, 1970. [PAM, Churchill Diversion (H) South Indian Village Prior to and including 1972, 1968-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR022, B-14-5-18].
- ¹⁸³ Letter from C. Booy to Edward Schreyer, September 22, 1970. [PAM, 21. Political Input – (A) Gensis 850, 1969-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-9].
- ¹⁸⁴ "Churchill Diversion Still Hot Issue: Enns," *Winnipeg Tribune*, September 24, 1970, 3.
- ¹⁸⁵ Letter from Jack Davis to Sidney Green, October 29, 1970. [PAM, 21. (C) (i) 21. Political Input (C) Relationship between Hydro and (iii) Mines, Resources, and Environmental Management (MREM), 1970, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR022, B-13-1-10].
- ¹⁸⁶ Manitoba Hydro News Release, "Hydro Granted Interim Lake Winnipeg Licence: Water Regulated 'Well Within Natural Limits'," November 20, 1970. [PAM, 21. Political Input – (C) General, 1969-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-8].

- ¹⁸⁷ Manitoba Hydro News Release, "Jenpeg Site Selected by Hydro," September 17, 1971. [PAM, Churchill River – Press Releases, 1968-1982, Manitoba Water Commission Office files, NR 0340, GR3593, N-13-3-18].
- ¹⁸⁸ Manitoba Department of Mines, Resources, and Environmental Management, "Real Property Assessment: Outlet Lakes Area," by G. Pinkos in *Existing Works and Services: Technical Report Appendix 4*, by Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board (November 1973), 1. [PAM, Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board – Existing Works and Services – Technical Report – Appendix 4, 1971-1975, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-3-19].
- ¹⁸⁹ Manitoba Hydro, "Appendix 1 – Province of Manitoba, Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management, Water Resources Branch, Interim License for the Development of Water Power, Jenpeg Site, December 14, 1972," in *Lake Winnipeg Regulation: A Document in Support of Manitoba Hydro's Request for a Final Licence Under the Manitoba Water Power Act*, (2014), accessed online, https://www.hydro.mb.ca/corporate/water_regimes/lake_wpg_regulation/lake_wpg_regulation_cec_submission.shtml.
- ¹⁹⁰ The budget for LWR was originally estimated at \$50 million, with an additional \$55 million for the inclusion of power generation at Jenpeg. The final cost was actually in the range of \$315 million.
- ¹⁹¹ Manitoba Water Commission, *Lake Winnipeg Regulation Study: Progress Report* (June 1971), 4-5. [PAM 21. Political Input (C) Relationship Between Hydro and (iii) Mines, Resources and Environmental Management (MREM), 1968-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-10].
- ¹⁹² This provoked Professor R.W. Newbury to resign from the Commission, noting that "so much of the Governments' and Commissions' time has been spent on procedural and internal wrangles and so little time has been spent actually discussing Lake Winnipeg, the regulation of the Nelson River or the proposed diversion of the Churchill River." Letter from R.W. Newbury to S. Green, November 22, 1971. [PAM, 21. (C) (i) 21. Political Input (C) Relationship Between Hydro and (iii) Mines, Resources and Environmental Management (MREM), 1971-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-10].
- ¹⁹³ Joe Wiesenfeld, "Lake Level talks bring hot words," *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 12, 1972.
