

**This case was written by Saleem H. Ali for the purpose of entering the 2000
Aboriginal Management Case Writing Competition.**

**TITLE: Cameco Corporation: Uranium Mining and Aboriginal
Development in Saskatchewan[1]**

The Setting

The topic of Bernard Michel's speech was general in nature, yet quite specific in substance: "Corporate Citizenship and the Saskatchewan Uranium Industry." He had been invited by the Uranium Institute in London, UK to share his company's experiences in negotiating agreements with Native communities in Northern Saskatchewan. As the President and Chief Executive Officer of Cameco, the world's largest uranium mining company, his speech was much anticipated by the audience.

The Uranium mines of Saskatchewan are an interesting laboratory for the study of corporate community relations.....The community relations programme's first action was to listen through public hearings to the communities' expressed concerns.....Today 80% of Saskatchewan's residents, compared with 65% in 1990, support continued uranium mining. This reflects the industry's community relations initiative. Cameco's shares also trade at 3.5 times their 1991 issue price. Only a small segment of anti-nuclear activists takes a negative view. Relationships with local communities, like uranium ore, are a valuable resource needing competent development.[2]

Originally from France, and a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris, Michel, had spent the past two decades in Canada working for various mining interests. Having served as Senior Vice President, Executive Vice President and President for a subsidiary of the French nuclear conglomerate Cogema, Amok Ltd, Michel had eminent credentials to join Cameco in 1988. This was the year that a change in federal regulations allowed for Cameco to be formed as an independent company.

The Company

The Canadian Mining and Energy Corporation or Cameco, as it is termed today, was formed in 1988 as a result of restructuring of the uranium mining sector in Canada. The company was formed primarily through a merger of Eldorado Nuclear (A Federal Crown Corporation) and The Saskatchewan Mining Development Corporation (A Provincial Crown Corporation).

When it was formed, Cameco was owned by the provincial and federal governments and headquartered in Saskatoon, Canada. However, in 1998, only 10% of the company was owned by the Provincial government and 90% was owned by public shareholders. The company stock is traded on the New York and Toronto Stock Exchange and has been the focus of research reports inter alia by Goldman Sachs and Bear Stearns.

With annual revenues of over C\$642 million in 1997, Cameco was considered the world's largest uranium mining company, accounting for one-quarter of both the Western World's uranium production and conversion capacity. The four largest uranium mines, which the company owned and operated were in Saskatchewan, with two smaller operations in Wyoming and Nebraska. Processing centers for the uranium were located a couple of thousand miles away in Ontario. While the uranium sector of the company accounted for 95% of revenues in 1996, the company continued to expand its operations in the gold mining sector as well. It owned one-third of a gold mine in the Central Asian Republic of Kyrgyzstan and had a gold mine in Central Saskatchewan at Contact Lake. Exploration projects were in progress in the United States, Canada and Australia.

History of Uranium Mining in Canada and Cameco's precursor companies

Canada has a long and checkered history of uranium mining. Eldorado Nuclear (one of Cameco's precursor company) was among the earliest mining entities to work with radioactive ores. Originally owned by the gold prospector Gilbert Labine, Eldorado began to prospect for pitchblende ore in 1929 and set up the Port Radium mine in the Northwest Territories (Canada's first uranium-producing operation) four year's later.

When the demand for uranium increased during World War 2, Eldorado became involved in further prospecting around Canada. According to the 1968 annual report of the company, An urgent need for uranium in quantity arose with the inception in 1942 of the Manhattan Project, the joint British-United States-Canadian undertaking which eventually brought forth the atomic bomb. Canada's role was to supply uranium raw material.....the amount of uranium provided by Eldorado for military purposes.

The government nationalized the company in 1944. A year after establishing the Atomic Energy Control Board the government lifted the private prospecting ban and offered incentives to private prospectors in 1946. This ushered in the "uranium rush", leading to over 10,000 radioactive ore discoveries, most notably the deposits n the Athabasca region of Saskatchewan.

Saskatchewan has been called "The Saudi Arabia of the Uranium Industry." Collectively, the province contains the largest known reserves of uranium in the world, with five active mines within an area of about 200,000 square kilometers. The first of these mines was established in 1953, on the shores of Lake Athabasca. A full-fledged settlement was established near the mine and christened "Uranium City." However, this was a transient city that boomed with the mines and was proverbially 'busted' when the mines closed. The population dropped from 4,000 in 1973, during the heyday of mining, to 200 in 1983, when the mining stopped.

The lesson to be learned from the collapse of Uranium City was clear: permanent settlements are not a workable idea around ephemeral mining establishments. The alternatives were costly but for long-term viability of community relations, it was considered appropriate by many subsequent mining development corporations to fly in

personnel from their settlements to the mine site. Most of the staff would spend two weeks at the mining camp and then return for a week to their families.

Meanwhile, Eldorado was taken to court by the Canadian government in 1981 for price-fixing charges connected with the alleged establishment of a "uranium cartel," including operations in the erstwhile UN protected territory of Namibia. Eldorado was ruled to be immune from the charges with two dissenting justices, who stated that: "giving a Crown corporation a carte blanche to engage in illegal activities would encourage other corporate citizens to do likewise." [3] In the late nineteen eighties, the Saskatchewan government restructured the uranium mining industry and largely divested its own interests to form Cameco in 1988. This would soon become the largest uranium mining company in the world with control over two thirds of the world's largest, high grade uranium mines at Key Lake and Rabbit Lake in Saskatchewan. The company had to contend with the negative image of its predecessor companies that for decades operated under a blanket of secrecy and relative impunity rendered by the Cold War. It had to create a new identity which would transcend this legacy and foster trust and reconciliation in the communities where it operated.

Company officials knew that the environmental movement, which had irreconcilable differences with the nuclear industry in general, would try to use the past as a measure of the future. The challenge before them was to dispel the fears which they would generate and provide a forum for sincere negotiations.

McArthur River Project

Exploration of the land between Key Lake and Rabbit Lake began in 1980 and initial promising results from surface drilling led to further detailed surveys. In 1988, the most high grade ore body of uranium oxide ever recorded was discovered at a depth of 500 to 600 meters, associated with a geological fault. However, the location of the ore was such that in order to initiate a mining operation a more detailed underground exploration program was required. In 1992, Cameco proposed an underground exploration program for this unique ore body. Due to the extensive nature of this exploration program a detailed report was commissioned by the government under the Joint Federal and Provincial Panel on Uranium Mining. The panel issued its report in January 1993 and recommended that the program be allowed subject to a surface lease agreement with First Nations and other impacted communities.

McArthur River is a bit of a misnomer insofar that the water body after which it is named is a small creek, that is not even located very close to the mine site. The mining lease covers 83,000 hectares of ground. The ore body was explored extensively in the early nineties and the highest grade deposits (as much as 50%) were discovered soon thereafter. [4] The ore was so high a grade that remote equipment would have to be used to extract it (due to the danger of radioactivity exposure to employees). The raw ore would subsequently have to be diluted for processing because the milling equipment available could not process the level of uranium oxide purity which was to be mined here. The extremely high grade of the ore posed a particular technical challenge to Cameco and

also a critical environmental and social acceptance problem. However, the company, under Bernard Michel's leadership was committed to meeting these challenges.

First Nations in Canada and Saskatchewan

Evidence of human habitation in Saskatchewan dating back to 9500BC has been found at Niska, and there may indeed have been earlier Pleistocene settlements as far back as 25,000 years ago in the unglaciated parts of province. Different civilizations developed as waves of tribal bands crossed over the Bering Land Bridge from Asia during the glaciated epochs. The province became a homeland to five distinct nations: Assiniboin (Nakota), Sioux (Dakota and Lakota), Cree (Nehiyawak), Saulteaux (Anishnabeg), and Chippewyan (Dene).

