Forgotten Land, Forgotten People

A Report on the Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline Hearings in British Columbia

W. Winston Mair
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Report on the Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline Hearings respecting Terms and Conditions for Northeast and Southeast British Columbia

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Cover: Alaska Highway in the area of the Sikanni Chief River.

Frontispiece: Alex and Teresa Cheekyass of Blueberry River Reserve.

Closing page: Woman from the Halfway River Reserve chops firewood.

Back Cover: Max Desjarlais of West Moberly Reserve listens to Presiding Officer Bill Mair.
February 15, 1980

The Honourable Mitchell Sharp
Commissioner and Chief Executive Officer
Northern Pipeline Agency
OTTAWA, Ontario

Dear Mr. Sharp:

In accordance with your instructions to me, conveyed in your letter of November 1, 1979 (see Appendix 1), a series of public hearings respecting the British Columbia section of the proposed Alaska Highway gas pipeline was conducted during the period November 19 through December 15, 1979. Meetings were held at fifteen northern locations, and one at Grasmere in southeast British Columbia (see Appendix 2).

A verbatim transcript of the proceedings was kept and has been published separately in 19 volumes. Persons interested in details of the interventions should refer to the proceedings which are indexed to enable ready reference to individual intervenors.

You did, however, in my terms of reference accord me the opportunity of making a separate report on those matters which seemed to me worthy of particular mention. This opportunity is welcomed. In the report which follows, I have attempted to capture the essence of what I heard and what I believe to be important if the Alaska Highway gas pipeline is to be built through British Columbia with minimum adverse impact and maximum benefit. This is particularly important for the people who live in the affected areas.

Historically, we in Canada have developed a substantial number of major projects in our hinterland without much concern for those people who lived in the immediate area. It has been assumed that benefits would trickle down to local people – adverse impacts were hardly considered. But we know now that local benefits have frequently been marginal, while adverse impacts have often been great. The people made it clear at the hearings that their acceptance of that fate should no longer be taken for granted. They insist that real benefits should be provided for their region if their resources are to be exploited for the benefit of others.

It must be noted that native people have felt the main impact of such major developments, yet they realize the least spin-off benefits. They are already struggling to adjust to change occasioned by the imposition of our southern economic model upon their own socio-economic and cultural system. Major development projects presumably undertaken for the benefit of the nation speed up the process of change and so worsen their situation. As will be seen in the proceedings and in this report, they are in a sense fighting for their lives.
Comment was made that the hearings process was a waste of time – government already has too many regulations and industry can and does do a good job so let’s get on with building the pipeline. This view is, in my judgement, insupportable. Certainly some representations were made totally opposing the construction of the gas pipeline. But in every instance, I believe intervenors recognized the fact that the decision to build has been made. From there they went on to express specific concerns, desires and changes needed to minimize potential impacts. This surely is not a waste of time.

It is also true that only a very few intervenors actually addressed the question of terms and conditions for construction of the pipeline by offering concrete proposals for improvement and implementation. By inference, however, valuable insights into the problems caused by development projects and the need for terms and conditions were revealed to both government and industry through the hearings process. These surely cannot fail to influence both the terms and conditions and, more particularly, the plans and implementation to follow.

Finally, the hearings provided the first opportunity for local people to express their thoughts and to be heard. Despite some cynicism as to the likelihood of the government or the project sponsor company heeding their representations, there was nonetheless great evidence of the genuine desire to participate and to contribute positively. The fine hospitality and friendship extended throughout gave witness to goodwill and the desire to believe that good things can come from the gas pipeline project.

As the Presiding Officer, I was overwhelmed at the depth of feeling and strength of hope expressed before the hearings. I cannot adequately convey these impressions to you and the people of Canada. My report sets out some observations, however, that I believe are important. They are stated as a challenge to governments and industry. It is my hope that the Northern Pipeline Agency, with its key role, will have the energy and the power to make this pipeline project a model for the future.

Yours truly,

[Signature]

W. Winston Mair
The Alaska Highway gas pipeline hearings encompassed a period of three weeks for northeast British Columbia, plus one day for hearings at Grasmere in the southeast near the United States border. This is in sharp contrast to the Berger Inquiry of some two years' duration and the Lysyk Inquiry of three months. There was a difference in purpose, however, which sets the British Columbia hearings apart from the more famous hearings north of 60° latitude.

Berger and Lysyk inquired into socio-economic and environmental impacts of the pipeline proposals before approval for construction had been given. The British Columbia hearings dealt with draft terms and conditions to be applied to pipeline construction after the decision to build had been made. Thus these hearings were intended to be somewhat technical, in the sense of testing the specifics of proposed regulation against the knowledge and perceptions of various government and citizens' groups and the public generally.

It is apparent that the Northern Pipeline Agency (the Agency) anticipated more from the hearings than just comment on terms and conditions. The Presiding Officer was instructed to ensure that the concerns of local people and communities, including the native groups and other intervenors, were brought forward, thoroughly discussed and adequately recorded. A separate report was invited, with the clear commitment to make it public.

Events bore out the Agency's anticipation. The primary purpose of the hearings suffered two handicaps from the outset. Why, many asked with suspicion, were their views being sought after the decision to build had already been made. Many people doubted the sincerity of the hearings process for this reason. More importantly, there proved to be an almost total lack of knowledge by many people of the rather dry and technical terms and conditions which the hearings were intended to illuminate. Some excellent suggestions on regulation were received but, not surprisingly, most intervenors dealt with individual concerns, and some with outright opposition to the gas pipeline. Many shared the view that the terms and conditions would prove ineffective in any event.

The several detailed interventions that dealt with terms and conditions were significant and should not be downplayed. However, the basic purpose of the hearings is best served by study of the published proceedings, with inferential application to finalizing the terms and conditions and to the planning documents subsequently required from Foothills Pipe Lines (Yukon) Ltd. (the Company). Agency staff were present throughout the hearings, answering questions and making copious notes. There should thus be no concern that the aim of the hearings, which is to sharpen and refine the terms and conditions, has not been met.
The intent of this report is not to restate what can be read in the proceedings, or to comment in detail on specific terms and conditions. Rather, in accepting the Commissioner’s invitation this report tries to place the gas pipeline project in a realistic regional perspective. Issues are discussed which seemed to recur throughout the hearings as matters to which not just the Agency or the Company must address themselves, but senior governments as well.
THE PROJECT

In September, 1977 Canada and the United States signed an Agreement committing the two countries to the construction of the Alaska Highway gas pipeline project. Spanning a distance of nearly 4,800 miles, this large diameter pipeline system will transport Alaskan natural gas across Canada to the lower 48 states. It will begin at Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, follow generally the Alyeska oil pipeline to Fairbanks, and then cross into the Yukon. Paralleling the Alaska Highway into northeast British Columbia, the pipeline will continue through central Alberta to a point just north of Calgary. Here the line will divide into two branches to carry gas to western and mid-western United States markets.

Construction on the main line is to begin in 1982, with Alaskan gas expected to be on-line to American customers by late 1985. If approval is granted following completion of the main line, provision has been made in the agreement to build the Dempster Lateral to transport Canadian gas from the Mackenzie Delta/Beaufort Sea area to Canadian consumers.

Early construction or pre-building of the southern segments of the pipeline, to enable short term exports of surplus Alberta natural gas, has been approved by the National Energy Board. Construction of the western leg is slated to begin this summer, while construction of the eastern leg, which passes through southern Alberta and Saskatchewan to the United States’ mid-west, will begin in the summer of 1981.

