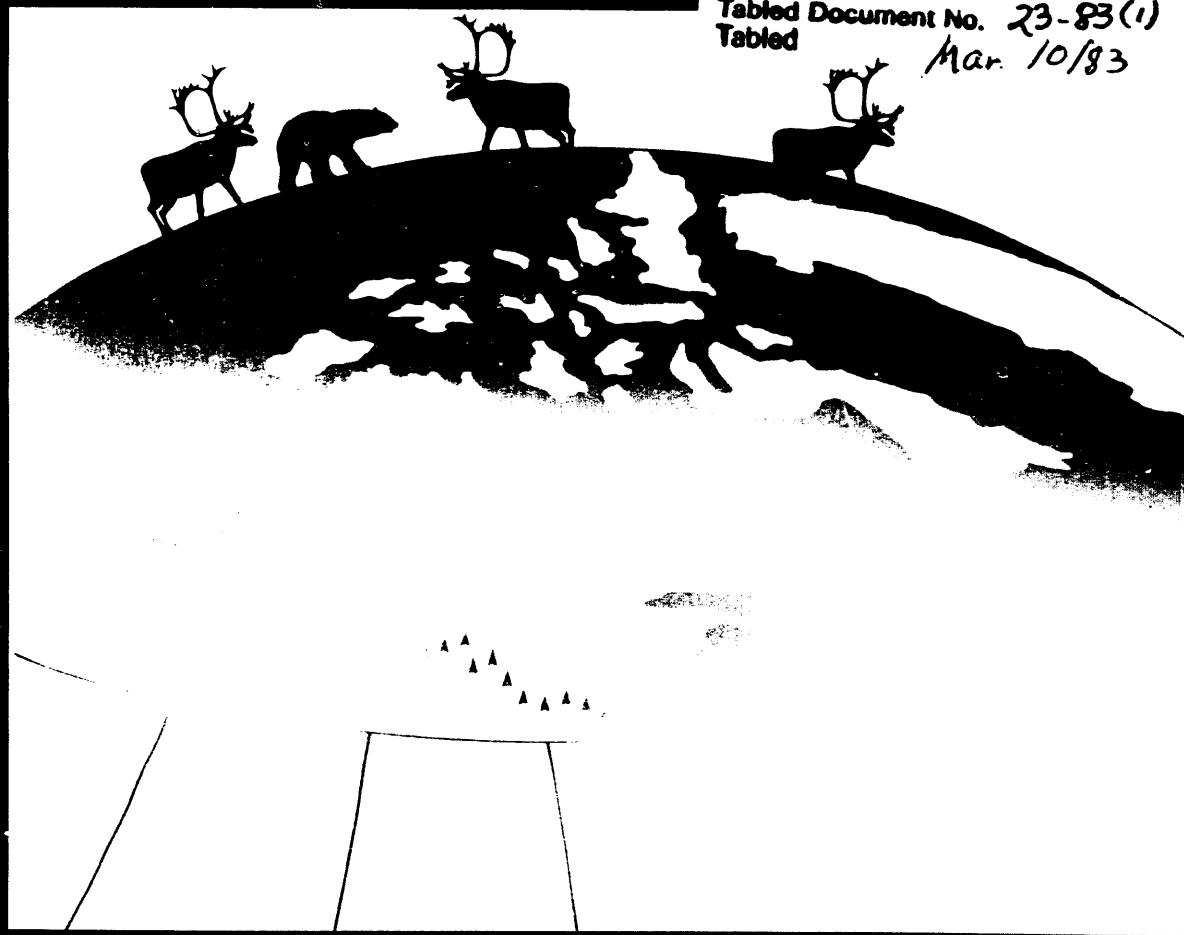


**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
9<sup>TH</sup> ASSEMBLY, 10<sup>TH</sup> SESSION**

**TABLED DOCUMENT NO. 23-83(1)**

**TABLED ON MARCH 10, 1983**

# NUNAVUT NUNAVUT



## To the Reader:

This small book is offered to the people of Nunavut, all Canadians and anyone else interested in the history and political evolution of our unique part of the world. It is published by the Nunavut Constitutional Forum (NCF) which is composed of elected representatives of the people of Nunavut and whose task is to promote and facilitate the discussion of public issues required to bring into being a Nunavut government. We hope that in 1983 we will have not only completed the drafting and public approval of a constitution, but will also have received the co-operation of the national government in Ottawa to put the new structures in place.