- ¹⁹⁴ Manitoba News Release, "Lake Winnipeg Control To Proceed: Schreyer; Low-Level Diversion Seen For Southern Indian Lake," September 25, 1970. [PAM, Churchill Diversion (H) South Indian Village prior to and including 1972, 1968-1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-14-5-18].
- ¹⁹⁵ Cover letter from A.C.R. Albery to L. Bateman, in *Churchill River Diversion Review of Alternates* (April 1972). [PAM, Albery, A.C.R., P.Eng., "Churchill River Diversion Review of Alternates, April 1972," 1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-16]; Tritschler, *Final Report*, 179.
- ¹⁹⁶ Manitoba Hydro, System Planning Division, *CRD: Interim Technical and Economic Review* (February 15, 1972). [PAM, System Planning Division, Manitoba Hydro, "Churchill River Diversion, Interim Technical and Economic Review, 15 February 1972," 1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-16].
- ¹⁹⁷ Cover letter from A.C.R. Albery to L. Bateman, in *Churchill River Diversion Review of Alternates* (April 1972), 2. [PAM, Albery, A.C.R., P.Eng., "Churchill River Diversion Review of Alternates, April 1972," 1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-16].
- ¹⁹⁸ Tritschler, *Final Report*, 180.
- ¹⁹⁹ "Indian Lake to be Raised Seven Feet," *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 25, 1972. [PAM, Press Releases – Churchill River – South Indian Lake, 1972, NR 0340, GR3593, N-13-3-18].
- ²⁰⁰ Letter from David Cass-Beggs to Edward Schreyer, May 29, 1972. [PAM, 21. Political Input – (A) Gensis 850, 1969-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-9]. By this time, South Indian Lake's Community Council had already hired a law firm to represent its interests in the issue: "Flood-area Residents Hire Legal Services," *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 28, 1972. [PAM, Press Releases– Churchill River – South Indian Lake, 1972, NR 0340, GR3593, N-13-3-18]. In early May, South Indian Lake's lawyer told Schreyer that "no decision on the course of action to be adopted with respect to the diversion" should be made without informing the community in advance. Schreyer's terse reply was that the government's decision "is not subject to prior approval by any private interest group": Correspondence between E. Schreyer and H. Buchwald, May 4 and May 12, 1972. [PAM, 21. Political Input – (A) Gensis 850, 1969-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-9].
- ²⁰¹ Letter from Edward Schreyer to David Cass-Beggs, June 9, 1972. [PAM, Question 13 – [Lower Nelson River – Churchill Diversion], 1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-14].
- ²⁰² "Diversion Settled: May Not Need Licence," *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 26, 1972. [PAM, Lake Winnipeg – Press Releases, 1972, NR 0340, GR3593, N-13-5-4].
- ²⁰³ Letter from J. F. Funnell to Edward Schreyer, June 9, 1972. [PAM, 21. Political Input (C) (i) Relationship Between Hydro and (iv) Water Resource Branch (WRB), 1969-1974, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-10].
- ²⁰⁴ W.J. Friesen, "Development Ethics and the Canadian North," 143; and The Interchurch Task Force on Northern Flooding, *Report of the Panel of Public Enquiry into Northern Hydro Development* (Winnipeg: The Interchurch Task Force on Northern Flooding, April 12, 1976), iii.
- ²⁰⁵ "Chronological History of Churchill River Diversion Project," c. 1978. [PAM, [Churchill River Diversion – Volume 1- A) Chronological History of Churchill River Diversion Project..., 1972-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-18]; Tritschler, *Final Report*, 183.