Foothills Pipe Lines (Yukon) Ltd. is the parent company responsible for building the Canadian section of the $15 billion pipeline. It is divided into five segment companies, each responsible for constructing a portion of the pipeline. Foothills Pipe Lines (North B.C.) Ltd. is represented by Westcoast Transmission Company Limited, the agent responsible for construction and operation of the pipeline in northeast British Columbia.

This 444-mile segment of the pipeline in northern British Columbia begins at a point near Watson Lake, Yukon, follows the Alaska Highway southeast of Prophet River, and continues down to Boundary Lake where it will pass into Alberta. The 56-in diameter pipe will be buried and the area cleared for construction or right-of-way is 125 feet. Four compressor stations will be located along the line: on the north side of the Liard River Valley and Alaska Highway; west of Fireside; southeast of the Toad River crossing; north of the Prophet River Valley; and south of the Beatton River near Prespatou. Construction is scheduled to start in 1982 and take place over four and five month periods in both winter and summer for three years.

Alberta Natural Gas Company Ltd. is the agent for Foothills Pipe Lines (South B.C.) Ltd. It will build the 106-mile leg of 36-inch diameter pipe starting at Coleman on the Alberta border through to Kingsgate, British Columbia. Construction will commence in late spring of this year with further work to be undertaken in 1984. There are no plans at this time to build a compressor station.
The Northern Pipeline Agency was created by Act of Parliament in April, 1978 to oversee the planning and construction of this massive project in Canada. It is designed to streamline the approval process, and acts as a "single window" undertaking all federal responsibilities relating to the pipeline in Canada. The National Energy Board is represented within the Agency by the Designated Officer.

Under the terms of the Act, the objectives of the Agency are twofold: to facilitate completion of the project, and to ensure maximum economic and industrial benefits to Canadians while holding to a minimum the adverse social, economic and environmental impacts of the pipeline project.
Liard River and Alaska Highway.

Opposite, above: Kobes compressor station northwest of Fort St. John.

Opposite, below: Following application of the primer, a sideboom tractor holds the pipe elevated to allow coating and wrapping with a protective covering before lowering into the trench.

The magnificent area north of 60° latitude has a certain glamour for southerners, as well as strategic value to the nation. It is therefore well-publicized and well-known. But the northern regions of the provinces have been the forgotten lands of Canada throughout the years. They are rarely thought of by southern people even today, except as rather rugged areas inhabited mainly by Indians, or as a resource-rich hinterland exploited by latter-day pioneers. Government interest in the mid-north is hardly more than ten years old, and some areas still suffer the consequences of the unconscious policy “out of sight – out of mind”.

The accepted view nation-wide has been that the North’s role is to provide the natural resources needed to drive the southern economy. Until the last ten years, industry has sought the opportunity and led the way into the hinterland, providing many of the services required through company towns and/or major grants to local government. Senior governments have followed after.

This situation has changed in recent years, but in essence the practice remains the same, i.e. industry proposes and government follows. The consequence is that regional planning is weak for northern areas, and project after project takes place in isolation from broader socio-economic and resource/land-use planning Services and facilities for people inevitably suffer.
Fort St. John’s MacKenzie Street (above), a famous mid-north gathering place since the construction days of the Alaska Highway, exists in sharp contrast to the rural nature of nearby Halfway River Reserve (right).

Experience has shown that the spin-off benefits from large projects are minimal, at least as they affect most long term residents of the mid-north. Job opportunities often go to outsiders, who are better trained or conditioned for industry needs. Most large companies or industries are good corporate citizens, but they cannot be expected to undertake the broader socio-economic responsibilities of government. In particular, they cannot be expected to extend their services or efforts to the surrounding countryside and people. Only government can provide services on a level equivalent to other parts of the country. An equitable tax system is needed that will enable people to organize and meet their own service and recreational needs. Without such local control colonial status prevails.

The hearings made it abundantly clear that people of the region feel they are experiencing many of the symptoms described above as typical of the mid-north. People did not so much complain as state forthrightly the need for substantial upgrading of almost all services, including transportation and communication. These statements place the gas pipeline project in perspective: a major development activity that will exacerbate the current situation and lead to loss of standard of living and quality of life.

As is to be expected, different issues concerned different people and differing priorities were set out. In sum, however, the pipeline project was regarded for the most part as a means of carrying United States natural gas to United States citizens. The potential benefits to local people are hard to perceive, while the potential adverse impacts loom large.
Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed that Company and Agency officials were often unable or unwilling to provide concrete answers to the many questions and concerns that were posed. There was also adverse comment about the absence of official representation from the Province at the hearings. (Agency staff were presumed to represent the federal government.)

This points to the great complexity of the situation. It is not simply a matter of driving a major pipeline through from point A to point B, but rather a major initiative that touches upon the fortunes and quality of life of all who live in the area. More importantly, it points to the apparent total lack of basic data that are required in order to answer the people's concerns or to make considered judgements. There may be reasons of uncertainty that contributed to this lack, but with only two years remaining until the start of construction the situation is intolerable. It is even more serious for the southeast where pre-build may commence within the year.

The importance of terms and conditions should not be underestimated. They are vitally important to set the rules for the project, and to indicate to the Company and contractors the parameters within which they must operate. But it will take more than terms and conditions to change the present mood of the people and to effect the kind of co-operative interplay between everyone involved that will be required if benefits are to outweigh adverse impacts.

The Agency has been given extensive powers by the Parliament of Canada, but despite these powers and the agreed "single window" concept it cannot alone fulfill the mandate some would place upon it. The federal and provincial governments will have to direct their efforts to the regions affected if the objectives of the Northern Pipeline Act are to be attained. Co-operation will be achieved not by mandate but by the genuine commitment of all parties to a common cause. It is within this context that a number of key issues are now discussed.
The ten key issues discussed in this report carry a common theme; the objectives of the Northern Pipeline Act will not be met by the creation of the Agency and adoption of a “single window” concept circumscribed by a narrow mandate to the Alaska Highway gas pipeline and the pipeline company alone. The Agency must be given, or assume, a much broader commission. Even then, if it operates in an environment of “business as usual” by the Company and senior governments, its efforts will fall short of the vision of Parliament which created the Act.

The reasons are clear. The creative minds that saw and adopted the concept of a single agency underestimated two vital points. The first is that a major project can no longer be undertaken in a social and environmental vacuum, in isolation from the complex activities across which it cuts. The objectives of the Act underscore this point, but Section 9 limits Agency powers to pipeline-related matters only. The second point is that there are few, if any, examples on record where a single agency of government ever successfully regulated or co-ordinated the activities of other agencies of government. In this instance it is less likely, since two levels of government are involved, with much of the authority and responsibility for action residing in provincial hands. The agency must “direct” or “coerce” other actors in the project. “Business as usual” attitudes by federal or provincial departments will undermine if not totally negate the Agency role.

The Company too can negate the intent of government direction, especially if confusion between governments or their agencies is apparent. Pipeline companies see themselves as important instruments of national policy, creating economic activity and jobs. They have built many miles of pipelines, and by their own yardstick have done a good job. If national policy now requires a better or different job to be done, government must arbitrate between the people and the Company. It must set the stage for constructive interaction otherwise the standards of past experience will prevail.
If one point stood out above all others during the hearings it was the lack of public knowledge of the gas pipeline project. As a result a number of misapprehensions were voiced at the hearings. Yet both Agency and Company had made some effort to make information material available and widely distributed. Why then did the problem exist?