In this present book we attempt to make sense of the many strands and details of northern life, especially in the period since World War Two, and indicate how our public life has been shaped by them. This understanding is crucial because to date we have been hampered by debates reflecting the strongly held views of individuals and particular interests. It has proven difficult if not impossible to discuss trends and events, let alone future developments, because of failure to work from a generally accepted set of facts. The history of the north remains to be written, and will require many hands sifting much material; what is offered here is a preliminary sketch which may provoke some interest in that larger project. But also, we hope that an understanding of the great distance northerners have travelled, and the political milestones which have passed so rapidly in recent years, will help Canadians south and north understand the urgency and required shape of mature political forms. Northerners need responsible government, and in a form which is suited to their past, their cultures, their circumstances today and their hopes for the future.

The other members of NCF — Kane  
Tologanak, Minister of Health and Social Ser-

## TAIGOAGAHOAKTOMUT.

UNA MAKPIGANOAK TONIYA OYOMAYOK NUNATIAMIOTANUT INUNGNUT, KANATAMIOTANUT TAIMAINUT KINATKUNVLU KANGIKHIO MAYOK NUT KANUGILICOUTAI NIK INUHPIA PITKOHIFTA TAIMANI MAKPIGATYIOKTAN NUNAVUT TUNGAVIK-HALIKINNIKUT KATIMAYIKYOAT ILAKAKTCN INUNGNIK NUNAVUTMIOTANIK HAVAGAHOAKTONIK PIVALLIANIKKUT INUIT PIOMAYAINIK TUHITA KAKAKTITAILUTIKLU INUNGNUT HONAVALUNGNIK KAVAMAKALIGIANGANI NANMINNINGWIK NUNAVUTMI. PIOMAYOGUT 1983 MI INIGUMAPLUGU TTIGANGNIALU INUITLU ANGIKAGU TUNGAVIK-HAK, KIHIMILI IKAYUKTA OTYUTIKHANIK ATAVAMIT NIGOKNIKATGOT KAVAMAINIT HAVANGNIA-GUT HUMA.

UVANI MAKPIGAMI KANGIKHITTIAGAHOAKPATA-  
WUT INUHIT INUIT OKIOKTAKTOMIOTAN, TALVALU  
ANGUYALIKTONI AIPPANI NAONAIAGAHOAKLUGU-  
LILU KANUGITYUTIGIVAGA INUHITA TAYA. HAMNA  
KANGIKHITTIANGNIK PIOMAYAKKUT OKALITIGI-  
KATANGNIKKUT KAYOMIKTAOVAKPTA TAYA IN-  
UJT PITKOHITIGUTLU PIOMAYAITIGUTLU. AYON-  
GNAKTOK OKAOTIGIYAMI INUHITLU KANUGILIO-  
GUTAILLU, TALVALU HIVUNIKHAVUT KANLGILIO-  
GUTIKHAIN HAVANGINPATOK ANGIKTAOHIMAITO-  
NUT HONAVALUNGNTI PIYAOHIMAYONIT. CKIOK-  
TAKTOM KANUGILIONGNIT TAIMANI TTITIGAK-  
TAOYOKHAN AOLAYOITON AMIHUNIK HAVAK-  
TIKANGNIAKHUNI NAONAIAGAHOAKHUGU TA-  
HAMNA; UVANI TTITIGAKHIMAYOK HIVLLUINGMIK  
KUVIAGIYAONIAGUNAKHIOK ANGITKIATOK TAL-  
VUNA PIYAOYOKHAKKUT. KIHIMI IMA, KANGIK-  
HITYUTIN OKIOKTAKTOMIOTAN AULLANGNIA-  
NUNANUN ONGAHIKONTUT TALVALU KAVAMALI-  
KINNIKKUT PIHIMAYAIN KILAMIK KANGIKHIMAYON  
OKIOKN ONGAHINGITUNI, IKAYUTIKHAOGALOIT  
CANATAMIONUT KANGIKHITYUTIKHAGALOANGIT  
KAVAMALIKINIOP KANUGINNKHAITNUT. OKIOK-  
TAKTOMIOT KAVAMAKTOKHAN NAKUYUMIK,  
MA HIVULLINGNUT NAKUYUNUT PITKOHNUT  
UUBLUMILU KANUGINNUT PIOMAYAINJTLU  
HIVUNIKHAPTINGNI.