- ²⁰⁶ Letter from L.A. Bateman to J. Angus Spence, December 29, 1972. [PAM, Question 13 – [Lower Nelson River – Churchill Diversion], 1972, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-14].
- ²⁰⁷ “Chronological History of Churchill River Diversion Project,” c. 1978. [PAM, [Churchill River Diversion – Volume 1-A) Chronological History of Churchill River Diversion Project..., 1972-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-18].
- ²⁰⁸ Tritschler, *Final Report*, 188.
- ²⁰⁹ Manitoba Hydro, *Water Power Act Licences: Churchill River Diversion Final Licence Request, Supporting Documentation* (Winnipeg: December 17, 2010), 9, accessed online, www.gov.mb.ca/waterstewardship/.../crd_licence_finalization_support_report.pdf.
- ²¹⁰ “Chronological History of Churchill River Diversion Project,” c. 1978. [PAM, [Churchill River Diversion – Volume 1-A) Chronological History of Churchill River Diversion Project..., 1972-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-18].
- ²¹¹ Ron Campbell, “Interim Flooding Injunction Refused,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 4, 1973.
- ²¹² Manitoba Hydro, “Water Regime: Appendix 4.3C: An Assessment of the Hydraulic Impacts of the Churchill River Diversion on the Rat and Burntwood Rivers,” in *Regional Cumulative Effects Assessment for Hydroelectric Developments on the Churchill, Burntwood and Nelson River Systems: Phase II Report, Part IV: Physical Environment* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro, November 6, 2015), 4.
- ²¹³ Letter from A. David Cormie to P.M. Abel, April 11, 1978. [PAM, Questions 281-299 – [Legal Expenses of Manitoba Hydro in Connection with Lake Winnipeg Regulation Protect and Churchill River Diversion, Burntwood River Studies, Nuclear Site Study, Lake Winnipeg Regulation Ice Studies, South Indian Lake Storage], 1971-1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-2]; R.W. Newbury, G.K. McCullough, and R.E. Hecky, “The Southern Indian Lake Impoundment and Churchill River Diversion,” *Canadian Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences*, 1984, 41 (4): 553-554.
- ²¹⁴ Letter from Jean Marchand to L.A. Bateman, November 1, 1973. [PAM, 6. Mitigation – Split Lake, York Landing, Cross Lake, Nelson House (Including Northern Flood Committee) prior to and including December 31, 1973, 1969-1973, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-14-5-18].
- ²¹⁵ Tritschler, *Final Report*, 204.
- ²¹⁶ Letter from L.A. Bateman to Edward Schreyer, May 30, 1974. [PAM, Political Input – (C) Relationship Between Hydro and (i) Minister for Hydro, 1973-1974, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-8].
- ²¹⁷ Tritschler, *Final Report*, 204.
- ²¹⁸ The first real indication of the fate of South Indian Lake was expressed by H.R. Hopper, Manager, Hydraulic Design to L.A. Bateman in a memo dated December 21, 1972, as reported in Tritschler, *Final Report*, 201.
- ²¹⁹ Tritschler, *Final Report*, 202-203.
- ²²⁰ Letter from A. David Cormie to P.M. Abel, April 11, 1978. [PAM, Questions 281-299 – [Legal Expenses of Manitoba Hydro in Connection with Lake Winnipeg Regulation Protect and Churchill River Diversion, Burntwood River Studies, Nuclear Site Study, Lake Winnipeg Regulation Ice Studies, South Indian Lake Storage], 1971-1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-2].
- ²²¹ Manitoba Hydro, “Water Regime: Appendix 4.3C,” in *Regional Cumulative Effects Assessment . . . Phase II Report, Part IV*, 4.
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- ²²⁷ Letter from David Cass-Beggs to Dr. D. Courchene, May 17, 1971. [PAM, Lake Winnipeg – Press Releases, 1971, Manitoba Water Commission Office files, NR 0340, GR3593, N-13-5-4].
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- ²⁴⁰ Letter from D.C.H. McCaffrey, legal counsel for NFC, to Aikins, MacAuley and Thorvaldson, legal counsel for province, April 25, 1975, attached to inter-departmental memo from R.L. Carter to S. Green, May 6, 1975. [PAM, File “Sidney Green – 6. Mitigation (G) Government,” 1972-1975, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B- 13-1-13].
- ²⁴¹ Letter from Premier Edward Schreyer to “Residents of Northern Manitoba,” May 13, 1975. [PAM, [Question 13 – Copies of all Communications Between Government of Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro Respecting Churchill River Diversion, Regulation of Lake Winnipeg etc.—21 Ci, 2b, 4b, 5n, 8b, 9b, 1976-1977, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-18]; see also inter-departmental memo from R.L. Carter to S. Green, May 6, 1975. [PAM, File “Sidney Green – 6. Mitigation (G) Government,” 1972-1975, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B- 13-1-13].
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- ²⁴³ Waldram, *As Long as the Rivers Run*, 154.
- ²⁴⁴ Manitoba Aboriginal Rights Coalition, “Chronology of Events – Northern Flood Agreement,” in Appendix A of *Let Justice Flow: Report of the Interchurch Inquiry into Northern Hydro Development* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Aboriginal Rights Coalition, 2001), 450.
- ²⁴⁵ Letter from Charles R. Huband to Edward Schreyer, January 7, 1975. [PAM, File “Sidney Green – 6. Mitigation (G) Government,” 1972-1975, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-13].
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- ²⁵⁰ Letter from J.F. Funnell to K.J. Fallis re: “Executive Committee Meeting,” September 10, 1974. [PAM, Questions 281-299 – [Legal Expenses of Manitoba Hydro in Connection with Lake Winnipeg Regulation Protect and Churchill River Diversion, Burntwood River Studies, Nuclear Site Study, Lake Winnipeg Regulation Ice Studies, South Indian Lake Storage], 1971-1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-2].
- ²⁵¹ Ibid.
- ²⁵² Tritschler, *Final Report*, 206.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ The Nelson/Churchill River Hydro Power Development, report attached to letter from L.A. Bateman to Edward Schreyer, May 12, 1976, 1. [PAM, Political Input – (C) Relationship Between Hydro and (i) Minister for Hydro, 1975-1976, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-1-8].