Three possible reasons stand out. First, most of the information was made available in written form, a form not generally conducive to the transfer of bureaucratic and technical jargon. As well, some people of the area are probably not facile with the written word - they depend more upon verbal communication. The second point is that both government and the Company are somewhat suspect with many people. Written communication which does not provide for question and answer has little impact and is probably disregarded. Finally, there was no advance preparation of the kind provided by the Berger and Lysyk Inquiries and hence the rather lengthy, technical terms and conditions had little meaning. It was believed they would probably not work anyway. In sum, a more effective public information program is required for the future.
The hearings did not bring many interventions specifically directed to the terms and conditions, though those that did were most helpful. However, despite some cynicism respecting likely results of the hearings, the intervenors almost universally expressed appreciation for the first real opportunity to engage in a face-to-face information exchange. They made it clear they do not want to be passive recipients of whatever pieces of information authority may pass on. They want to actually participate and to be heard.

Several conclusions are drawn from the hearings. There must be an effective public information/education program conducted on location, preferably by local people. Written materials do have a place in complementing the verbal exchange process once the confidence of the people has been established. However, the materials being distributed must deal with what people want to know, not just what others want them to know or do.

The Impact Information Centre at Fairbanks, Alaska functioned well, providing excellent service during construction of the Alyeska oil pipeline. It involved totally the use of local people and gave integrity to the information circulated. No one in Canada is quite certain how such a centre should function here, but the concept is clear and deserves development. This was proposed at the hearings.

Finally, though the terms and conditions require the Company to produce and mount a major information program, it is recommended that the Agency carry the prime responsibility for this task. Certainly the Company must be required to make information available, but it is unrealistic to expect it to carry out a public information program that is not directed to selling its own viewpoint.

Government is also suspect on the same count. However, by using local people and resources the Agency should be able to put in place and manage a program that would have maximum credibility. Outside southern consultants should not be used for this purpose, other than to help establish the basic plan.
Environment

A number of interventions were made, in addition to those from Indian people, on matters relating to environmental impacts. These were based more upon past experience than upon specifics of the gas pipeline in question. This was due, in part, to the fact that final alignment of the pipeline has not been settled and many environmental problems are site specific. Representations made regarding particular wildlife problems were limited and even fewer representations were made regarding fish. Nonetheless, the concerns struck home and the terms and conditions must be the best possible to minimize harmful impact. Real effectiveness in eliminating negative impacts, however, lies in at least two other related actions.

The precise pipeline route was the subject of considerable questioning, but answers given by the Company were less than convincing. It seems probable that the route was chosen in the first instance to be the shortest possible and the most accessible from the Alaska Highway. Presumably technical engineering studies have confirmed that the route is feasible and sound. Yet no evidence was presented to suggest that a corridor was selected and studied within which route changes could be made to accommodate other considerations. When asked about alignment change the Company responded that to alter the route would simply move the problems on to someone else.

It was impossible to judge from the hearings if the general route chosen is the best of all possible options. Clearly, little work or planning has been done that would enable intelligent judgments to be made in respect of right-of-way variations and tradeoffs along the line. Thus if one trapper will suffer damages, or one species will be affected, it is not possible at this time to say that a move of the line would result in net benefit or loss.

A corridor at least ten miles wide along the route should be surveyed in detail, recording all land, water, fish, wildlife, commercial or other problem areas. From this information it should be possible to plan an optimal, detailed route within the corridor. There is considerable precedent for this approach elsewhere with utilities and other developments, and the gas pipeline right-of-way should not be finalized until this is done. If indeed the best general route has been selected the optimization of the specific route within a ten-mile corridor should ensure that the line can be built with acceptable environmental impact.

The second point is that the terms and conditions will not prove effective unless there is adequate surveillance of construction. It is more than a problem of construction companies building the cheapest and quickest way possible when under severe time constraints. However good the terms and conditions may be, they cannot cover all eventualities. There is much that will remain judgmental.
Peace River, British Columbia.
Tourism in northern British Columbia depends on the fish, wildlife and natural beauty of the area. It is therefore important that development be undertaken in harmony with the natural environment.

Left: Beaver
Right: Moose
Erosion, siltation and changes in drainage patterns of streams and water crossings could present problems for fish and wildlife if pipeline construction is not carefully controlled.

It is important, therefore, that the surveillance agency be staffed with mature, experienced individuals and that they be on the job ten to twelve hours a day, seven days a week, the same as the construction crews. As well, they should have available to them outside experts who can be brought in for consultation on a few hours’ notice.

Moreover, surveillance staff must be capable of anticipating problems a day, a week or a month in advance of construction. These problems can then be worked out with the construction manager beforehand. When downtime may cost a million dollars a day it can be expected that impact management requirements will suffer in any crisis confrontation. Such events should be reduced as far as possible to a very few unexpected critical issues that may inevitably arise.
Employment and Small Business

Despite some rhetoric and protest against the pipeline, job opportunities were at the forefront of many minds. There was great cynicism expressed about the likelihood of local people, particularly native people, obtaining jobs. Such cynicism was not without foundation, since discussions at the hearings did little to relieve it. There was great uncertainty regarding just how many jobs might be available, where they would be located and how long they would last. The issue of training also remained unresolved (though some good suggestions were provided by the Member of the Legislative Assembly for North Peace River) and discussions of the unions and how they might finally react were similarly unrewarding. It seemed that all must approach the matter with great faith – a faith that is clearly lacking.

The history of job participation by local residents in major projects across the mid-north is largely unimpressive. This is especially true in the case of native people. On the basis of information presented at the hearings one has to be exceedingly pessimistic that they will be more successful here. Unrealistic hopes raised by talk of the magnitude of the project were dashed by the complete inability of anyone to be precise about real opportunities.

Uncertainties surround the pipeline project and time of construction, but no good reason is apparent for the fuzziness that appeared to exist. Nor is it sufficient to blame unions for much of the uncertainty. Unions have their own objectives but there is no reason to suppose they have less social conscience than companies. Employment needs and opportunities must be determined in a more forthright manner.

The problem appears to be inadequate planning, coupled with an inability or unwillingness by all concerned to place facts on the table for discussion. It is inconceivable that with only two years to the start of construction no substantive facts can be mustered to permit constructive planning for job opportunities and training. This should be remedied immediately, although it may already be too late for the pre-build section.

Allied closely to employment is the question of opportunities for small business. If pipeline construction in itself offers limited job opportunities to local people, what can new or enlarged small businesses offer? Nothing emerged at the hearings to suggest many entrepreneurial opportunities will arise. Again, lack of adequate data and planning seemed the primary problem. It is clear that with a target date for construction only two years away bold action must be taken now, or by the time small businesses are planned, financed and geared for operation the construction will be well underway or completed.
Pipe!
in construction offers a variety of employment opportunities, but many jobs are of short-term duration or require extensive training.

In summary, the prospects for jobs and small business opportunities appear bleak unless the pipeline project is undertaken within the context of a comprehensive regional socio-economic development program. As will be seen, there is much to be done in the areas of upgrading existing services and providing new ones. The resources of the area are relatively rich given proper management. If this pipeline were to be built within the framework of a comprehensive development plan scheduled over five to ten years, the possibility of viable job and business opportunities going to local people would be much enhanced.

Pipeline construction offers a variety of employment opportunities, but many jobs are of short-term duration or require extensive training.