LAOYOT NUNAVUT TUNGAVIKHALIKINIKKUT KA-TIMIYAKIQUIT — KANE TOLOGANAK, MINISTAO-YOK NUNATIAM AYOKHAKTOLIKIYINI ANNAIKTO-LIKIYINILU TALVALU NUNATIAM MALIOGALIOKTIA — KITIKMECNI; JOHM AMAGOALIK, ATANICHYUT NUIT TAPITISAT; PETER GREEN, ATANIAT COPE-KUT — TAMAPTA UVAGUT HAMNA ILINGNUT TAI-

ପ୍ରକାଶକ

Dennis Patterson

vices in the Northwest Territories; M.L.A., Kitikmeot; John Amagoalik, President of Inuit Tapiriyat of Canada; Peter Green, President of COPE (the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement) — join me in asking that you reflect on the material here presented. We hope that by learning something about our part of Canada and the way we see it, you will be encouraged to assist us and all the people of Nunavut, both Inuit and non-Inuit, in achieving our political goal of equality with other Canadians.

Sincerely,

Dennis Patterson

Dennis Patterson, M.L.A., Frobisher Bay  
Associate Minister for Aboriginal Rights  
and Constitutional Development, and  
Minister of Education.  
Chairman, Nunavut  
Constitutional Forum.

March 10, 1983

GOAKUYAKKUT IHOMATILLU KANGIKHIOMAYA-VUT.  
IHOMAPLUTA KANGIKHIKHIGUPTA KANATAPTING-  
KUL KANUGLU TAOTUKTAKKUT, ILVIT IKAYUNG-  
NIAKTAPTIGUT INUIT LU TAMAITA NUNATIAMIO-  
TAN INUINAITLU INUINAONGITOLU PINAHOAH-KHU-  
GU KAVAMALIKINIKKUT HIVINIKHAVUT ATYIKIGI-  
ANGANI KANATAM IAINI

UVANGA.

Dennis Patterson

DENNIS PATTERSON, NUNATIAM MALIGILOKTI  
ILAYOK, IKALUNGNI IKAYUKTIA MINISTATA KAP-  
LUNANGUTION PITYUTIKHAIN TUNGAVIKHALI-  
KINIKUL, ILIHAKTOLIKIYILLU MINISTAGIYAT.  
IKHIVAOTALINGMUT  
NUNAVUT TUNGAVIKHALIKINIKKUT  
KATIMAIKYQOAT