Interactions between the European settler community and the Native inhabitants of Canada have predominantly been governed by a series of treaties (the area comprising British Columbia is a notable exception). After the Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years War, a Royal Proclamation was issued on October 7, 1763, which is considered the "Magna Carta of Indian Rights."

The several Nations and Tribes of Indians with whom we are connected and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such parts of our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them or any of them as their Hunting Grounds.[5]

Unfortunately, the subsequent treaties dealing with specifics of land transfer did not live up to the aspirations of this document. The treaty which covered a large portion of the land in Saskatchewan was phrased as follows:

Now therefore the said Indians do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the government of the Dominion of Canada for His Majesty the King and His successors for ever all their rights, titles, and privileges whatsoever to the lands included in the following limits: All the territory situated partly in the province of Saskatchewan and partly in the Province of Alberta.....It is further agreed between His Majesty and His said Indian subjects that such portions of the reserves and lands above mentioned as may at any time be required for public works, buildings, railways or roads of whatsoever nature may be appropriated for such purposes by His majesty's government of Canada due compensation being made to the Indians for any improvements thereon, and an equivalent in land, money, or other consideration for the area so appropriated.[6]

Inevitably, inter-marriage occurred between the Europeans and the Natives and gave rise to a generation of multiethnic individuals who were often ostracized from both communities. Canada is unique insofar that these multiethnic individuals formed a strong movement and are termed Metis. The Metis did not have treaties like the full-blood Indians and consequently there were several rebellions and greater persecution of their leaders in the nineteenth and early twentieth century

Decades after the original treaties were signed, the government realized that the dealings with the Indians had been grossly unfair, and several statutes were passed as recompense. The impact of development projects was also reexamined. For example in response to concerns about the impact of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project on indigenous communities, the government agreed to a 10-year moratorium on the project.[7] Despite the cultural differences within their ranks, the tribal Nations across the country put forward a united front on most issues. Organizations to collectively lobby for Indian rights (including Metis) were established in the later half of this century, most notably the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations in 1982. In 1989, the Office of the Treaty Commissioner was created to coordinate the compensation and entitlements to the Aboriginal Communities in Saskatchewan. Political opinion in favor of Aboriginal compensation was further swayed across Canada by a standoff over a disputed golf development project on traditional burial grounds between the 4,000 Canadian Armed Forces and 63 Kanesatake Mohawk warriors at Oka, Quebec in 1990. A battle was averted but this event set the tone for much greater sensitivity to Native sentiments.

Chipewyan Inuit, Dene and Cree bands comprise 80% of the 30,000 inhabitants in the Northern mining region of Saskatchewan, mostly centered around the shores of the numerous lakes that punctuate the landscape. Even these settlements were artificially created by the Europeans since the traditional societies here were hunter-gatherers that had territories but no permanent settlements. The European settlers often mistook this itinerant lifestyle as a mark of poverty, whereas the communities were quite contented. According to a Native individual "we didn't know that we were poor until we found a Canadian government official on our door with food supplies saying: you need help." [8] The cultural shift led to high unemployment and other social concerns in these communities. For example the unemployment rate for Aboriginal communities in Saskatchewan is about 65%, whereas for non-Aboriginal communities it is around 30%.

By 1995, all the tribal bands in Saskatchewan had settled their land claims with the government and received compensation. Some of these claims had covered land on mining leases as well. The policy of land entitlements was premised on a "willing buyer /willing seller" principle, and not based on traditional land associations. Some bands did indeed want to purchase lands which were under mineral exploration. However, in most of these cases the price being demanded was too high. One of Cameco's joint venture exploration areas near Dawn Lake was the subject of Native acquisition request but because of the high development costs and the existing investment of the companies, the band was not able to go through with the deal.

On the national scene, there was far greater political will to improve relations with Aboriginal communities. A 3,500 page report was published by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996 and a formal apology and Statement of Reconciliation was issued the following year. Responding to this initiative, Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Phil Fontaine said:

I was honored to symbolically accept the government's apology as an essential first step in a changed relationship that promises to respect our differences and our culture as well as recognize our inherent right to self-government.[9]

Native communities, while considerably assimilated in some areas, continue to maintain their cultural integrity. English is a second language for most of the communities and a survey conducted by the Canadian government in 1991 determined that 28.9% of the inhabitants of Northern Saskatchewan bought fishing and trapping equipment.[10] Indeed, the issue of hunting and trapping would be a major bone of contention with some potential or ostensible allies in the mining negotiations.

The relatively quiescent debate on Native title was given legal renewal in December 1997, when the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in the "Delgamuukw Case" that Aboriginal land claims must be considered by the courts and the government in development projects. Subsequent cases have, however, ruled against Aboriginal claims to stop development projects. On July 6, 1998, an Appeals Court in British Columbia refused to accept the Kitkatla Nation's claim to prevent logging by Interfor Corporation. While this decision primarily affected British Columbia (which has no formal treaty system with Indians), the repercussions may widen as Aboriginal communities consolidate their claims to self-government. As the lawyer for the Kitkatla Nation, Jack Woodward, stated soon thereafter: "the land rights are still there and the people are still there." [11] Or as Justice Antonio Lamer stated in the Delgamuukw decision: "We are all here to stay." [12]

Employment Assurance

Since the late seventies, the surface lease agreements for the mines in Saskatchewan have included conditions of preferential employment for local Northern inhabitants. In its 1992 report on "Native Participation in Mining", the Canadian government used Cameco as an exemplary case study of Aboriginal employment and stated that the government had aimed for a "best possible case" rather than stipulating specific numbers for employment at that time. However, initially, there had actually been quotas suggested by the government for mines such as Key Lake. As Cameco's Human Resources Manager Jamie McIntyre recalled several years later:

As it turns out the quotas were virtually impossible to meet given the short timelines for project development. Both government and industry recognized the difficulty in meeting the quotas established and were essentially embarrassed by their collective inability to meet them.[13]

Consequently, in 1986, when the surface lease agreement for the Key Lake mine was renegotiated, the "best efforts" employment requirement replaced the quotas and mandated the negotiation of a separate Human Resource Development Agreement.

However, when Bernard Michel became CEO of Cameco in 1990 he made Cameco set a target of 50% northern employment by 1995. In 1989, the work force percentage was

32.2% Northerners. By 1992 this percentage had risen to 43.3%. [14] The target for 1995 was successfully met. While attrition in the Aboriginal workforce was unusually high (more than twice the number for non-Aboriginals), the company continued to aggressively pursue Northern employment as a long-term strategic decision.

The process of improving Native employment was carried through by various strategic initiatives. A Northern Affairs Office was established by the company in La Ronge (two thirds of this office staff were Natives). A Northern Community Liaison Committee was established to hold quarterly meetings with Chiefs and Mayors from 14 Northern Bands and municipalities. Simultaneous Cree and Dene translations were provided at meetings to maximize participation. Chief Harry Cook, a notable tribal leader and business person was appointed to Cameco's board of directors in 1991. While these initiatives clearly had some outlay attached to them, the company defended this before shareholders as a "cost of doing business." [15]

The Mineral Sector Steering Committee, comprising representatives from the mining industry, government, Aboriginal agencies and training institutes, initiated a "Multi-Party Training Plan" for Saskatchewan's Northern Communities in 1993. The immediate aim of this plan was to achieve 60% Northern participation in mines by the year 2000 and to promote "Northern economic development through apprenticeships, journeyman, technician and other high-skill jobs." In the first year of the program C\$1.6 million were spent on training of 172 students, 76% of whom were treaty Indians, 22% were Metis or non-Treaty Indian ancestry and only 3 individuals were non-Aboriginal. The following year 270 students were trained at an expense of C\$2.25 million. [16] The various phases of this program are shown in Exhibit 5.