Right: Brush cleared for right-of-way.
Despite some conflict in testimony, it is clear services and amenities existing within the region are stretched to the limit or are wanting. At Fort Nelson it was stated that during boom periods jobs go begging, as job applicants are unable to find housing for themselves or their families. Transients on occasion are accommodated in a church basement or like quarters. Obviously any inflow of workers to the area will worsen the situation, resulting in further loss of service and quality of life for local residents.

Arguments that pipeline construction will not place added burdens upon the communities are untenable. Despite regulations some workers’ families will move in or visit and job seekers and hangers-on will arrive on speculation. Inevitably, pipeline-related activities will add to the pressures, both on services and accommodation. As the Fort Nelson director of the Peace River-Liard Regional District stated, there should be no attempt to downplay probable impacts upon social and other services, because they know from experience these impacts will be extensive.

The problems can be viewed in two broad categories: those services which residents should now have but do not exist or are inadequate; and those for which increases will be required as a direct consequence of the pipeline project. The first category includes social services and recreational facilities, problems which will be worsened by the pipeline construction but are ongoing in nature. The second category includes housing, extension of water and sewer services, streets, and industrial parks. These services will require upgrading and extension to meet the needs of the construction period, but could be temporary in nature or constructed to provide assets for the future. Resolution of the second problem could provide help for the first, but the issues should not be confused when judging who pays.

The first category of needs is surely to be met by local, regional and provincial governments. But the local governments are not likely able to pay. Logic suggests that if they had adequate revenue at their disposal the services would already be in place. The Member of Parliament for Prince George-Peace River proposed the application of a benefitting-area tax system to the region. This proposal appears to have great merit and should be pursued. Given adequate resources, local governments can best serve local needs. However, revenues from pipeline construction would not be realized for several years, while the existing need will become more acute with commencement of construction.

What is needed is an early source of funding, and the Company could be required to advance money at low or no interest to be repaid from the benefitting-area tax revenues over time. As was stated many times during the hearings, local people should realize some benefit from a project being constructed entirely to serve interests outside the region.

The second category of needs lacks a similar clear-cut solution. There is a lack of data upon which to base realistic needs and plans, and it is not readily apparent who should pay. It is neither fair nor equitable to saddle
local communities with intolerable debt loads, or with services and facilities beyond probable early need. Yet it is equally unthinkable to require the Company to provide costly works, buildings and services and then require they be removed when pipeline construction is complete – this without reference to possible community needs. Regional and community development plans are needed, for which the Company should be required to provide detailed construction information and schedules. The Company and governments at all levels must act immediately. Failure to do so will mean entering the construction period unprepared.

Again, revenue sources are inadequate for local and regional governments to respond to such an urgent situation. The early costs for this program should be borne by the Company and/or senior governments on some cost-sharing formula. What portion of the cost local communities should bear in the future can only be determined when the basic facts are reviewed. One can hope that fairness will prevail since the problems have been thrust upon them in meeting national and international needs.

Aerial view of Fort Nelson.
Transportation and Communications

The inadequacy of existing transportation and communication systems was raised in a number of interventions, both by local and regional governments as well as citizens generally. The fear is that the pipeline project will cause overloading or breakdown of these systems, thus leading to further deterioration of already unsatisfactory local services. There appears to be ample cause for this concern.

Companies tend to put the best face on problem areas affecting their projects. They see few problems. Governments with a wider mandate should not be lulled into too optimistic a stance. Rather they should insist upon and, if need be, themselves provide hard data upon which analyses and judgements can be made. This is especially true with issues as critical to the region as transportation and communication. Unfortunately, the information made available by the Company at the hearings was such that no definitive judgements are possible, other than to conclude that the existing services are not capable of handling the workload the pipeline project will impose.

With regard to transportation, Company plans tentatively call for rail haul of pipe to a small number of off-loading sites. From there the pipe will be trucked to a number of points on the right-of-way. No precise details of the proposal could be given because everything is in a tentative state of planning. No evidence was produced to show that the railway can in fact provide this service – this was apparently taken as a valid assumption. Nor were alternative plans proposed should the railroad be incapacitated by rail-bed problems, strikes or, as recently occurred, the destruction of a bridge by fire. In a project of this cost and magnitude downtime is a serious matter, yet no evidence of planning to meet contingencies was apparent.

The Alaska Highway came in for much discussion. In response to concern that pipeline construction traffic would conflict with present daily traffic, it was stated the anticipated number of trucks hauling pipe would be 30 to 35 a day one way. This is planned to take place in winter. But if the rail system should become unavailable what truck traffic would be required and at what season? As well, what about the pipeline-related traffic for provision of services, jobseekers and the like? No data of any kind were produced to permit answers to these questions. Moreover, the question of service and pipe-haul traffic for the Yukon and Alaska segments was totally ignored. This will form an overlay upon the traffic volumes speculated for the north British Columbia segment alone.

Beyond traffic volumes there is the unanswered question of the capacity of the Alaska Highway roadbed to handle trucks carrying massive 80-foot pipe sections. The ability of such trucks to negotiate sections of the road was not discussed but seems in question. Can the highway be maintained under pressure of such heavy use? What about recovery of broken-down or ditched vehicles? Again, there was no planning evident to suggest that
Native People of Northeast British Columbia

It is impossible to convey in a few words the depth of feeling and concern expressed by the Indian people before the hearings. Some expressed adamant opposition to the pipeline. But many, accepting the certainty of its construction, spoke of their needs, concerns and hopes, asking above all that they be consulted before final decisions are made by governments and the Company. Their reaction is not so much resistance to change as the non-concordance of perceived changes with their felt needs.

Cynicism and mistrust of government and Company were revealed. Yet after members of the Bands had spoken their minds, hospitality and friendship were extended to the Presiding Officer and all attending the hearings. It is important to understand the context within which the hearings took place, and the entire proceedings should be read by anyone engaged in decision-making respecting the pipeline.

It has been stated, in the section on the Environment, that the pipeline can be built with acceptable environmental impact, if there is proper route selection and inventory of resources within a ten-mile wide corridor wherein the final right-of-way could be optimized. A number of the
Indians' concerns about trapping and wildlife can be said to stem from lack of information and misapprehensions arising therefrom. Yet one cannot dispute or disregard the many concerns expressed. Many arose from the certain knowledge that the gas pipeline will drive them inexorably nearer the brink of social and economic catastrophe, unless a different approach to their needs is adopted than with most resource developments to date.

It became clear from the hearings and visits to the reserves that the expansion of forest industries and agriculture is the prime architect of their plight, as they are pressed back upon their core holdings with diminishing access to the extensive surrounding areas essential to their mixed economy and way of life. This was brought home with great finality by the excellent presentation of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) based upon 18 months of intensive research. Gas and oil exploration in themselves are not as destructive, but they open the country to industrial, recreational and other uses inconsistent with the basic Indian mixed economy. Chart 1 (Page 52) shows the conflict between the petroleum industry and Indian land-use in the region.

It was argued in at least one intervention that the Indian peoples' concerns, because of their complex nature, should not be included in the hearings. It was maintained these concerns should be referred to government for separate treatment so they would not become confused with pipeline issues and the need to get on with construction. This position is not acceptable, for reasons expressed at the hearings or that are addressed in this report.

The Alaska Highway gas pipeline does not involve a complex of feeder lines and so might be seen as less harmful than other developments including local gas and oil play. But is it a valid argument that what is claimed to be the largest privately financed project in the world will have little or no impact upon other land uses? That no harmful activities will flow from such construction? Surely, it is not. There will be many impacts but the precise magnitude of these are unknown, since no data have been produced to date to substantiate statements of benefit or loss. In the meantime, for Indian people the project embodies all the wrongs, hurts, suspicions and misgivings engendered through several generations of
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Logging at Milligan Creek Road.

