

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
9<sup>TH</sup> ASSEMBLY, 4<sup>TH</sup> SESSION**

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## Playing tricks on a blind man

Sam Raddi had never felt better. It was Halloween of 1976 and his entire home village of Sachs Harbour, N.W.T., had come out to watch him place his tight scrawl beside the flamboyant signature of Hugh Faulkner, then the federal minister of Indian affairs and northern development. As president of the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE), Raddi was formalizing, along with the federal cabinet, an agreement in principle that

would be greeted as a perfect example of how one native group and the federal government could come to a calm understanding.

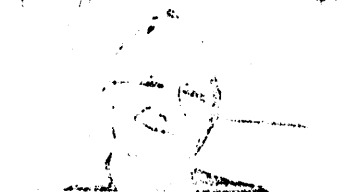
Raddi's people had claimed ownership of 169,000 square miles; they would settle for 57,000 square miles in a number of patches scattered across the N.W.T. They had asked for a three-per cent royalty on any oil and gas rights, aware of the potentially rich Beaufort Sea around them, and had settled for a lump sum of \$45 million. As much as anything, however, Sam Raddi wanted a wilderness park carved out of the Yukon's North Slope, as recommended by the Berger inquiry and the National Energy Board. Poor but lovely, delicate where it met the sea, this was traditional land of the 2,500 Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic. Raddi's own father had passed down from his father a single commandment: "Protect the land for your people; if the animals die off from the sea, we all die." And, yes, there would be such a park. During celebrations that followed the signing, Raddi's 76-year-old father, Kewikchuk, played a traditional Inuit drum dance, and the community hall was stunned when Sam Raddi himself got up to dance. Not because he had never danced before, which he hadn't, but because Sam Raddi is blind.

Last week, in a cheap Ottawa hotel room with water dripping in the halls beyond, Raddi turned toward the light of the window and said he wished he had his 10-month-old granddaughter with him to hold. He needed comfort. Before him sat a letter from the new minister of Indian affairs and northern development, John Munro, to Senator David Steuart, the government's chief negotiator toward the final agreement with COPE, due by the end of this year. "Compromises are essential," Munro had written. The instructions were clear—to go ahead with the wilderness park but to make sure Steuart reserved "the right to establish trans-

portation corridors and onshore facilities in the vicinity on King Point without parliamentary consent." The reason, of course, was potential oil and gas development, which in the agreement in principle could only involve the wilderness park if it were deemed "in the national interest."

"I always believed that if two parties agree to something and then sign it," says Raddi, "then that's solid until they agree to break it."

How such a turnabout could take place may be a prime example of what former external affairs minister Flora MacDonald was getting at when she claimed new ministers are "at the mercy of bureaucratic domination." Soon after the Liberals were returned to power in 1980, Munro wrote to Raddi saying, "I can assure you that this government will honor the agreement in principle." As the sixth head of Indian Affairs in six years, however, perhaps he didn't fully realize that he was now minister to the Inspector Clouseau of government bungling. Munro moved



Steuart: compromises are essential

quickly, in June appointing Senator Steuart to act as the federal negotiator, and all seemed to go smoothly until early November, when the Yukon territorial government wrote Steuart pushing its case for a corridor which Yukon government leader Chris Pearson deemed "critical to the extraction of these valuable resources."

And that's when Ottawa's infamous bureaucracy went to work. Documents obtained by *Maclean's* show that on Nov. 17, Steuart's assistant, Marc LaFrenière, sent a memo to his superior at Indian Affairs, Clovis Demers, arguing for the "designation of a development

zone at King Point and a transportation corridor." Ten days later, Demers sent a memo to his superior, Deputy Minister Paul Tellier, arguing for "onshore facilities" and suggesting "extreme prudence" in trying to reopen negotiations. On Dec. 2, 1980, at an evening meeting between the COPE negotiators and Steuart, LaFrenière denied that he had made any recommendations on this matter to either Tellier or Munro, and Steuart backed him up. COPE couldn't

understand why Munro seemed to be delaying what cabinet had already approved in 1978. But that very day a LaFrenière note had gone to Tellier, and the following morning Munro received his briefing material with the substance of the LaFrenière and Demers memos attached. This briefing material then became the basis for the controversial letter between Munro and Steuart. So Munro's directive to Steuart came, in many ways, from Steuart's own underling.