In 1997, Cameco had a total of 1,374 employees, comprising 627 production, 96 administration and clerical, 394 professional and technical and 257 supervisory and management. Of these 388 (358 production, 11 clerical and 19 technical) were represented by three separate unions of the United Steelworkers of America. Approximately 51% of the workforce, was stationed at minesites that were operated by Cameco on behalf of joint venture partners. The costs of such employees were shared by the partners in proportion to their ownership. [17] More than 51% of the mining workforce was of Native origin which, according to the company, made Cameco the largest industrial employer of Aboriginal people in Canada.

An independent survey was conducted by Criterion (though commissioned by Cameco), in June 1994 to ascertain the effect of mining employment on the traditional lifestyles of the communities. Of the 687 people that were surveyed at Key Lake and Rabbit Lake, half of the respondents felt that they would move from the rural North to the relatively urban South even if they did not have a job at the mine, 17% felt that they would not move and the remaining were unsure. 43% of the respondents who were employed by the mining companies did not think that the work rotation made it difficult for them to hunt, trap or fish, 39% said that it did make it difficult, while 18% were unsure. On average 79% of the employees felt that the mines were safe (88% for non-Aboriginal respondents and 66% for Aboriginal respondents).

The Land Tenure and Royalty Arrangements

Minerals in Canada are a property of the Provincial government and hence certain royalties must be paid by mining companies to the government. In addition most mines are situated on public land and hence the mining companies must lease the land on which the mining is to take place. A Crown Lease is for a term of ten years with a right to renew for further terms of ten years each in the absence of default by the lessee. The lease is for a minimum of 15 years and maximum of 33 years.

The basic royalty in Saskatchewan is equal to 5% of gross sales and is reduced by the Saskatchewan resource credit which is equal to 1% of the gross sales. The graduated royalty is levied on the "operating profits" from each of the corporation's production units as defined in the Crown Mineral Royalty Schedule. The royalty starts at 15% on operating profits from \$1.02 to \$10.19 per pound, plus 34% on incremental operating profits from \$10.2 to \$25.48 per pound, plus 50% on incremental profits in excess of \$25.48 per pound. The basic royalty is allowed as a credit against the graduated royalty and 35% of certain exploration expenditures are allowed as a credit against graduated royalty. For income tax purposes royalties are not deductible. There is, however, a "resource allowance" deduction which equals 25% of resource profits, as defined in the Income Tax Act of Canada. There are additional capital tax of 0.6% on paid up capital in excess of \$10 million and corporate resource surcharge of 3.6% of the value of the resource sales paid only to the extent that it exceeds the regular capital tax.

A federal large corporation tax came into effect in July, 1989 and is currently at a rate of 0.225% on a corporation's taxable capital employed in Canada that is in excess of \$10 million. The combined provincial and federal income tax rate is about 45%. Exhibit 3 provides more information about the royalty payments and taxes.

Due to the strategic importance of uranium, the industry is regulated at the federal level and falls under the jurisdiction of the Canadian Atomic Energy Control Board. In March, 1997, the Nuclear Safety and Control Act received royal assent (was passed) and replaced previous legislation pertaining to nuclear safety. According to Canadian law, the statute must first be proclaimed in each province before it "comes into effect." This is usually done once the regulations have been finalized. During the approval process of the McArthur River project, the draft regulations for this act had been prepared and were being circulated for comment.

The Environmental Movement and the Wollaston Uprising

Institutionalized environmental activism on nuclear issues on a global level can be traced back to Canada with the inception of Greenpeace in 1971. Greenpeace was started by a group of Canadian anti-nuclear activists in Vancouver who opposed nuclear proliferation. As Canada became an ever-increasing contributor to the nuclear industry, the pitch of opposition increased but the voice was also diluted by numerous other environmental problems, such as population control, water quality, ozone depletion and global warming.

In Saskatchewan the most vocal opposition to uranium mining came from Church groups and a few regional environmental organizations. The Inter-Church Uranium Committee and The Saskatchewan Environment Society were the groups that most actively participated in protests rallies and tried to galvanize support from Northern communities. Greenpeace and other large multinational organizations were more preoccupied with environmental problems such as logging and biodiversity conservation. There were also several individual activists from abroad who had visited the region and developed particular associations with certain groups.

In the early seventies Eldorado Nuclear (now part of Cameco Corporation) entered into an agreement with the provincial government of Saskatchewan to begin mining activities in the vicinity of Wollaston Lake. The Native communities of the region felt that their subsistence lifestyles of hunting and fishing would be threatened by water pollution from the mining development. Their opposition was partly due to the past experience of affected communities in Uranium City. They were also galvanized to action by an activist named Miles Goldstick who had several connections with environmental groups in Scandinavia. The result was a considerable opposition movement which was even supported by some notable chiefs, such as Chief Hector Kkhailther:

I tried my best to get the government and the mining companies to discuss how it will affect our people for years to come. I tried my best to have a meeting with the people involved in uranium mining, and the people looking after it, running it, the ministers. It seems like those people are only looking out for the money....We have to keep on bugging them until they close the mine. that's what we're after.[18]

A formal protest and blockade was organized in June 1985, involving 150 community members. The protesters blocked the road and received national press coverage including a brief parliamentary debate which was spurred by a Member of Parliament from Manitoba:

Members will be aware, I hope, that at this very moment, and since Friday, there has been a blockade going on at Wollaston Lake, in northern Saskatchewan having to do with the concern of people there about the extent of uranium mining going on there and its potential expansion. I think it is high time that Canada got out of the uranium mining business.[19]

Within four days of the blockade, Eldorado met with a number of Dene Chiefs and were successful in garnering their support. The Chiefs were quick to point out that the alliance between the environmentalists and the Aboriginal communities had been opportunistic because of the opposition of the Green groups to traditional hunting and trapping:

These same protesters up there right now are the same ones involved as well in trying to stop the leg hold trapping....trying to stop the traditional livelihood of the people that the Chiefs represent. So we cannot sit by and let people run over us like that, whether they are pro-developers or anti-developers. We are going to make a choice about how things are going to move ahead.[20]

Despite all the preparatory work and the media coverage, the blockade was generally unsuccessful in changing policy. Even some of the environmentalists disapproved of the way in which this movement had been organized. Soon thereafter Miles Goldstick published a rather dramatic account of the blockade as a book *Wollaston: People Resisting Genocide*, and subsequently moved to Sweden. According to Jamie Kneen, an activist based in Ottawa who had worked with the Hatchett Lake Band in Saskatchewan and the Inuit Taparissat Coalition, the blockade was "premature and extremely damaging to the community." [21]

The environmental review process and the government review of uranium mining ventures in general picked up pace during the early nineties. The Hatchett Lake Band, which had shown the most organized opposition to the mining also hired professional economic consultants at the Economic Resources Group in Cambridge Massachusetts, to help with a cost-benefit analysis of the proposed mining projects. They compiled a report and submitted certain objections to the C/B analysis in the environmental impact statement for the McArthur River project. However, the company and the government largely dismissed these findings in a detailed report and Cameco in particular felt that the consultants had little knowledge of the cultural dynamics and economic predicament of the region and had charged exorbitant fees to an impoverished Indian band for unnecessary services. [22] The company continued to directly communicate with the band and to work through some of their concerns.