Below: Oil pump near British Columbia and Alberta boundary.

government tutelage and wardship. Thus the impacts of the pipeline, real or imagined, should not be relegated to some other future forum of debate. They should be dealt with now. Neglect to do so will reduce the credibility of government and industry beyond repair.

Reference has been made to the adverse impact of agriculture and forestry upon the native economy. Charts 2 and 3 (Pages 53 and 54) depict the situation clearly. Conflicting views were heard as to the impact of the pipeline right-of-way and seismic lines upon trapping and hunting. Clearly, however, these developments, plus farming and forestry activity impinging upon the boundaries of Indian reserves, will reduce in some degree wildlife resources, will change species composition or will deprive the people of right of entry to lands heretofore considered their own.

Thus while the gas pipeline can probably be built with minimal environmental damage or loss, the same cannot be as readily stated for socio-economic concerns. Even minor erosion of land base, income or socio-cultural position could be serious for a people already feeling hard-pressed. One cannot improve upon an analogy made in the UBCIC presentation during discussion of constant accommodation by Indian people to non-Indian economic developments and land use: “It is one thing to push a person who stands in the middle of a field. It is a very different matter to push a person who stands on a cliff face.”

The cumulative impact of oil and gas development, forestry, agriculture and recreational and other activities has now placed the Indian people “on a cliff face”. The pipeline could provide the final “push”. The insidious erosion of Indian rights and livelihood now in progress poses a complex situation that will not be resolved by promises of jobs and goodwill. Nor will dollar compensation, however to be encouraged, solve the problem. What must be undertaken is an immediate review of the situation within the context of a resource/land-use and socio-economic development plan for the entire region. It is concluded not that the gas pipeline should be delayed or abandoned, but rather that governments must engage the Indian people in viable solutions to their problems as a concomitant of the approved early construction.

Emphasis is placed throughout this report upon basic inventory, data gathering and planning for the region. Those who for ideological or other reasons eschew planning will be much disturbed. However, there is little point in compensating Indian people with cash for the loss of their economic base if no ongoing source of livelihood can be provided. How can the mixed economy of the Indian people be maintained under the continuing and cumulative impact on their land base of agriculture, forestry, oil and gas exploration and now a major gas pipeline? Are there alternative lands of equivalent worth that might be made available, in addition to present holdings, in compensation for lands damaged by the pipeline or as complete alternatives to present location and holdings?
Blueberry River Reserve.

Left: Presiding Officer Bill Mair and Northern Pipeline Agency staff join residents of West Moberly for dinner.
Color photographs, above, clockwise from top:

Hunters from the Doig River Reserve.
Moose hide stretched for drying and scraping.
Scraping tools.

Facing page, clockwise from top:

Prophet River Reserve.
Sandy Yahee gives evidence at hearings, Blueberry River Reserve.
Doig River Reserve trapper with marten.
Doig River Reserve trapper Chief Gerry Attachie.
Black and white historical photographs from the British Columbia Provincial Archives.

Facing page: Liard Indian.

Above, clockwise from top:

Indian sets lynx snare near Fort Nelson.

Beaver Indians with Swannell survey party, Fort St. John, 1914.
If any or all of these possibilities exist, then what will prevent the process of erosion from continuing, so that in ten years or twenty years the Indian people will not find themselves in the same untenable position once again? What job and business opportunities are realistically available to native people? What steps will be taken to ensure that they are not spun off or replaced as the fortunes of the economy ebb and flow? These questions cannot be adequately addressed as isolated and unrelated problems, without benefit of all-encompassing regional planning. They can only be resolved within a long range resource/land-use and socio-economic development plan for the region, a plan wherein native people occupy a place and role determined through their active participation in the planning and decision-making process.
Much of what has been said here refers to status or registered Indians, but much of it applies equally to non-status and Métis people. They tend often to “fall between two stools” in government planning, since they do not enjoy the land rights and special benefits of treaty and registration. Their situation, however, is no less acute. They fall for the most part among the poorest of our society, and they too demand equal attention.

The intervention by the president of the Louis Riel Métis Association was addressed to the concerns of all northerners who will experience the negative impacts of the pipeline, but may not receive offsetting benefits. It stressed the need for opportunities in the areas of business, employment and job training. One of his statements is so important in the context of the pipeline project and of this report, that it is quoted here close to verbatim:

The other thing, that we felt, was that it would be a positive step forward if we could involve the unions in meetings such as this, not hearings, but in regular type meetings. It is important the unions of pipeline agencies, the government, the contractors and interested people, as well as the people in the north, have a good understanding and a working relationship, because it is quite a dynamic project that is going to be undertaken. Without that type of co-operation I am sure there will be a lot of misunderstandings along the road. This type of meeting would eliminate a lot of unnecessary misunderstandings and that is what we would like to recommend to the Pipeline Agency – that this type of meeting be established and continued throughout the term of the project.

This intervention stresses a most fundamental need, one referred to herein under Public Information and less directly throughout. Many of the criticisms and concerns surrounding this project could be resolved if the spirit and substance of the above recommendation are carried through.
Left: Residents gather outside Grasmere Pioneer Hall during brief break in hearing.

Right: UBCIC representative Dinah Schooner talks with elder Catherine Gravelle of the Tobacco Plains Band.

Below: Mary Basil of the Lower Kootenay Band testifies at hearing in Grasmere.
Native People of Southeast British Columbia

A one day hearing was conducted at Grasmere in southeast British Columbia, where five Indian bands, the area Council and many individual band members made excellent interventions. A number of other interventions were made at the invitation of the Council, for whom the hearing was essentially provided. Much of what has been said for the northeast is applicable to this area and need not be repeated. However, land settlement is a critical issue and governments are urged that this be accomplished within the context of this major pipeline development initiative.

Time constraints are a special concern for this area, as construction could begin within the 1980 calendar year. This means planning, job training, business development and a multitude of other potential initiatives are at a crisis point. It may be too late already for hope of realization, but government and Company action must be immediate and constructive.

In this area more than anywhere else, there was a plea for involvement. The message from the people came through loud and clear: they wish to be informed, asked their views and actively involved. The Agency should institute an information program immediately and should insist that all Company plans required by the terms and conditions be produced within the next two to three months. This is essential to ensure adequate review of those plans and to expose them to the Indian and other people of the area. Unless such involvement with the people takes place the Indian reaction, at least, could be one of despair and active negativism. To quote from a lady who spoke at Grasmere:

I know that you are going to build the line no matter how much we Indians protest. There is one thing I want you to do. It was a good thing that you agreed to meet with us Kootenay people here . . . and I hope from now on, whatever you want to do with our land, you come to us and talk with us, so that there will be something that our children can depend on in the future.

If the Company, if the Agency, if the two senior levels of government cannot respond positively to this heartfelt request then surely there is little hope for the Indian people.
A major concern expressed before the hearings, by native people in particular, relates to compensation for losses caused by the pipeline project. Existing Company programs provide for some compensation for physical assets such as traps or cabins. With some improvements these may be found adequate for that need. However, there is no program in effect to deal with loss of livelihood, although this principle is well-established in law, e.g. accidents resulting in loss of income and/or earning ability. These latter, though, frequently involve costly legal processes and settlements with government agencies are no less complex. The average citizen can ill-afford the legal actions required to receive justice.