He defends LaFrenière's actions, says he was glad for the guidelines and cannot understand the furor the letter

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Raddi: the whole thing will unravel

created. "The ministers change," says Steuart, "the governments change. I'm not at all sure they paid all that much attention to the fine print in the first agreement." One other highly placed government official says simply: "It was a rush job. The Berger report was

hot. They thought there was an election coming. They blew it."

Munro is now calling for "a cooling-off period." The letter, he says, has been misinterpreted: "They see it as our bottom line, our final position. It's not that." Now he wants to talk compromises, but "I don't know what they are if we can't talk about them." Says Senator Steuart: "Really what we're talking about is having the wilderness park 90 to 95 per cent." "This agreement is like a knit," counters Raddi. "You take up one part and the whole thing will unravel."

Sam Raddi has decided not to talk, to wait until they come to him. "We can wait a hundred years," he says, and smiles. He has finally, reluctantly, joined with those who have come to believe Indian Affairs is incapable of dealing in good faith. "So many Canadians feel guilty about past dealings with native people," says Don Gamble of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, a northern watchdog. "Well, this is exactly the same kind of government failing there has always been in the past."

—ROY MACGRUBER

AM-YUKON  
450 Budget  
By Bill Levitt

Ottawa (CP) - Contrary to two major environmental studies and a tentative land-claims agreement, the Federal Government wants to create a development zone and transportation corridor in the Northern Yukon.

The proposal is in an internal Indian and Northern Development Department memo which says the plan "goes against the Berger and NEB (National Energy Board) reports; both of which recommended that no pipeline and transportation corridor be allowed along the Northern Yukon coastal area."

Mr. Justice Thomas Berger's comprehensive study on Northern pipelines concluded in 1977 that to protect the unique wildlife in the Northern Yukon effectively, "industrial development of any kind is to be totally and permanently excluded."

Under an Agreement in Principle signed in 1978 and approved by Cabinet, Ottawa and 2,500 Western Arctic Inuit from the Northwest Territories had agreed that an 8,000-square-kilometre wilderness park should be established in the Northern Yukon.

The Yukon Government has vehemently opposed the park because it cuts the Territory off from the oil-rich Beaufort Sea and other mineral resources in the area. It will only agree to a park if the transportation corridor and development areas are established.

The Western Arctic Inuit, who have traditionally used the area to hunt and trap caribou and other birds and animals, stand fast on their agreement with Ottawa.

The Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement, which represents the Inuit, have broken off negotiations on a final land-claims settlement because Northern Affairs Minister John Munro now says compromises from them are essential to get Cabinet approval.

#### Consider Effects

Munro told COPE in a letter dated December 24 that for reasons of national interest, the Federal Government wants to "carefully consider the location of the Wilderness Park and its effect on oil and gas production."

Munro says he wants the park established while "reserving the right to establish transportation corridors and onshore facilities ... without Parliamentary consent."

The Park would be established under Federal Legislation which would require parliamentary approval to change.

Berger spent three years studying various proposals to build a pipeline along the Yukon Coast and down the MacKenzie Valley. He recommended the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline be postponed for 10 years and rejected any development along the Yukon's north coast.

Berger also recommended that the Wilderness Park be set up to protect the caribou, grizzly bears, wolves, wolverines, muskrats plus birds and fish that would be disturbed by development.

"The region should not be open to any future proposal to transport energy across it, or to oil and gas exploration and development in general."

That view has shared by the Energy Board several months later when they too rejected a pipeline along the Yukon Coast as being "environmentally unacceptable."

The Board stated it has not convinced that mitigative measures could adequately assure protection of this wildlife,

AM-CLAIMS  
300 UP BUDGET  
BY BILL LEVITT

OTTAWA (CP) - A bitter controversy surrounding the Federal Government's reluctance to honor a tentative Land Claim Settlement in the Western Arctic could "seriously jeopardize" the entire Land Claims process in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, says several Northern Leaders.