Meanwhile, the environmentalists in Southern Saskatchewan, who had been the most vociferous opponents to the mining decided to withdraw from the formal environmental assessment process. The reasons they gave were as follows:

In September 1996 we reluctantly ended our involvement in the environmental assessment review process for the McArthur River, Cigar Lake and Midwest uranium mine projects....The good faith being expressed by the public was not being reciprocated by industry, government or its many-layered bureaucracy. The process had simply degenerated into a tool of political legitimation. We had no choice but to uphold our own good faith and belief in public processes by withdrawing from further involvement in these particular reviews. [23]

At this point, there was a distinct lack of engagement between the environmental groups based in the Southern reaches of Saskatchewan and the Aboriginal groups in the North. [24] Indeed very few of the environmental activists had actually visited the mine sites and were actively supported by only a few Aboriginal women living in urban areas, most notably Prescilla Settee at the University of Saskatchewan. As the director of the indigenous studies program at the university she held certain academic legitimacy and had voiced her opposition to mining at conferences around Canada and Europe. However, because of her distance from the actual Native settlements, she did not hold the same clout and authority among the decision-makers in the Native bands. Moreover, the alternatives to mining which were being suggested to the communities were not very lucrative. Ecotourism was the most promising of these alternatives which the environmental groups were suggesting. However, there were very few people who

believed that there was a market for perennial tourist activities in the Province. According to Cameco's Jamie McIntyre:

It's really unfortunate that the environmental groups were not involved in a positive way with the Aboriginal groups. They gave them alternatives but the Aboriginal people told them: If you want to go and pick berries, you go and pick berries we will go and mine. The alternatives, they have are to stay in the community on welfare or move. We have provided them a third alternative. The rift between environmental movement and the indigenous rights movement and indeed the government was further widened by the debate on hunting and trapping which continued to gain momentum: I think it's time that we as Aboriginal people unite in a place like Northern Saskatchewan where we are really being exploited by these governments. You know we have to force these governments to come to the table to negotiate our land rights.[25]

Cameco and other mining companies kept a safe distance from such debates, which usually worked to their advantage.

Cameco's "Competitors"

Cameco's most prominent competitors in Saskatchewan were two European companies with several decades of experience in mining uranium ore around the world. Due to the high capital costs involved in uranium mining, these companies joined forces on several of the mining ventures in Canada. However, government regulations prevented them from owning complete uranium mines since federal law required that at least 51% of a uranium operation be owned by a Canadian company. Exceptions to this policy were possible but only through cabinet approval and usually granted only when the operating company was Canadian. Cameco thus had a definite advantage in the Saskatchewan mining sector.

The larger of the two was Cogema Resources (Cie generale des matieres nucleaires), which like Cameco had been a government corporation. In 1976 the Production Division of the French Atomic Energy Agency (CEA) was launched as a private company and renamed Cogema. The company was unique in the scope of its nuclear operations all the way to spent fuel reprocessing -- indeed mining only constituted 8.5% of the company's revenues (which in 1997 were over 34 billion French Francs). Since the eighties, Cogema had held major shares in several uranium mines in Saskatchewan, including Cluff Lake, Cigar Lake and McArthur River. While suffering from numerous environmental compliance problems, Cogema had been very successful in fostering good community relations. Indeed, Bernard Michel, the CEO of Cameco and a former employee of Cogema, credited the French nuclear industry (and Cogema in particular) for pioneering many of the proactive community relations policies which he brought with him to Cameco.[26]

Cameco's second competitor in Saskatchewan was the German company Uranerz, which was established in 1969 by two of Germany's largest energy enterprises C. Deilmann and The Rheinbraun group. Uranerz was a relative small company with revenues in 1996,

amounting to 205 million Deutsche Marks. On April 17, 1998, Cameco entered into an agreement in principle to purchase the Canadian and U.S. companies of Uranerz for C\$483 million in cash, giving it 100% ownership of the Key Lake and Rabbit Lake mines and 83.77% ownership of the McArthur River mine. The purchase also included share acquisitions of ventures in Kazakhstan and Australia. The Australian share included interests in Energy Resources of Australia Ltd., operator of the highly controversial Ranger uranium mine in close proximity to Kakadu National Park (in Australia's Northern Territory). There were some rumblings in the environmental community about the Australian portion of the acquisition. Indeed a protest was held about the Australian mine outside Cameco's office on July 23, 1998. In an industry where competition and cooperation are inextricable, Cameco made a strategic business decision to expand its global reach which could have consequences on the community relations equation at home. Having successfully overcome many of the challenges of redefining an identity which greatly differed from its erstwhile constituent companies, Cameco was now confronted with the challenge of redefining a new future for its latest acquisition as well.

The Joint Federal Provincial Panel on Uranium Mining

On account of strong pressure from lobbying groups in Canada and abroad, the government of Canada and the Provincial government of Saskatchewan decided to form a panel to review the various uranium mining projects in August, 1991. The panel was entrusted with the duty of looking objectively at the environmental and social impact of the mining projects which were being proposed and present its recommendations to the government. The panel comprised five members who were chosen on account of their scientific expertise and their experience in working with Northern communities.

The Chairperson of the panel was Professor Donald Lee of the Chemistry department at the University of Regina. Other panel members were: Dr. Richard Neal of the Biology department at the University of Saskatchewan, Dr. James Archibald of the Mining Engineering department at Queens University, Dr. Annalee Yassi of the School of Public Health at the University of Manitoba and Vice Chief John Dantouze of the Prince Albert Grand Council of Saskatchewan. The mining companies were not directly involved with the deliberations of the panel. However, the panel did confer with the companies to procure technical information and also to ascertain the terms of employment assurance and other social impact indicators. The panel also held sessions to get input from the public.

The Hearings

In early 1996, the panel began to plan a series of hearings across Saskatchewan in order to have an organized means of public involvement in the process and to expedite the reports which the panel was obliged to issue after almost five years of deliberations. Despite its small size there was considerable dissent within the panel as to the nature and timing of these hearings. Dr. Annalee Yassi, was particularly opposed to having the hearings held at a time when the public was not completely informed of the various impact measures. I want to reiterate that I think it is cynical to be proceeding to 'Public

Hearings" when the public will not have the information they need to properly evaluate the EIS. It was clear to me at our meeting that there is a political and industrial agenda that we must follow.[27]

The majority opinion of the panel was that the environmental impact statements for the various projects had been available for several months at all public libraries and public notices had been sent informing people of their availability (this had been preceded by a formal EIS review public notice as well). The hearings for Cameco's projects (McArthur River and Cigar Lake) were held from September 4 to October 11, 1996 at 11 different locations across Saskatchewan. However, because of certain misgivings between the panel members and some of the Northern leaders, the hearing meetings at Wollaston Lake were canceled because of the community's disapproval.

The Resignations

Dr. Annalee Yassi, the epidemiologist on the panel had for some time felt isolated in the deliberations of the panel. She was insistent that more emphasis be given to occupational health exposure on a long-term basis. Her reluctance to hold the hearings on account of insufficient public awareness further estranged her from the Panel chairperson and various government regulators. According to the Panel report, she officially resigned on August 15, 1996. However, in her correspondence with another panel member she claimed that "as there was no resolution, I was effectively pushed off the Panel." [28] In fact she had written in an earlier communication:

As much as I am tempted to quit on principle, I realize that this would be exactly what some 'stakeholders' would want, and having spent almost 5 years in this process, having had to fight attempts to get me to quit all along, I am not about to do so now.[29]

Perhaps emboldened by Dr. Yassi's resignation Chief John Dantouze, who had also expressed misgivings about the panel regarding revenue sharing, announced that he would also resign from the panel on October 1, 1996. Chief Dantouze's resignation had the potential of severely damaging the negotiation process in Northern Saskatchewan. The panel was scheduled to hold hearings soon thereafter and with the announcement of his resignation, a few Northern leaders also announced that they would not like to host the public hearings in their communities, most notably the hamlet of Wollaston Lake. While Cameco was not directly involved with the activities of the panel, the resignations were undoubtedly a matter of concern to the company. However, in Cameco's assessment Chief Dantouze did not have the constituency to make a difference in the cause and in fact his departure would probably make the process more objective and less politically charged.[30] This was a delicate time for Cameco since the direct contact with the community members had to be maintained and strengthened to dispel the negative publicity which statements such as the following from Chief Dantouze would generate.