²⁵⁵ Letter from A. David Cormie to P.M. Abel, April 11, 1978. [PAM, Questions 281-299 – [Legal Expenses of Manitoba Hydro in Connection with Lake Winnipeg Regulation Protect and Churchill River Diversion, Burntwood River Studies, Nuclear Site Study, Lake Winnipeg Regulation Ice Studies, South Indian Lake Storage], 1971-1978, Records of the Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro, A0064, GR2022, B-13-2-2].

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 2-3.

²⁵⁷ Letter from J.F. Funnell to T.E. Weber, January 30, 1978, in Manitoba Hydro, "Appendix A," *Water Power Act Licences: Churchill River Diversion Final Licence Request, Supporting Documentation* (Winnipeg: December 17, 2010), 57, accessed online, http://www.gov.mb.ca/waterstewardship/licensing/crd_licence_finalization_support_report.pdf.

²⁵⁸ Letter from T.E. Weber to J.F. Funnell, February 15, 1978, in Manitoba Hydro, "Appendix A," *Water Power Act Licences: Churchill River Diversion Final Licence Request, Supporting Documentation* (Winnipeg: December 17, 2010), 60, accessed online, http://www.gov.mb.ca/waterstewardship/licensing/crd_licence_finalization_support_report.pdf.

²⁵⁹ Tritschler, *Final Report*, 6, 69, 177.

²⁶⁰ Frances Russell, "Cass-Beggs sheds new light on probe," *Winnipeg Tribune*, December 6, 1978.

²⁶¹ Progressive Conservative Leader Sterling Lyon quoted in J.P. Kelleher, "Tories would investigate Hydro affairs, says Lyon," *Brandon Sun*, September 26, 1977. See also Wayne Boyce, "Spivak outlines Conservatives' platform: Outlines regional development," *Brandon Sun*, April 26, 1973; Wayne Boyce, "Land lease program main issue in riding debate," *Brandon Sun*, October 23, 1976.

²⁶² See, for example, "Hydro rates to increase," *Brandon Sun*, January 18, 1977; Keith Elder, "Hydro's rates," *Brandon Sun*, September 9, 1977.

²⁶³ Garth Stouger, "Now a reason to dim lights?" *Brandon Sun*, March 20, 1974.

²⁶⁴ Robert Wielaard, "Tritschler will probe Hydro," *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 30, 1977.

²⁶⁵ Robert Matas, "Ex-premiers testify in secret," *Winnipeg Tribune*, November 8, 1978; George Jacob, "Hydro inquiry nears an end," *Winnipeg Tribune*, March 14, 1979.

²⁶⁶ See, for example, the testimony of Peter Steadman reported by George Jacob, "Diversion was good lesson," *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 23, 1979; the testimony of Brendan Whelan reported by George Jacob, "Warnings were there, Tritschler inquiry told," *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 7, 1979; the testimonies of Frederic Claridge and James Kirch reported by Cecil Rosner, "Hydro lawyer accuses inquiry consultant of bias," *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 9, 1979; the testimony of Jacob Diddens reported by Cecil Rosner, "Probe told MLAs lacked data," *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 13, 1979; and an unattributed article, "Lake regulation could have been delayed: Witness," *Winnipeg Tribune*, March 13, 1979.

²⁶⁷ "Testimony of Donald Keith," Commission of Inquiry Into Manitoba Hydro, *Nelson-Churchill River Systems Hydro Inquiry Vol. 1, November 13, 1978* (Winnipeg: Nelson-Churchill River Systems Hydro Inquiry, 1978-1979), 39-40 [Manitoba Legislative Library, SpR 1978 Hydro]. Also reported by Allan Wilson, "Task force conclusions ignored in Lake Winnipeg regulation?" *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 14, 1978.

²⁶⁸ Susan Ruttan, "Cass-Beggs altered report: Scott," *Winnipeg Tribune*, November 24, 1978.