The Committee for Original People's Entitlement, which represents about 2,500 Inuit or Eskimos, has accused Federal Officials of working behind the Committee's back to prevent a final accord unless substantial changes are made to the original Agreement in Principle.

COPE says leaked Government documents show that while negotiations are underway in November, Federal Indian Affairs Officials had already convinced Northern Affairs Minister John Munro to impose compromise on the natives and dictate which issues would be dealt with during negotiations.

The controversy centres on a December 24 letter from Munro to Senator David Steuart, his negotiator, demanding compromise from the natives on several issues "in order for me to get the full support of my Cabinet Colleagues."

COPE argues that few of the issues in question have been dealt with during negotiations.

The Agreement, the only one reached so far in the north, gives the natives \$45 million and 96,000 square kilometres of land. The Agreement also calls for creation of a Wilderness Park stretching across the entire Northern Yukon, cutting the Territory off from the resource-rich Beaufort Sea.

The Yukon Government has vehemently opposed the park unless the Territory is given access to the sea and permission to develop some mineral deposits in the area.

#### WANTS ACCESS

Munro told COPE December 24 that, in the national interest, the Federal Government wants the right to establish a transportation corridor and onshore facilities "without the consent of Parliament."

Munro also expressed reservations about Inuit ownership of 10,000 square kilometres of Yukon land, Federal access to sub-surface resources on Inuit land and payment for loss of wildlife due to rapid development.

COPE, which has broken off land claims talks with Ottawa, insists the letter is an ultimatum which breaks Munro's long-standing promise not to change the agenda without mutual consent. Munro says it is merely a list of concerns.

Munro told COPE in his letter that "it should be understood, however, that in the process of moving from the level of principles to practical implementation, compromises are essential."

But that's not how Northern Leaders interpret the letter. James Wah-Shee, Aboriginal Rights Minister for the Northwest Territories, has told Munro the Territorial Council has carefully reviewed his December 24 letter.

"For you to alter Canada's agreement with COPE without their consent . . . calls into question the credibility of the Federal Government to honor its agreements," Wah-Shee said in a January 30 letter.



AM-CLAIMS

OTTAWA

JEOPARDIZE PROCESS

Wah-Shee said in a breakdown in negotiations "might seriously jeopardize the entire land claims process in the N.W.T. and the Yukon."

MacKenzie Valley Native Leaders, anxious to resume land claims talks that bogged down three years ago, are also "concerned about the value of an Agreement in Principle if in fact the Government can back out any time."

In a recent news release, the Dene Nation and the Metis Association of the N.W.T said there are grave implications for them and they would give the matter serious consideration before resuming negotiations.

And Dave Porter, Lawyer for Council of Yukon Indians, says the COPE issue has concerned CYI which is seeking a land claims Agreement in Principle with Ottawa.

"It calls into question the sincerity of Government, the whole aspect of process," Porter said. "I'm not going to get paranoid about it . . . but it concerns us."

Chris Pearson, Yukon Government Leader, also regards Munro's action as an ultimatum.

Pearson said recently he was pleased that Munro agreed with him that the COPE Settlement should not be allowed to hold up oil and gas development in the Northern Yukon.

In a reference to the Munro letter, Pearson said: "The Minister makes it clear that COPE is going to have to move off their basic principle."

MEET NATIVE LEADERS

COPE has plans to meet several Northern Native Leaders to explain what has happened.

Their officials have already had one meeting with Eastern Arctic Inuit who are currently involved in Land Claim Negotiations covering most of the N.W.T. east and north of the Treeline. Their Land Claims Officials are unavailable for comment.

They also want to show the leaked documents to CYI. Stuart, a Saskatchewan Liberal, said Friday it is ironic that COPE based its complaints on Internal Government Documents.

The documents were "obviously stolen and they must have known they were stolen," making the foundation for their charges questionable, he said.

One document shows that Steuart helped draft Munro's December 24 letter to himself - which was forwarded to COPE - expressing the Minister's concerns which the Inuit say have never surfaced during land claims negotiations.