Their allegation demonstrates that the fundamental problem in the panel process is not any conflict between my political obligations to the Athabasca First Nations and my mandate on the Panel, but the pressures from the federal and provincial governments and

the mining industry to proceed prematurely with decisions in their favor. The Premier and the Panel Chairperson have stated that our request for direct negotiations is inappropriate at this time....This delay tactic is transparent... To employ the Premier's hockey analogy: I and other northerners have never been in the game, we have either been in the stands or the penalty box. We have a team and we want ice time.[31]

The panel was now down to three members and there was a serious credibility problem. Nevertheless, the chairperson of the panel continued with the panel's activities and the government continued to support them. A statement on the resignation was quickly issued by the panel and faxed to various stakeholders, including Cameco:

We are sincerely sorry that the northern leaders have decided to withdraw invitations to hold public hearings in their communities. Despite the departure of Vice Chief Dantouze, I have absolute confidence in the ability of the remaining panel members to finish this review in a completely reputable fashion.....The Chiefs inferred that their withdrawal will discredit the review process. We are, however, of the opinion that allowing the panel to be deterred from its duty by political maneuvering on the parts of the chiefs would cause greater discredit to the review process..... As indicated in our previous report, we share many of the same general objectives expressed by the Northern Leaders and we have no objections regarding to discussions concerning the principle of revenue sharing; however, the specifics regarding the projects and their impacts should not be negotiated at this time.[32]

Jamie McIntyre, the Manager for Northern Relations had his work cut out for him in trying to avert a serious lack of trust and a breakdown in communication. He had lived in Northern Saskatchewan for many years and was generally well-liked by most of the communities there. However, he knew that the problems in the panel's ranks were the government's business and by staying away from the conflict between the government and the panel members, the company could maintain a certain degree of objectivity which would be available in the future. The most critical issue in this regard was revenue-sharing.

Revenue Sharing

The panels recommendations for the McArthur River project (in which Cameco had the greatest interest) were published in February, 1997. The government issued a response to the panel's recommendations soon thereafter in which most of the 31 recommendations were endorsed. On the most critical issues of employment and revenue sharing, the government stated that it "supports the objective of increasing the employment of northerners by 1% annually until a level of 67% is reached." [33]

However, this was not enough to assuage the long-term concerns of the community members. They felt that a certain percentage of the revenues which the government was getting from the mining should be directly funneled back to the communities. The issue of revenue sharing first came up when the panel began its scoping meetings in late 1991. In its report on the McArthur river exploration project, the panel stated in 1993:

Although formally on Crown Land, several of the Aboriginal peoples who appeared before the panel referred to it as "our land" and indicated they had assumed a traditional right to use it for gathering purposes. As a consequence, it seems to be a matter of natural justice that the Aboriginal people should share in any revenue provided by development and that they should logically benefit from mining operations in larger proportion than do the people living in the southern part of the province.[34]

The issue was, however, being negotiated primarily between the government and the community. Cameco made it clear that they were paying all the legally requisite royalties and taxes to the government and they had no control over how the money was subsequently distributed. The Northern communities did not press the company to give additional or separate revenues to them since the technical "owner" of the land was actually the government. Cameco distanced itself once again from any lobbying efforts and continued to work on other proactive initiatives with the communities. According to Jamie McIntyre:

Several meetings with the government, however, dissuaded us from tabling any of our ideas or actively supporting, in any obvious way, the concept of revenue sharing. The issue of revenue sharing involved much more than the uranium industry and they [the government] saw any attempt to facilitate it in this circumstance was the thin edge of the wedge, and they would be faced with pressure from other constituents to share revenue from other resources. So essentially Cameco backed off and let the debate continue with no real comment.[35]

The Athabasca Working Group

Bernard Michel and top executives from the McArthur River and Cigar Lake operations met with 23 community leaders and representatives, including Wollaston Lake in March, 1993. The aim of this meeting was to improve communications between the company and the community. According to the review panel, the discussion identified three major issues:[36]

- a desire for more opportunities for jobs, training and business, but not at the expense of the environment
- a need for a written guarantee stating that companies would protect the environment and compensate for any damage that might result from mining activity; and
- a desire to receive benefits and revenues beyond those jobs, training and business opportunities.

To address these issues it was decided at this meeting that an Athabasca Working Group would be created which would ultimately draft an agreement of understanding between the communities and the companies. Cogema joined the process in 1994. The Working group consisted of two members from each of the six Athabasca communities, and at least one representative each from Cameco, Cogema and Cigar Lake. The members of the working group were the elected leaders of each Athabasca community and a designated

community representative chosen by the elected leader. To remain free of any political involvement, it was decided that government agencies or officers of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, the Prince Albert Grand Council or the Metis Society would not be included, except by invitation.

The meetings of the Working Group and also meetings in crisis situations, such as the resignation of Vice Chief Dantouze, were often animated. Cameco perception and behavior at these meetings was described by Jamie McIntyre as follows: The discussion and debate would get emotional and heated very quickly and escalate into these long 30 - 35 minute dissertations, particularly by elders. They are particularly eloquent in their own language. After what could be a 7 - 8 hour meeting the meeting would break, sometimes in the wee hours of the morning. Everyone then gathered around and just shoots the gab, we used to talk about all sorts of things, often not at all related to the discussion that took place. It would literally switch into this very friendly conversation with some of the most genuinely nice people you would ever want to meet. And you always had to keep that in mind and not take things too personally or seem too defensive. They just wanted us to listen and once we got good at that, the meetings were generally very productive and rewarding experiences.[37]

Environmental Quality Committees and the Northern Mining Monitoring Secretariat

In 1993 the Joint Panel on Uranium Development recommended that a consultation mechanism be set up by the government "for the people of Saskatchewan to be reassured that the mines are operating in compliance with all regulations and that northern economic benefits are being maximized." The provincial cabinet subsequently authorized the establishment of a Northern Mining Monitoring Secretariat and three regional Environmental Quality Committees. The committee's aim was to garner community opinions on mining developments and provide information on the projects on a regular basis. They were profiled in the Eighth Annual Report on Aboriginal Participation in Mining as follows:

The EQCs are a bridge between northerners, government and the uranium mining industry-- a bridge based on trust, respect, consultation and involvement. The NMMS is an administrative support structure for the 'bridge', offering co-ordination, information and communications services.[38]

In 1995, the work of the environmental quality committees was supplemented by the formation an Office of Northern Affairs by the Saskatchewan government. A Native Cree lawyer, Keith Goulet was chosen as its Director. At the Uranium Institute's symposium in 1997, Keith Goulet was an invited speaker, and while referring to the various initiatives of the Environmental Quality Committees he commented: Cooperation and collaboration between the north Saskatchewan mining industry, governments, and local communities is now working well, deserves recognition, and must continue to develop.

Agreements and Approvals

The first series of good news for Cameco came on February 28, 1997 when the Environmental Review Panel recommended approval of the McArthur River project. While the panel's credibility had been somewhat damaged by the resignations, there was a general feeling that the communities had been engaged through other means which would not undermine the lack of representation from Chief Dantouze and Dr. Annalee Yassi. The panel's approval for mining was, however, not universal. In fact the Midwest satellite mine at McClean Lake (not a Cameco site) was opposed by the panel on environmental grounds.