Government has approved the construction of a major gas pipeline across the lands and resources of citizens, jeopardizing in varying degrees their livelihood. It is incumbent upon government, then, to insist that there be a comprehensive program of compensation for any losses sustained, whether to physical assets or short or long term loss of income. It is unquestionably a very difficult action to undertake, more so because data from which losses might be judged are inadequate or totally lacking. Still, the effort must be made, and the Agency should insist as a term and condition that the Company prepare a compensation plan that takes these needs into account.

Loss of habitat affects at least two groups of people, both of whom made interventions at the hearings. Those who simply wish to enjoy land, water and wildlife made representations as largely a matter of principle, while those who hunt, fish or trap for recreational or economic reasons expressed more direct concern. (Government departments charged with environmental management or the management of fish and wildlife resources are concerned, but their representations presumably have been heard elsewhere than at the hearings.) There is thus a broad base of support for both impact management and replacement of habitat lost to gas pipeline construction. As well, a proposal was made that the Company fund more intensive habitat management to increase wildlife species in alternate habitat and thus compensate for areas lost.

A straightforward solution to the problem of wildlife or recreational habitat loss is to provide equivalent areas (including factors of quality, species potential, etc.) in compensation. This presupposes that such areas are available in essentially the same location or at least of ready access. But the problem in the north is that industrial and other activities are already pre-empting land use. If land accommodations are made now, what guarantee is there that the equivalent lands will not soon be eroded by the constantly growing appetite of the national economy?

The answer lies in resource and land-use planning, with conscious decisions to allot land for agreed upon purposes for substantial periods of time. Without such a plan land exchanges as compensation are little more than delaying actions, backing off now to fight another day.
The idea of compensation through Company funding of more intensive habitat management programs is interesting and merits consideration. It is, however, a complex matter involving ecological factors such as changes in composition of species, as well as aesthetic or economic loss. Arguments were heard before the hearings that plans to burn woodlands to improve elk habitat might injure trapping and other resource uses. The proposal could be proceeded with on a pilot project or research basis, but it is not recommended as a major element of a compensation plan.

Persons suffering loss of income, means of livelihood or other damage from pipeline construction or operation are unlikely to have financial resources to pursue remedy through the courts. A government-staffed body may lack credibility with the public and industry alike. An independent body or tribunal established specifically to deal with compensation would be credible and could deal with claims expeditiously. Such a body should be financed by government but be totally independent. Appeals from the tribunal should go to the courts.
Terms and Conditions and Subsequent Planning

The hearings were conducted primarily to expose the draft terms and conditions to public review. Despite limited direct comment upon the specifics, it quickly became apparent that the planning required of the Company by the terms and conditions is the critical issue. How will the Company accomplish the objectives for which the regulations have been drawn?

Criticism of the perceived easing of the terms and conditions from an earlier draft was met by arguments for the need to set goals or rules that are realistic. The real decisions, it was thought, will be made in judging and approving Company plans. While there is great sympathy for the position of putting in place requirements that are realistically feasible, the proposed approach flies in the face of experience. Plans to achieve regulatory requirements are never tougher than the original targets. Quite the contrary, they tend to become watered down. As a practical matter too, the Designated Officer can approve a relaxing of requirements if the planning process shows the original requirements to be too severe. But he cannot work the system the other way.

It is strongly argued that the terms and conditions should be written to achieve the strongest and best possible performance from the Company. The target should be higher than is likely to be achieved. The subsequent planning of the Company can then be judged against the highest standards. Approval by the Agency of any shortfall by the Company will take into account the reality of the situation based upon the more detailed Company data gathering and review.
The proposed procedure raises questions that were debated at length during the hearings. When will the Company plans come in and how much time will be available for Agency review? How much public input into the plans will time allow? The answers given during the hearings were not reassuring. The practical fact of the matter is that as construction time approaches all processes will tend to be telescoped inward. One can state with certainty that this will occur.

It is imperative that the Agency require the Company to produce its plans within the shortest reasonable period of time after the terms and conditions have been passed by Order-in-Council. It is equally important that these plans be definitive, based upon strong terms and conditions. A positive and workable plan for public input should be built into the Agency review and approval process. It must not be left to chance.
It has been stressed throughout this report that the success or failure of the terms and conditions and of mitigative measures will depend upon planning, co-ordination and public participation. This will demand organization and management skills of the highest degree.

The *Northern Pipeline Act* in Section 3 sets forth very admirable but conflicting objectives and has charged the Northern Pipeline Agency with a near impossible task. It is to facilitate the efficient and expeditious planning and construction of the pipeline, while at the same time maximizing socio-economic benefits for the Canadian people. In particular, it must take into account local and regional interests and the interests of the native people. The Act is careful to stress that Agency powers relate to the pipeline only, yet the problems and forces at play go well beyond pipeline construction alone.

The Advisory Council is provided for to advise the Agency and government on matters relating to northeast British Columbia. It can play an important role and should be made functional at once. It should be given complete access to all reports and information sources required for the proper conduct of its advisory role, a role that could be broadened to include the regional development plan/program that is recommended. It should not, however, undertake activities that involve management or implementation - except that it might be given responsibility for the Impact Information Centres that are proposed. To do more would confuse an already complex situation, where there are municipal governments, the regional government, the Agency and the two senior levels of government, all of them with certain rights and responsibilities established by legislation.

It became abundantly clear from the hearings that the conflicting objectives to which governments have committed themselves cannot be achieved through the efforts of the Agency alone regulating the Company. Many of the programs or actions required to minimize impacts and maximize benefits go far beyond the scope of the pipeline and the Company. Most of them require major input by provincial government where ongoing legislative authority and responsibility reside. Registered Indians bear a special relationship to the federal government which the Agency cannot assume.

It is for this reason that a comprehensive regional resource/land-use and socio-economic development plan is repeatedly proposed. Section 9(c) of the *Northern Pipeline Act* provides the Minister with powers to “enter into such agreements with the government of a province ... as may be necessary to facilitate the attainment of the objects of this Act ...” It is this power which the hearings and this report call into play. It is this power that must be exercised through some form of federal-provincial cost-shared regional development program if the intentions of Parliament and the aspirations of the local people, in particular the native people, are to be met.
Mention was made at the hearings of a possible Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) type of federal-provincial agreement. There are useful precedents for organization within past DREE programs to encompass federal, provincial and local government responsibilities. However, in British Columbia there is a regional level of government as well. If possible, this level should be used as the focus for the management of any regional development programs to avoid creating parallel authorities and confusion. It is also urged that any regional development programs include socio-economic and resource/land-use planning objectives. A narrow emphasis on industrial potentials, highways and other similar activities would only serve to confirm the worst suspicions of the Indian people that projected economic activities mean further erosion of their already limited, mixed-economy base.
CONCLUSION

Many conclusions have been developed in this report and need not be repeated. However, a few points in addition to public information and participation bear repetition – indeed they cannot be emphasized too much.

The first is that the Alaska Highway gas pipeline can be built through British Columbia with acceptable environmental impact, if there is adequate advance planning and control of construction. However, the database upon which final route selection and plan approval could be given by the Agency has not yet been provided. The Company should be required to produce detailed information on environmental and socio-economic factors for a ten-mile wide pipeline corridor, within which an optimized right-of-way, access junctions, campsites and other physical works could be located. As well, the Agency should establish now a mature and cohesive control team for surveillance prior to and during actual pipeline construction, a group that can anticipate and deal with problems before they occur.