Another document reveals that while Steuart was negotiating with COPE in November, Clovis Demers, Head of the Office of Native Land Claims, was recommended to Munro that he force COPE to compromise.

COPE ended its long silence on the matter last week in a sharply-worded letter to Munro, Prime Minister Trudeau and Justice Minister Jean Chretien, which included copies of the leaked documents.

COPE argues that Munro's unilateral action was taken without native approval.

"Never have your Officials been prepared to argue their case on merits," the letter said.

Instead, Civil Servants whose concerns cannot meet the test of open debate seek to defeat us by going behind our backs and trying to create a framework for negotiations whereby the commitment made to the Inuvialuit by Canada is defeated."

In the interest of fairness, "it is critical to ensure our effective involvement in the process before issues go to you and before you go to Cabinet for direction on matters affecting us."

February 15, 1981

AM-NATIVES-NEGOTIATORS

By Alan Arbuckle

Ottawa (CP) - Negotiators for some 2,500 natives of the Western Arctic have accused the Federal Government of bad faith in negotiations over their land claim which cover 96,000 square kilometres.

In a letter to Indian Affairs Minister John Munro, Sam Raddi, President of the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement, levelled the charge in response to Munro's call for compromise on a 1978 Agreement in Principle.

"Your approach with COPE in your letter of December 24 (asking for reconsideration) seeks to make negotiations a sham and implies that I and the Inuvialuit are fools who can be manipulated easily by your Officials," Raddi wrote.

COPE stopped negotiations on a Final Agreement last month after Munro said he was concerned about the Agreement which gives the natives \$45 million, pegged to inflation since 1978, as well as the land. The land involved surrounds a number of northern communities and includes the MacKenzie River Delta.

The Agreement also calls for a Wilderness Park stretching across the Northern Border of the Yukon Territory, cutting the Yukon off from the Beaufort Sea to the chagrin of the Territorial Government.

Munro asked for reconsideration and clarification on the Wilderness Park Agreement and of a number of other items, including Mineral Rights on some of the land, the right of "Innocent Passage" across land to go to the natives and compensation where resource development destroys wildlife.

LETTER MILD

Senator Dave Steuart, Saskatchewan Liberal and Munro's negotiator with COPE, said the Minister's letter was "mild." But he said in an interview Friday the Native Negotiators are angry because for the first time a Minister is questioning their demands.

He also said he found it ironic that Raddi based his complaints about negotiating in bad faith on internal Government documents. The documents were "obviously stolen and they must have known they were stolen," making the foundation for the charge questionable, he said.

Raddi's letter said Munro had effectively broken the Agreement in Principle by questioning it. The Agreement is the only one reached so far with Northern Natives and expires December 31 unless the Federal Government agree to an extension.

Negotiators broke off after Munro called COPE officials to an acrimonious February 2 meeting that ended with the Minister asking for a cooling-off period for both sides.

Raddi's letter said Steuart and his officials were siding with the Yukon Government in its concern that the plan for a Wilderness Park, taking up as much as 38,500 square kilometres, include southern access and a harbor.

#### SUSPECTED DECEIT

"Although we strongly suspected we were being deceived, we attempted unsuccessfully to deal with our fears through the negotiating process and meeting with you," Raddi wrote. "Still, only after we were fortunate enough to obtain leaked documents were we able to clearly document the deceit in dealings with us."

The COPE letter is liberally spiced with quotes from internal memos among officials, which Raddi said ended in "the imposition of unilateral compromise" found in Munro's letter in December.

It says assurances COPE was getting from Steuart and his officials that the Agreement in Principle should stand were contradicted by internal briefing notes suggesting compromise would have to be breached in a number of areas.

Raddi even accused Steuart of drafting Munro's letter asking for reconsideration as his own mandate for negotiations, a charge the Senator denied Friday with a laugh.

"Never have your officials been prepared to argue their case on merits," said Raddi. "Instead, civil servants whose concerns cannot meet the test of open debate seek to defeat us by going behind our backs and trying to create a framework for negotiations whereby the commitment made to the Inuvialuit by Canada is defeated."