The next approval came forth from the Saskatchewan government on May 5, 1997, followed by the federal approval for the project three days later. The final approval to commence construction was granted by the Atomic Energy Control Board of Canada on August 25, 1997. On January 31, 1998 The Athabasca Working group announced that it had reached an agreement with Cameco as well. The agreement covered compensation/indemnification in the event of damage from project emissions, jobs, training and business and approaches to benefit sharing.

On the political front, a planning meeting of Chiefs and the Premier of Saskatchewan Roy Romanow was held in July, 1998. The northern leaders signed a memorandum of agreement supporting the long-term development planing goals of the government, including mining. The venue for the meeting, quite surprisingly to some, was Wollaston Lake.[39] Meanwhile, Vice Chief Dantouze had asked for some of the Chiefs of Northern bands to sign a letter asking for a moratorium on mining until revenue-sharing arrangements were negotiated. The Chiefs who signed the letter were soon confronted by many of their constituents who were working in the mining industry. The leadership in Black Lake, Fond du Lac and Wollaston Lake (three groups who had opposed mining) were subsequently defeated in elections or were forced to resign by the constituents.

Jamie McIntyre was a guest speaker at the annual meeting of the Saskatchewan Human Resources Association in March 1998. He concluded his speech with the following words.

On the political front we are still dealing with very high expectations. Expectations which we may never be able to live up to.The journey which we have taken has taught us much about how to facilitate and encourage the flow of positive benefits to the people of the North. The traveling companions have not always got along during this journey and the road has not always been a smooth one. Probably the most important lesson we have learned is that we achieve our objectives most efficiently when we work in cooperation.[40]

As the McArthur River project neared completion, there was a growing sense of reconciliation and acceptance in Saskatchewan. Environmental groups continued to voice their dissatisfaction with the process of government approval but they began to focus on global issues. The proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia and the Jabiluka mine in Australia topped the list. There was at least a semblance of unity and a growing proclivity, even in the most radical circles, to disagree without being disagreeable.

Exhibit 1: Map of the Region

INSERT HERE

Exhibit 2: Cameco Financial Indicators (1997)

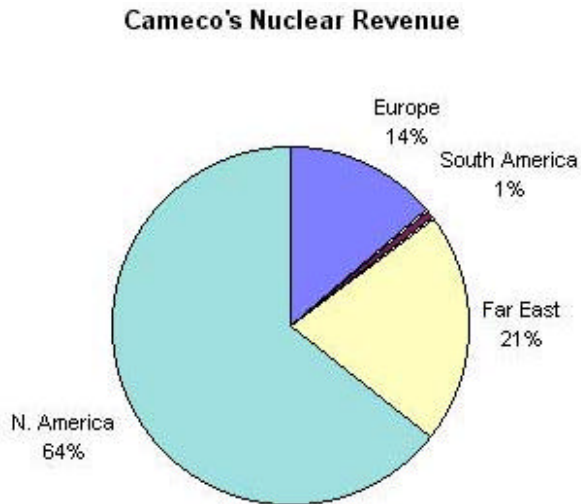


Table 3: Royalties and taxes paid by Cameco (millions C\$)[41]

	1997	1998	1999
Royalties	30.8	56.1	15.8
Saskatchewan capital tax	12.1	14.8	9.3
Ontario corporate minimum tax and capital tax	1.5	1.7	0.8
Large Corporation Tax	3.0	76.3	29.6
Total	47.4	76.3	28.6

Cameco's Revenues, Expenses and Earnings

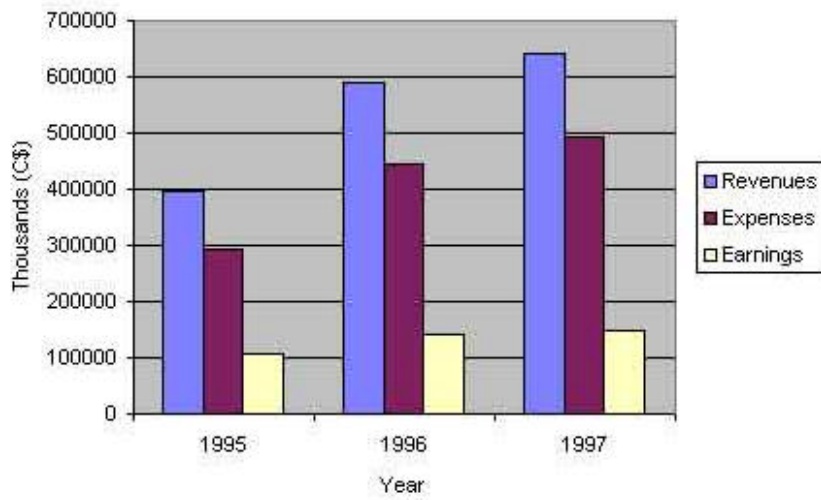
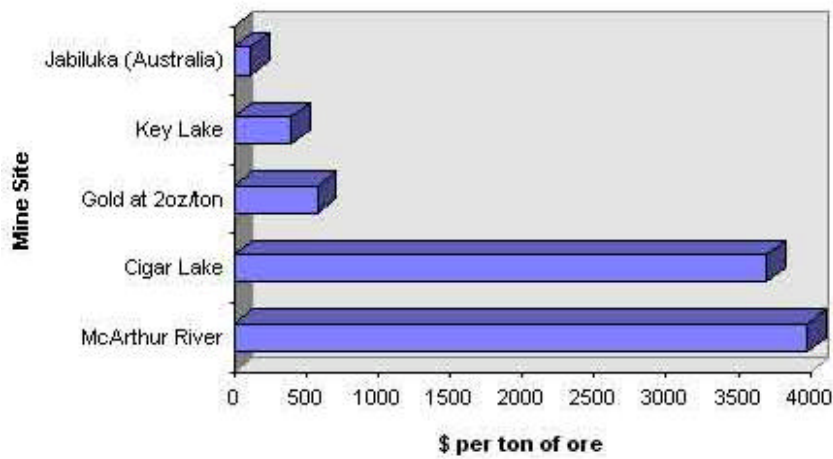
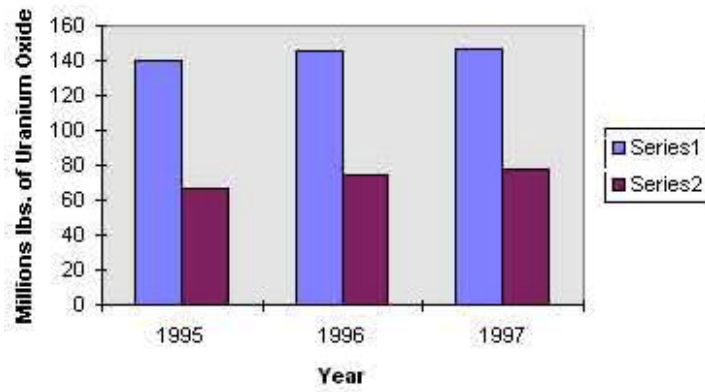


Exhibit 3: Uranium Mining Data (Source Uranium Institute, London UK)