²⁶⁹ Only two Manitoba Hydro Board members read the reports carefully enough to notice discrepancies: Douglas Campbell, a Manitoba Hydro director and former Liberal premier; and Kris Kristjanson, former Manitoba Hydro assistant general manager. They were unable to persuade the rest of the Board to reverse their decision. As a result, both men resigned from their positions in May 1971. Reported in Susan Ruttan, "Long-time foes launch attack on Cass-Beggs," *Winnipeg Tribune*, November 28, 1978; see also "Testimony of Douglas Campbell" and "Testimony of Kris Kristjanson," Commission of Inquiry Into Manitoba Hydro, *Nelson-Churchill River Systems Hydro Inquiry Vol. 2, November 27, 1978* (Winnipeg: Nelson-Churchill River Systems Hydro Inquiry, 1978-1979), 558 and 530 [Manitoba Legislative Library, SpR 1978 Hydro].

²⁷⁰ Reported in Susan Ruttan, "Hydro's lake scheme defended," *Winnipeg Tribune*, November 29, 1978.

²⁷¹ "Testimony of Len Bateman," Commission of Inquiry Into Manitoba Hydro, *Transcripts of the Nelson-Churchill River Systems Hydro Inquiry, Vol. 3, December 11, 1978* (Winnipeg: Nelson-Churchill River Systems Hydro Inquiry, 1978-1979), 876 [Manitoba Legislative Library, SpR 1978 Hydro]. Also reported in Cecil Rosner, "Northern Hydro plan impact termed 'totally unacceptable'," *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 12, 1978.

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²⁷⁴ Debbie Sproat, "Bateman fired as Hydro head," *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 29, 1978.

- ²⁷⁵ Tritschler, *Final Report*, 18-23. It should be noted that several newspapers pointed out that the Commission itself was over budget. Originally intended to cost \$150,000, the final bill to taxpayers was \$1.35 million, plus an additional \$600,000 to be paid by Manitoba Hydro. See Robert Matas, "Tritschler study cost \$2 million: Hydro official," *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 3, 1980.
- ²⁷⁶ See for example, Frances Russell, "No Perfect Hydro solution," *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 10, 1979.
- ²⁷⁷ Debbie Sproat, "Leave hydro rate decision to cabinet, Tritschler says," *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 17, 1979; see also, "Final Hydro decisions," *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 19, 1979.
- ²⁷⁸ Susan Rattan, "Budget fixes Hydro rates for 5 years," *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 16, 1979.
- ²⁷⁹ Robert Matas, "Hydro's U.S. sales soared in '78," *Winnipeg Tribune*, March 26, 1979.
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- ²⁸⁶ "Statement by Ken MacMaster." [PAM, "131-64 Northern Flood Agreement – Statement re: Ratification Vote," 1978-03-17, Sessional Papers, LA 0009, GR0646, M-41-2-6].
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- ²⁸⁸ Manitoba et al., "Preamble," *Northern Flood Agreement*.
- ²⁸⁹ Manitoba et al., "Article 2.2," *Northern Flood Agreement*.
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- ²⁹³ Manitoba et al., "Article 15.1," *Northern Flood Agreement*.
- ²⁹⁴ Manitoba et al., "Article 15.3," *Northern Flood Agreement*.
- ²⁹⁵ Manitoba et al., Articles 5.1, 5.3.3, 6.1, 10.1, 12.1, and 12.5, *Northern Flood Agreement*.
- ²⁹⁶ Manitoba et al., Articles 16.1 and 16.2, *Northern Flood Agreement*.
- ²⁹⁷ Manitoba et al., Articles 9.2, 18.2, and 18.5, *Northern Flood Agreement*.
- ²⁹⁸ Manitoba et al., Articles 14 and 24, *Northern Flood Agreement*.
- ²⁹⁹ Manitoba et al., "Article 24.11," *Northern Flood Agreement*.
- ³⁰⁰ Testimony of David Newman, Manitoba Minister of Northern and Aboriginal Affairs, in Manitoba Aboriginal Rights Coalition, *Let Justice Flow*, 343-366.
- ³⁰¹ Bob Lowery, "Cross Lake Chief to Head Group," *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 22, 1978.
- ³⁰² Manitoba Aboriginal Rights Coalition, "Chronology of Events," in *Let Justice Flow*, 451-453; Letter from Lorne Cochrane, Regional Director General, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada to Thomas Novak, July 22, 1999, in *Let Justice Flow*, 445.
- ³⁰³ "Welcome," Office of the Arbitrator, Northern Flood Agreement, accessed online, <http://www.nfa-arb.org/>.
- ³⁰⁴ Manitoba Hydro, *Regional Cumulative Effects Assessment [RCEA] for Hydroelectric Developments on the Churchill, Burntwood and Nelson River Systems: Phase II Report, Part III: People* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro, 2015), 3.4-5; Tataskweyak Cree Nation, "Our History," accessed online, <http://tataskweyak.mb.ca/HISTORY/history.html>.
- ³⁰⁵ Letter from Lorne Cochrane to Thomas Novak, in *Let Justice Flow*, 446.
- ³⁰⁶ Ronald Niezen, "Treaty Violations and the Hydro-Payment Rebellion of Cross Lake, Manitoba," *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 23.1 (Spring 1999), accessed online, <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/treaty-violations-and-hydro-payment-rebellion-cross-lake-manitoba>.
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staff housing premises on the Jenpeg dam grounds. Merrick said the eviction notice was “modelled after the bright red disconnection notices” that many Cross Lake residents had received over the years when they were unable to pay their hydro bills. The occupation ended in November when the province promised to address revenue-sharing and shoreline clean-up, and help lower residential hydro bills. Ronald Niezen, “Aboriginal Self-Determination and the Cree Pursuit of Northern Flood Agreement Implementation,” in *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba*, eds. Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert’s Land Studies, 1999), 89; “Why We’ve Taken Back Jenpeg,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 24, 2014, accessed online, <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/analysis/why-weve-taken-back-jenpeg-280281072.html>; “Hydro Employees Evicted from Jenpeg by Pimicikamak First Nation,” *Thompson Citizen*, October 17, 2014, accessed online, <http://www.thompsoncitizen.net/news/nickel-belt/hydro-employees-evicted-from-jenpeg-by-pimicikamak-first-nation-members-1.1431342>; “Manitoba Premier Greg Selinger apologizes to Cross Lake First Nation for Damage Done by Dam,” *APTN National News*, January 20, 2015, accessed online, <http://aptn.ca/news/2015/01/20/manitoba-premier-greg-selinger-apologizes-cross-lake-first-nation-damage-done-dam/>.