The second point is that the socio-economic impacts are not nearly so susceptible to control or management, as they cut across a wide range of human activities and emotions. As well, the facts respecting Company needs and regional or local capabilities to respond have not yet been produced. The main fault here must rest with the Company, and uncertainties as to construction schedule can no longer be used as an excuse. The terms and conditions lay down certain requirements for the Company, but Company plans to meet them have no substance until both Agency and the public have the facts. These must be laid on the table as quickly as possible, as it will require a major effort on the part of Company, Agency, governments and the people to give such plans meaning in actual practice.

A comprehensive resource/land-use plan is required, if the social and economic concerns of native and other non-intensive land users are to be met. The pipeline right-of-way affects only a small portion of the total area traversed, but the magnitude and public profile of the project make it the focal point for all the pent-up feelings of Indian people. These are associated with diminished land and resource base, economic uncertainty and cultural shock. Non-native persons whose commercial or recreational interests in wild lands are affected are likewise unimpressed with proclaimed national economic necessity. They feel the impacts while people elsewhere get the gain.

Compensation for lost land base or source of income is a critical issue. Money compensation alone will not fill the need. Equivalent land to replace areas lost is more equitable, but without security of tenure this merely shifts a present problem to the future. Industry pressures upon wild lands are already heavy and a major part of the problem; these pressures will inevitably grow. Clearly then, hard land-use planning decisions should
be made now, with Indian and other land-use requirements and rights being established concurrently with decisions on the pipeline route.

It is concluded that the power of Section 9(c) of the Act should be drawn upon to put in place a federal-provincial regional development plan and program. The objects of the Act, as set out in Section 3, are not only conflicting but they cannot be realized through Agency efforts alone. The Company cannot be expected to carry out complex programs, the purpose of which extends well beyond corporate responsibility. Federal and provincial departments will carry on with "business as usual" or may try to introduce pet projects of their own.

A comprehensive regional socio-economic development plan can provide the organizational framework that is needed, within which environmental, resource/land-use, employment, business, municipal services and transportation and communications requirements can be integrated. Priorities can be set and action co-ordinated, with all departments and agencies implementing those things they do best.

Finally, the Objects of the Northern Pipeline Act make it clear that Parliament wished this project to go ahead expeditiously, but with a new concern for the land and for the people who live on it. Those carrying out this new mandate must not now choose between pipeline project or land and people. It is incumbent upon all involved in the pipeline project to ensure that the area will no longer merit the description Forgotten Land – Forgotten People.
SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Public Information

It is recommended that the Agency itself retain the main responsibility for planning and carrying out the information/education program.

It is further recommended that the program be conducted through the use of local facilities and expertise, with reference to outside consultants only if required to establish the basic plan.

Finally, it is recommended that an Impact Information Centre be established, based upon the Alaskan experience but tailored to northeast British Columbia conditions. It is important both to this project and other projects that will follow that this concept be further developed and tested.

Environment

It is recommended that the Company be required to produce a detailed resource/land-use and economic report and plan for optimum routing of the gas pipeline within a ten-mile wide corridor. The final right-of-way selection should not be made until such data are available and used.

It is further recommended that the special surveillance team established within the Northern Pipeline Agency be staffed by mature, experienced personnel on loan, seconded or on leave of absence from existing government or private organizations, and that they be paid to work the same hours and days as the construction crews. The Agency should take the initiative in ensuring that such people are able to maintain their pensions, superannuation or other service with their parent agencies.

It is finally recommended that the two key functions of the surveillance agency should be to anticipate and resolve problem areas before they are reached by construction crews, and to enforce the terms and conditions rigorously but fairly. The staff should be supported by a system that enables them to receive advice or assistance from outside specialists within hours should a crisis arise.

Employment and Small Business

It is recommended that the Agency require the Company to produce immediately detailed plans respecting employment and service requirements. This will enable senior and local governments and the people to decide what the opportunities are and how they may be realized.

It is further recommended that senior governments institute as quickly as possible resource/land-use and socio-economic development plans for the regions, with implementation to begin prior to pipeline construction and to continue for several years.
Housing, Municipal and Other Services

It is recommended that a benefitting-area tax or similar system be instituted to tax the Alaska Highway gas pipeline in the region(s). This will provide revenues for certain social services, amenities and other benefits of a standard consistent with that widely enjoyed by most Canadians. The Company could be required to advance money at low or no interest to be repaid from the benefitting area tax revenues over time.

It is further recommended that financing for capital works such as water lines and sewers, street paving, industrial parks and other major capital requirements occasioned by construction of the line be largely financed by the Company and two senior levels of government, with necessary data collection and planning carried out through a regional development plan. Immediate financing should be made available to local and regional governments to enable them to play a key role in both planning and implementation.

Transportation and Communications

It is recommended that basic data on both transportation and communications systems be researched and collated immediately.

It is further recommended that senior governments and the Company produce immediately, in concert with local and regional governments, a viable scheme to ensure that pipeline construction can proceed expeditiously (with a reasonable margin of flexibility to deal with unavoidable breakdowns) while ensuring that local residents and businesses will suffer no disruption of service.

Finally, it is recommended that the Company not be permitted to internalize unduly transportation or communication systems. Rather, the system or systems put in place should be developed so as to upgrade ongoing services for the future.

Native People of Northeast British Columbia

It is recommended that the Alaska Highway gas pipeline project proceed on schedule, but that benefits be assured to the native people through the following conditions:

- a detailed review of the pipeline route be undertaken within the context of a ten-mile wide corridor, within which alignment changes be made to optimize the final right-of-way and avoid critical impacts;
- compensation for loss of physical property and for loss of income be provided;
a comprehensive land and resource use inventory be conducted immediately and a long-term land-use plan be implemented;
a comprehensive socio-economic development plan for the region be developed immediately, in order to identify real job, business and other opportunities available to native people and to all residents of the region;
the native people be provided with more or alternative lands to enable maintenance of their mixed economy and security of tenure within the context of the two above mentioned plans;
the native people be participants on an equal footing with all others of the region in advising, researching, planning and implementing the above recommended programs; and
the pipeline construction camps and, where possible, the compressor stations be moved from close proximity to existing Indian communities, specifically Prophet River and Lower Post.

Native People of Southeast British Columbia

It is recommended that the Agency immediately establish an information program in southeast British Columbia for the pre-build section of the pipeline.

It is also recommended that the Agency require the Company to produce within two to three months all the plans required under the terms and conditions to permit review by local people.

It is finally recommended that a resource/land-use and socio-economic development plan be developed by the senior levels of government within which, and associated with pipeline construction, a reasonable settlement of Indian land claims can be made.

Compensation

It is recommended that the Company be required to prepare a plan for compensation for damage or loss caused by pipeline construction or operation which encompasses not only physical property but also loss of income and/or livelihood.

It is further recommended that loss of habitat be compensated either by money settlement or by provision of alternative, equivalent lands, and that these be selected within the context of a regional land-use plan to provide reasonable assurance against further alternate land-use pressures.

Finally, it is recommended that an independent body or tribunal be established to provide ready and early settlement of compensation claims. Appeal from any ruling of the tribunal would go to the courts.
Terms and Conditions and Subsequent Planning

It is recommended that the terms and conditions be written to require the highest standard of Company performance, and that the subsequent Company planning and Agency review/approval process be used to achieve the appropriate final level of practicality.

It is further recommended that the Agency require the Company to produce its plans as quickly as is feasible after the terms and conditions have been passed by Order-in-Council and that public input be specifically organized as a part of the Agency review and approval process.