Comparison of Ore Value



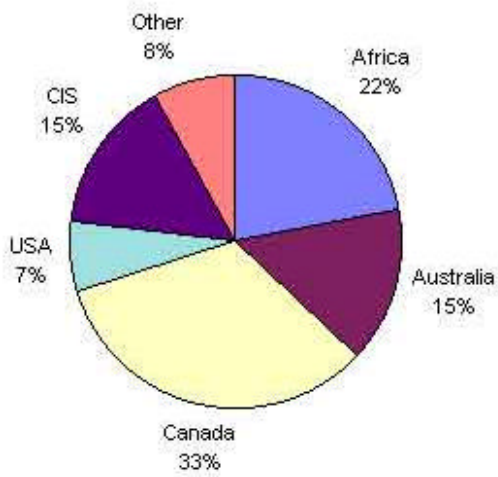
Western World Market Activity



Series 1 = Consumption

Series 2= Production

World Uranium Production



World Electricity Generation

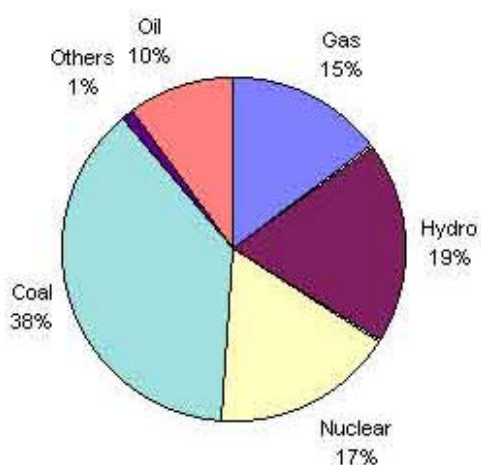


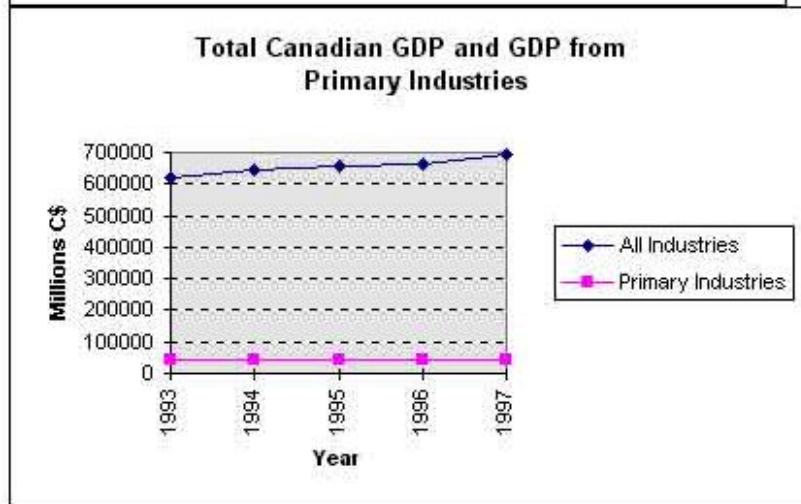
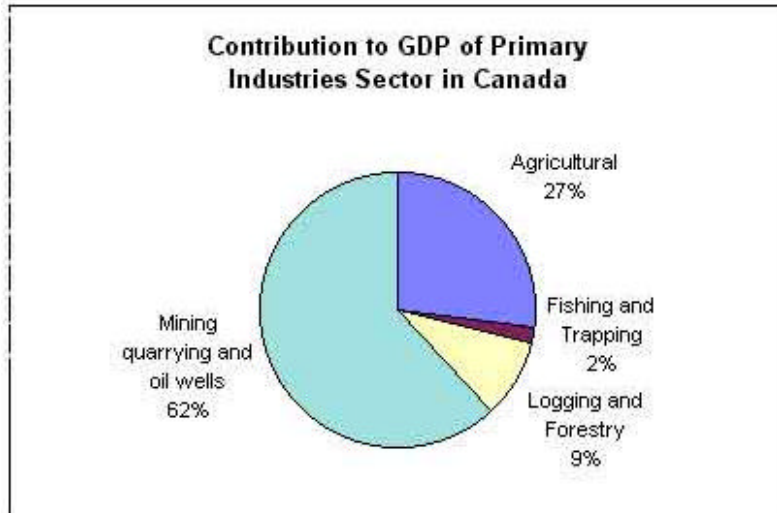
Exhibit 4: Demographic Information

(Statistics Canada Web site: <http://www.statcan.ca>, based on 1996 Census data)

	Total Population	Aboriginal Population				Non-Aboriginal Population
		Total (N. American Indian	Metis	Inuit	
CANADA	28,528,125	799,010	554,290 (69%)	210,190 (26%)	41,080 (5.1%)	27,729,115
Newfoundland	547,100	14,208	6,400	4,000	4,200	
Prince Edward Island	132,855	950	825	120	15	131,905
Nova Scotia	899,970	12,380	11,340	860	210	887,590
New Brunswick	729,630	10,250	9,180	975	120	719,380
Quebec	7,045,080	71,415	47,600	16,075	8,300	6,973,665
Ontario	10,642,790	141,525	118,830	22,790	1,300	10,501,265
Manitoba	1,100,295	128,685	82,990	46,195	360	971,610

Saskatchewan	976,615 (3.4%)	111,245	75,205	36,535	190	865,370
Alberta	2,669,195	122,840	72,645	50,745	795	2,546,355
British Columbia	3,689,755	139,655	113,315	26,750	815	3,550,100
Yukon	30,655	6,175	5,530	565	110	24,480
Northwest Territories	64,120	39,690	11,400	3,895	24,600	24,430

Note: The total North American Indian, Metis and Inuit do not equal the total Aboriginal population because 6,415 persons reported identifying with more than one group.



Population of Notable First Nations Band in Northern Saskatchewan's (1996)

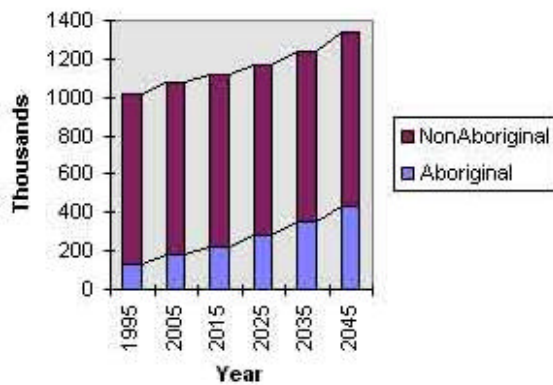
Source: Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. Saskatchewan and Aboriginal Peoples in the 21st Century. Regina, SK, Canada: Print West Publishing Services, 1997.

Total population of First Nations in Saskatchewan is 111,245, comprising 70 bands (11.4% of the province's population)

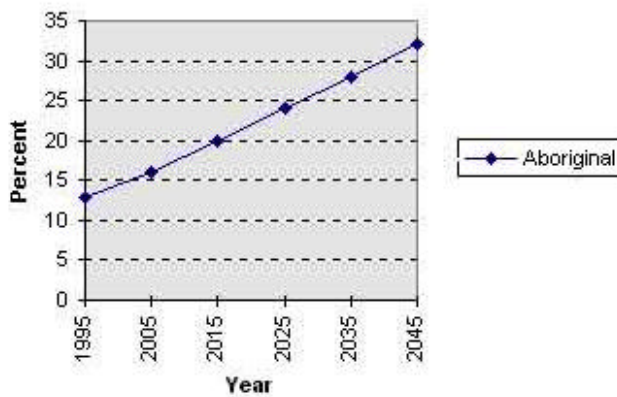
Black Lake	1401
Birch Narrows	441
Buffalo River	892
Canoe Lake	1371
Clearwater Dene	925
Cumberland House	764
English River	1047
Fond du Lac	1373

Hatchet Lake	1042
Island Lake	870
Key	880
Lac La Ronge	6350
Montreal Lake	2483
Peter Ballantyne	6030

Saskatchewan population projections



Proportion of Saskatchewan's Population that is Aboriginal with Projections using PREMOS