³⁰⁸ Letter from Lorne Cochrane to Thomas Novak, in *Let Justice Flow*, 446.

³⁰⁹ Manitoba Hydro, *RCEA: Phase II Report, Part III: People*, 3.4-14.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Keeyask News Release, “Manitoba Hydro and Four Cree Nations Sign Historic Joint Keeyask Development Agreement,” May 29, 2009, accessed online, https://www.hydro.mb.ca/projects/keeyask/pdf/news_release_090529.pdf; Tataskweyak Cree Nation and War Lake First Nation Operating as Cree Nation Partners, York Factory First Nation, Fox Lake Cree Nation, and The Manitoba Hydro-Electric Board, *Joint Keeyask Development Agreement*, May 29, 2009, accessed online, https://www.hydro.mb.ca/projects/keeyask/pdf/JKDA_090529.pdf.

³¹² Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, “Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation formally sign Wuskwatim Project Development Agreement,” June 26, 2006, accessed online, <http://www.ncncree.com/ncn/documents/WUSKPDASigning.pdf>.

³¹³ Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, “Atoskiwin Training and Employment Centre of Excellence \$8.6 million Post-Secondary Training Centre Officially Opens in Nelson House,” accessed online, <http://www.ncncree.com/ncn/documents/ATECLaunchfinal.pdf>.

³¹⁴ Bruce Owen, “Deal to get Hydro Cash Flowing,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 16, 2015.

³¹⁵ Manitoba Hydro, *RCEA: Phase II Report, Part III: People*, 3.4-9.

³¹⁶ “Manitoba First Nation to Get Apology from Premier for Jenpeg Dam Harm,” CBC News Manitoba, November 28, 2014, accessed online, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/manitoba-first-nation-to-get-apology-from-premier-for-jenpeg-dam-harm-1.2853955>; “Press Release: Pimicikamak, Hydro, Government Sign Process Agreement, November 30, 2014,” IC Magazine, accessed online, <https://intercontinentalcry.org/pimicikamak-hydro-government-sign-process-agreement/>; Manitoba Hydro, *RCEA: Phase II Report, Part III: People*, 3.4-9.