### Oral Questions

with regard to the meeting I had with Mr. Pym in December. I am prepared to break this rule if the House forces me to, as was the case with respect to my discussion with Mrs. Thatcher. I do not think it is proper. I think that if the British government had any doubts about the course of action we are taking, they would have told us that they would not pass the resolution if it contained this, that or the next thing, but that they would pass it if it contained something else. I personally do not think that would be a proper attitude for the British government.

• (1408)

That is also the way that the present British Prime Minister thinks and the previous British prime minister thought, and that is why it seems to me that, so far as we are concerned, the matter is now settled. The British have told us that they would receive a request from the Canadian Parliament and that they would act on it; that if the package contained certain things, it would take a little more time. But there was never any question that they would look through the resolution to see if it was well-founded, justified or acceptable to them.

### NATIVE RIGHTS

#### AGREEMENT WITH COMMITTEE FOR ORIGINAL PEOPLES ENTITLEMENT—GOVERNMENT POSITION

Mr. Jim Manly (Cunichan-Malahat-The Islands): Madam Speaker, in the absence of the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, my question is directed to the Prime Minister. On October 31, 1978 the government signed an agreement with the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement to settle Inuvialuit land claims. In the January 16, 1981 edition of *News of the North*, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is quoted as having stated in a letter of December 24 to the federal government's chief negotiator that:

—some parts of the agreement-in-principle, signed between the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) and the government, are not acceptable to cabinet and must be changed before a final agreement can be reached.

It seems that this government intends to renege—

Some hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Manly:—the awful mistakes of the past. Does the government intend to honour the agreement with COPE of October 31, 1978, and has any agreement been reached by cabinet to renege on the provisions of the agreement?

Right Hon. P. E. Trudeau (Prime Minister): Madam Speaker, I apologize but, not having been briefed on this question, I do not have the answer. However, I will be happy to transmit the question to the minister, who is on his way back from his home in Hamilton.

Mr. Manly: Surely, Madam Speaker, the Prime Minister would be aware of the decisions which had been reached in cabinet on that question.

Can the Prime Minister tell us what priority he and his cabinet colleagues place on the settlement of land claims, and could he tell us how the Government of Canada can expect to negotiate and settle the other outstanding land claims in the territories if they renege on the only agreement that they have reached thus far?

Mr. Trudeau: The hon. member asks how intent we are on solving this problem. I think the intent is clear from the indication given by the Minister of Justice on Friday before the Parliamentary committee that he would be prepared to entrench aboriginal rights. We are therefore giving the guarantee that it is our intention that those matters be settled, we hope by political negotiation or, if not, by the courts.

Mr. Manly: We certainly hope that the commitment to entrench aboriginal rights will not be taken away by any amending formula, Madam Speaker.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Manly: On Friday, the hon. member for Cariboo-Chilcotin raised the question of the James Bay agreement and the renegeing by the governments with regard to the health care provisions. I ask the Prime Minister: Is the federal government prepared to stand by the James Bay agreement and to respect article 14 of that agreement to ensure that the James Bay Cree have adequate health care?

Mr. Trudeau: I do not have article 14 at hand right now, therefore I cannot give a precise answer, but I can assure the hon. member that our government played a large part in the negotiation of the James Bay settlement. The then minister of Indian affairs and northern development, who is now Minister of Justice, had a hand in it and had one of his special assistants sit in at the negotiations on his behalf. Therefore, I can only say that what we have negotiated was successful and we intend to see that the undertakings are carried out.

### THE CONSTITUTION

#### PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH BRITISH MINISTER

Hon. Allan Lawrence (Durham-Northumberland): Madam Speaker, I am sure that the Prime Minister must appreciate that, with the lack of candour to which he referred earlier—

Some hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Lawrence: and in respect of the one-sided version of what actually went on in the past, we have not been informed of all that took place. I should like to get back to the meeting which the Prime Minister had with the British minister, the Right Hon. Francis Pym, on December 19, along with other ministers of the Canadian cabinet. I should like to ask the Right Hon. Prime Minister whether Mr. Pym informed any minister of the Canadian government that it was only on October 6 of last year that the British Prime Minister, Prime