PREMOS: Provincial Economic Model of Saskatchewan

Exhibit 5: Some Factors Affecting Revenue -Sharing Negotiations

(Joint Panel Report on the McArthur River Uranium Mine Project, February, 1997)

Government	Examples of Legislation
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Institutions / Examples of Legislation Negotiating Bodies	Involved
Government of Canada	Constitution Act 1987
Government of Saskatchewan	Individual treaties
First Nations Bands	Constitution Act 1930
Tribal Councils	Saskatchewan Natural Resources
Transfer Act 1930	Federation of Saskatchewan
Indian Nations	Constitution Act 1982
Metis Locals	Mineral Resources Act
Metis Nation of Saskatchewan	Northern Administration Act
Northern Municipalities	Provincial Lands Act
Rural Municipalities	Crown Minerals Act
Urban Municipalities	Northern Municipalities Act

Revenue -Sharing Negotiations

Issues Affecting Negotiations

- Environmental Protection
- Employment and Economic Development
- Surface/Subsurface Resource Management
- Taxation and Other Resources
- Social Services / Housing
- Jurisdiction over Land/Water
- Fiduciary Responsibilities
- Justice / Policing
- Off-reserve Aboriginals
- self-government Discussions

Exhibit 6: Multi-Party Training Program in Northern Saskatchewan

Phase 1

Assessment (Two weeks)

Common Entry Point

- Interview
- Academic assessment
- Aptitude assessment
- Life skill analysis
- Counseling

Phase II	Phase III	Phase IV	Phase V
Pre-employment	Skill Training	Job training	Employment
Preparatory(10 weeks)	12 weeks to 2 years	2-3 years	Ongoing
7-in-7-out schd	12-16 weeks	Technical skill development	Ongoing retrain advance menting
Individualized acad.upgrading	Apprenticeship training	Management and supervisory trg.	
Life skills and job readiness	Mine training	Retraining	
Physical training & disciplines	Heavy equipment Operator	Indentureship of Apprentices	
Worker health and safety	Mill training 1-2 years		
	Technicaltrg		

[1]ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: I would like to thank Professor James Sebenius and Ms. HannahRiley at Harvard Business School for their thoughtful comments. My thanks are alsodue to all the stakeholders in this case, who kindly agreed to be interviewed.

[2] Michel,Bernard. "Corporate Citizenship and the Saskatchewan Uranium Industry."The Uranium Institute Symposium Proceedings.London: The Uranium Institute, 1995.

[3] Mining Journal, December 30, 1983.

[4] CamecoCorporation.McArthur River EnvironmentalImpact Statement.Saskatoon,November, 1995.

[5] The RoyalProclamation of October 7, 1763, as quoted inThe Virtual Law Office.Compiled by Henderson, Bill, Barrister andSolicitor, obtainable via email: lawyer@bloorstreet.com

[6] His Most Gracious Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland. Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners, signed between the LacLa Hache Band and the Crown of England in 1906. Reprinted: Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1966.

[7] The decision was prompted by recommendations from Mr. Justice Berger that the communities needed some time to prepare their society for such a massive change in lifestyle. Quoted in McKinney, Judith Wright. "Aborigines and Mining." Habitat, June, 1994.

[8] Personal communication with a Native individual in Saskatoon, Canada, July 21, 1998.

[9] Quoted in Saskatchewan Indian, Spring, 1998, p. 9.

[10] Aboriginal Peoples Survey, quoted in McArthur River Environmental Impact Statement, Appendix 3, Table D-1.8.

[11] "Canadian Court rejects Native bid to halt logging." Reuters News Summary, Vancouver Bureau, July 6, 1998.

[12] Switzer, Maurice. "Message to the media: All Canadian Issues are Aboriginal Issues" The Globe and Mail, March 27, 1998.

[13] McIntyre, Jamie, Manager Human Resources, Cameco, personal communication via fax, July 24, 1998.

[14] Sub-committee of the Intergovernmental Working Group on the Mineral Industry. Report on Native Participation in Mining Phase III: Aim for the Moon. Ottawa: Canadian Government Publications, September, 1992, pp. 60-63.

[15] Ibid, p.65.

[16] Sub-committee of the Intergovernmental Working Group on the Mineral Industry. Aboriginal Participation in the Mining Industry of Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Government Publications, September, 1996.

[17] Cameco Corporation. Annual Information Form, March 4, 1998.

[18] Chief Hector Kkailther. Statement at the Umperville River Campground before the mining protest on June 14, 1985. Quoted in Goldstick, Miles. Wollaston: People Resisting Genocide. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1987.

[19] Statement of Bill Blaikie, Member of Parliament (Winnipeg-Birds Hill), Hansard House of Commons Debates Volume 128, No. 126, 1st session, 33rd Parliament, June 17, 1985.

[20] Press Conference Statement by Sol Sanderson of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, Saskatoon, June 20, 1985.

[21] Kneen, Jamie, personal communication via email, February 24, 1998.

[22] Meriwald, Rita, Vice President for Human Resources at Cameco Corporation, personal communication, Saskatoon, July 19, 1998.

[23] Memorandum from Inter-Church Uranium Committee, Saskatoon SK, Canada to the Premier of Saskatchewan and the Atomic Energy Control Board, April 14, 1997.

[24] Unlike the conventional usage of North and South in environmental discourse, "the North" in this case was used synonymously with underdevelopment and poverty while "the South" was synonymous with development and affluence.

[25] Gerald Morin, President of The Metis Nation. Interview with BBS-TV Saskatchewan: Hunters and trappers say they are fed up with mining in the North. March 2, 1997.

[26] Michel, Bernard, CEO of Cameco Corporation. Personal Communication, Saskatoon, July 21, 1998.

[27] Yassi, Annalee. Request for additional information for the MJV Project. Message to Don Lee, Chairperson of the Joint Panel on Uranium Mining, April 12, 1996.

[28] Yassi, Annalee. Letter to Chief John Dantouzie, Prince Albert Grand Council, September 30, 1996.

[29] Yassi, Annalee. Request for additional information for the MJV Project. Message to Don Lee, Chairperson of the Joint Panel on Uranium Mining, April 12, 1996.

[30] McIntyre, Jamie, Manager for Human Resources, Cameco Corporation, personal communication via fax, July 24, 1998.

[31] Prince Albert Grand Council Press Release from Vice Chief John Dantouze after resignation from the Panel, October 3, 1996.

[32] Statement issued by the Joint Provincial and Federal Panel on Uranium Mining in Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, October 1, 1996.

[33] Government of Canada Response to the Joint Panel Recommendations on the McArthur River Uranium Mining Project, 1997.

[34] Joint Federal-Provincial Panel on Uranium Mining. McArthur River Underground Exploration Program Review. Saskatoon: Government of Canada Publications, January, 1993, p.4.

[35] McIntyre, Jamie, Manager Human Resources, Cameco, personal communication via fax, July 24, 1998.

[36] Joint Federal-Provincial Panel on Uranium Mining. McArthur River Mining Project Review. Saskatoon: Government of Canada Publications, February, 1997, p 43.

[37] McIntyre, Jamie. personal communication via email, August 23, 1998.

[38] Sub-committee of the Intergovernmental Working Group on the Mineral Industry. Report on the Aboriginal Participation in Mining: Eighth Annual Report -- Increasing Knowledge. July, 1997.

[39] Sinkewicz, Paul. "Planning for northern development gets underway." Saskatchewan Sage, July, 1998.

[40] McIntyre, Jamie. Presentation to the Saskatchewan Human Resource Association, March 19, 1998.

[41] Cameco Corporation. Annual Information Form, March 4, 1998.