³¹⁷ D. A. Williamson and W. E. Ralley, *A Summary of Water Chemistry Changes Following Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba, Canada* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Environment, 1993), 47; Environment Canada and Department of Fisheries and Oceans, *Federal Ecological Monitoring Program [FEMP]: Final Report*, Vol. 1 (Ottawa: April 1992), 2-9–2-15; The Nelson River Group, *Key Issues and Impacts: Cross Lake Environmental Impact Assessment Study*, Vol. 1 (Winnipeg: The Nelson River Group, January 1986), 4.1.2–4.1.3.

³¹⁸ Split Lake Cree First Nation, *History and First Order Effects: Split Lake Cree Post Project Environmental Review*, Vol. 2 (August 1996), 18-20.

³¹⁹ Environment Canada, *FEMP Final Report*, Vol. 1, 2-6 and 2-11.

³²⁰ Split Lake Cree First Nation, *Summary and Conclusions: Split Lake Cree Post Project Environmental Review*, Vol. 5 (August 1996), 52.

³²¹ Fox Lake Cree Nation, *Fox Lake Cree Nation Environment Evaluation Report* (Winnipeg: September 2012), 6.

³²² Ibid., 7.

³²³ Split Lake Cree First Nation, *Analysis of Change: Split Lake Cree Post Project Environmental Review*, Vol. 1 (August 1996), 53-54.

³²⁴ Environment Canada, *FEMP Final Report*, Vol. 1, 2-5.

³²⁵ Environment Canada and Department of Fisheries and Oceans, *Federal Ecological Monitoring Program [FEMP]: Final Report*, Vol. 2 (Ottawa: April 1992), 2-1.

³²⁶ “South Indian Lake Flooding Aired at Thompson Meet,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, Tuesday, September 5, 1972. [PAM, Press Releases-Churchill River- South Indian Lake, 1972, NR 0340, GR3593, N-13-3-18].

³²⁷ In 1993, a report commissioned by Manitoba Hydro summarized study results for water quality at South Indian Lake, Nelson House, Norway House, Cross Lake, Split Lake and York Landing, and found that phosphorous levels varied by site. Higher phosphorous can lead to increased algae growth, which can alter the taste and smell of drinking water, but it can also have the positive effect of improving the productivity of local fisheries. While the study noted increased turbidity at Southern Indian Lake, it also pointed out that the lake had historically high turbidity levels, which would have necessitated the construction of water-treatment processes regardless of whether or not the CRD was built. (See Williamson and Ralley, *A Summary of Water Chemistry Changes*, 49.) More recently, water quality in northern Manitoba has been monitored by the Coordinated Aquatic Monitoring Program (CAMP). Its report for the years 2008 to 2010 found that phosphorous levels exceeded Manitoba guidelines for lakes, ponds and streams near the point of entry to the Burntwood River (at Split Lake) and at sites along the main flow of the Lower Nelson River. However, “off-current waterbodies” (those removed from the main flow of major rivers), such as Stephens Lake, had greater water clarity. High concentrations of *E. coli*

were detected in winter 2010 from two sites along the Burntwood River, and levels of aluminum exceeded provincial guidelines for the protection of aquatic life on the Burntwood River at Split Lake. Levels of iron exceeded provincial guidelines at Southern Indian Lake and several sites along the Churchill River Diversion, including Rat and Threepoint Lakes. The study also noted, however, that aluminum and iron are two of the most abundant naturally occurring elements, and high levels of these metals have also been recorded in undisturbed environments. See Coordinated Aquatic Monitoring Program [CAMP], "Section 6: Summary of CAMP Results," *Three Year Summary Report (2008-2010)*, Vol. 9 (Winnipeg: Coordinated Aquatic Monitoring Program, 2010), 6-5-6-9.

³²⁷ Keeyask News Release, "Manitoba Hydro and Four Cree Nations Sign Historic Joint Keeyask Development Agreement," May 29, 2009; Keeyask Hydropower Limited Partnership News Release, "Construction Begins on Keeyask Generating Station," July 16, 2014; both available online at Keeyask Hydropower Limited Partnership, "Project Timeline," <http://keeyask.com/project-timeline/>.

³²⁷ Wuskwatim Power Limited Partnership, accessed online, www.wuskwatim.ca/partnership.html.

³²⁸ Environment Canada, *Canada-Manitoba Agreement on the Study and Monitoring of Mercury in the Churchill River Diversion* (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1987), 68.

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