Organization of Effort

It is recommended that the North British Columbia Advisory Council be appointed immediately to advise the Agency and the several levels of government respecting all aspects of the pipeline project and any regional development plan/program that may be developed. It should not be given management or implementing powers except, perhaps, in respect of the Impact Information Centre(s), but it should be provided with all reports and information available, or as required, in carrying out its advisory responsibilities.

It is recommended that a comprehensive regional resource/land-use and socio-economic development plan and program be instituted through federal-provincial agreement as empowered by Section 9(c) of the Northern Pipeline Act. This will provide the organizational framework necessary to co-opt and co-ordinate federal and provincial departments and agencies and provide for the breadth of action required to meet the objectives of the Act. Moreover, a comprehensive agreement is required in order not to further erode the land base and livelihood of the native people.

It is finally recommended that the regional government be used as the focus for the management and implementation of regional development programs within which the pipeline project would be a major but not overriding part. This would avoid creating greater organizational confusion where so many levels of government are involved.
CHARTS AND APPENDICES

CHARTS

52  Chart I: Major Oil and Gas Fields in the Fort St. John Region
53  Chart II: Crown Land Alienation
54  Chart III: Current Logging Activity

APPENDICES

55  Appendix I: Letter from Hon. Mitchell Sharp
57  Appendix II: Schedule of Hearings
59  Appendix III: Acknowledgements
A composite map showing Indian traplines and hunting areas in the Fort St. John region and major oil and gas fields.
A composite map showing Indian traplines and hunting areas in the Fort St. John region and the history of crown land alienation.
A composite map showing Indian traplines and hunting areas in the Fort St. John region and the current distribution of logging activity.
8th Floor, Victoria Building,  
140 Wellington Street  

November 1, 1979

Dear Mr. Mair:

Further to our conversations and your briefing by Agency officials in Calgary, I wish to confirm your appointment as the presiding officer at the Agency's hearings in northern British Columbia.

Under the Northern Pipeline Act, the Agency is required to take into account the local and regional interests and the interests of the residents, particularly the native people, in developing terms and conditions to be imposed on the company constructing the pipeline. Therefore, the Agency places great importance on receiving the views of the broad cross-section of the residents along the pipeline route in northern British Columbia, as well as various interest groups. It is from the transcript of the hearings that the Agency will fulfill its responsibilities to reflect local concerns in the terms and conditions. I am certain, as well, that during the course of the hearings the public will wish to make submissions on other matters related to the pipeline but which cannot be dealt with in the terms and conditions. The Agency would also be interested in receiving these views.

Although Agency officials will closely review the transcript of the hearings in their final preparation of the terms and conditions, I would hope you would submit a report to the Agency outlining the major concerns expressed

Mr. W. Winston Mair,  
2250 Kinross Avenue,  
Victoria, B.C.  
V8R 2N5
by the public during the hearings as you see them, and put forward any recommendations that you choose to make. You may also wish to assist in the re-drafting of the terms and conditions after the hearings. I intend to make such a report public.

I should say a word about the role of the presiding officer as I see it. I do not envisage you as representing any particular group or constituency. Rather, I see your principal task as ensuring that the concerns of local people and communities, including the native groups and other interveners, are brought forward, thoroughly discussed and adequately recorded. I have designated two senior officials of the Agency to support you in this regard.

There is, as you know, no provision for legal cross-examination as there would normally be at hearings of a quasi-judicial nature. However, it is expected that representatives of both Foothills and the Agency will be present and able to answer questions or perhaps correct misunderstandings if necessary. It may well be necessary to develop an understanding on the part of interveners about the difference between suggestions which the Agency can deal with through the terms and conditions and those which fall to the provincial government or to other federal agencies. While I am not asking you to play the role of advocate for the project, I know that you will be able to ensure that discussion is balanced and that impressions created are as accurate and complete as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Mitchell Sharp
## Schedule for Northern Pipeline Agency
### British Columbia Public Hearings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Venue</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday, November 19</td>
<td>11:00 am-4:30 pm</td>
<td>Fort St. John, MacKenzie Inn – Peace 1 Rm.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:30 pm-10:00 pm</td>
<td>Opening of Public Hearings</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Dawson Creek, George Dawson Inn –</td>
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<td>Tremblay Room</td>
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<td>Community Public Hearings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tuesday, November 20</td>
<td>10:00 am</td>
<td>Blueberry Reserve, Band Hall</td>
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<td>Wednesday, November 21</td>
<td>11:00 am</td>
<td>Doig Reserve, Doig Laundromat</td>
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<td>Thursday, November 22</td>
<td>10:00 am</td>
<td>Halfway Reserve, Band Hall</td>
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<td>Friday, November 23</td>
<td>8:00 pm</td>
<td>Pink Mountain, Pink Mountain Lodge</td>
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<td>Saturday, November 24</td>
<td>12:00 noon</td>
<td>W. Moberly Reserve</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3:00 pm</td>
<td>E. Moberly Reserve</td>
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<td>Monday, November 26</td>
<td>12:00 noon- 3:00 pm</td>
<td>Lower Post Reserve,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7:30 pm-10:30 pm</td>
<td>Lower Post Community Hall</td>
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<td>Fireside, Fireside Lodge</td>
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<td>Tuesday, November 27</td>
<td>7:30 pm-10:30 pm</td>
<td>Toad River, Toad River Lodge Coffee</td>
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<td>Wednesday, November 28</td>
<td>10:00 am-12:00 noon</td>
<td>Fontas Indian Reserve,</td>
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<td>7:30 pm-10:30 pm</td>
<td>Fontas Private Homes</td>
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<td>Fort Nelson Band Reserve,</td>
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<td>Fort Nelson Band Reserve, Old Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thursday, November 29</td>
<td>1:00 pm- 4:00 pm</td>
<td>Prophet River Reserve,</td>
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<td>Prophet River School House</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday, November 30</td>
<td>2:00 pm- 5:00 pm</td>
<td>Fort St. John, Fort St. John City Council</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7:30 pm-10:00 pm</td>
<td>Chambers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Community Hearings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday, December 6</td>
<td>1:00 pm-6:00 pm</td>
<td>Grasmere, Grasmere Pioneer Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:00 pm-9:00 pm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday, December 10</td>
<td>1:30 pm- 5:00 pm</td>
<td>Fort Nelson, Community Rec. Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:30 pm-10:00 pm</td>
<td>Fort Nelson, Community Rec. Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Community Hearings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday, December 11</td>
<td>10:00 am-12:00 noon</td>
<td><strong>Fort Nelson</strong>, Community Rec. Centre (Special Interest Group Hearings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:30 pm- 5:00 pm</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7:30 pm-10:00 pm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday, December 12</td>
<td>10:00 am-12:00 noon</td>
<td><strong>Fort Nelson</strong>, Community Rec. Centre (Special Interest Group Hearings)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1:30 pm-5:00 pm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday, December 13</td>
<td>10:00 am-12:00 noon</td>
<td><strong>Fort St. John</strong>, Fort St. John City Council Chambers (Special Interest Group Hearings)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:30 pm- 5:00 pm</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7:30 pm-10:00 pm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday, December 14</td>
<td>10:00 am-12:00 noon</td>
<td><strong>Fort St. John</strong>, Fort St. John City Council Chambers (Special Interest Group Hearings)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:30 pm-5:00 pm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:30 pm-10:00 pm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday, December 15</td>
<td>10:00 am-12:00 noon</td>
<td><strong>Fort St. John</strong>, Fort St. John City Council Chambers (Special Interest Group Hearings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:30 pm-5:00 pm</td>
<td></td>
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