Dennis Patterson



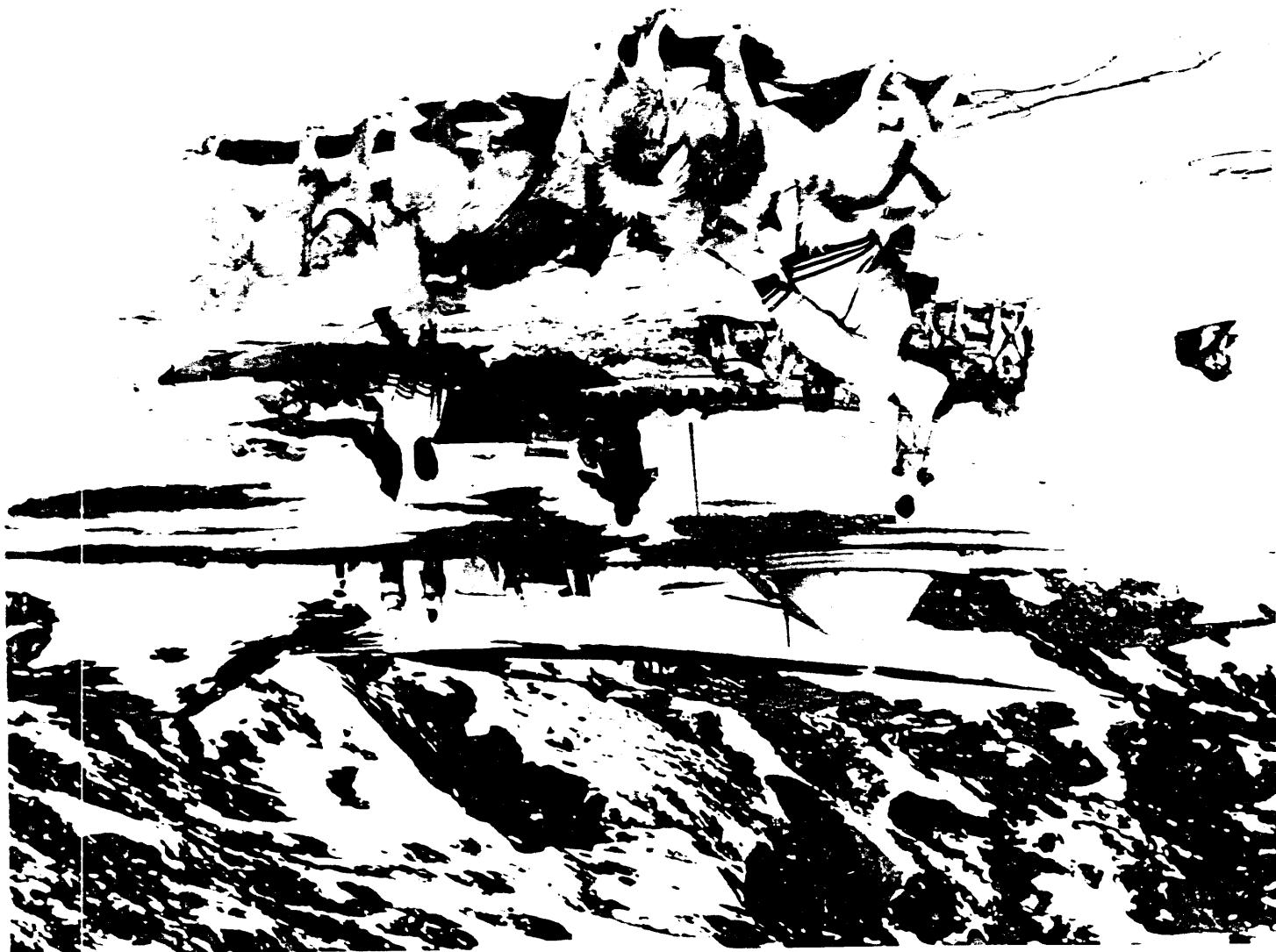
Kane Tologanak



John Amagoliak



Peter Green



# NUNAVUT ➤ NUNAVUT

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# Chapter One

## ACROSS SPACE AND TIME

The Nunavut story is not in the first instance a political one. However, it enters the history of the European peoples at the beginning of their experience in the New World. Leif Eriksen, the Norwegian sailor whose father established the Greenland colony at the height of the Viking Age, was the first European to set foot in what is now Canada. He did so on Baffin Island.

They sailed right up to the shore and cast anchor, then lowered a boat and landed. There was no grass to be seen, and the hinterland was covered with great glaciers, and between glaciers and shore the land was like one great slab of rock. It seemed to them a worthless country.

So the vikings described their "discovery". The Eriksens were more interested in the timberlands and meadows farther south in Labrador and Newfoundland. The sagas record

## HIVULLIT KANUGILIOGUTAIN

ONIPKAK NUNAVUTIKKUT KAVAMALIKIYONIK  
ONIPKANGUNGITOK. IMA OKAOTIKAKTOK  
HIVULLINIK INUNGNIK ONGAHIKTUM NUNAL-  
INGNIK KANUGILIOGUTAILU MUTAMUT NUNA-  
MUNGAGAMIK. LEIF ERIKSEN NORGEGIANGL YOK  
ANGUTA GREENLANDMI NUTUK TAIMANI. HIMUL-  
LIUYOK AHININGMIOTAK NUNAMI HAMANI TAIVA-  
GAKOT KANATAMIK IMA KIKIKTALUKMI.

TIKITPIAKHOGO NUNA PIYON KIHAKHUTIK KA-YANOAKUT NUNALIAKTUN TAKONGITON IVIN-NIK, NUNALU TAKUNGITAN NILAKANGMAT HI-NALU OYAGAKYOATUN ITTUNI, TALVUNA NU-NA NAKUNGUTKHATUN ITTUUK.

TAPKOA INUIT NUNAMUNGAOYON TALVUNGA HUVULLIT OKAOITIGIVAGAN TAMNA NUNA "NALVAKTATIK." ERIKSEN KUT NAPAKTOLIK NUNA NAKOGIKIYAGIGAMIKU OPAINAPKAN LABRADOR MI LU NEWFOUNDLAND MI LU ONIPKALU OKAH MAYON OPAKATANGNIKUN NUNANIK HAPKUNINGA TITIGAHIMAYOKU IMA INUINAITLU ITKLITLIO NIOVICKVAKTAOTAIN AMIKKUT KOYAGINAK KHI-MI IHOGUHUTIGIVAKTON TAIMANI. LEIF ERIKSEN IHOMALUGIVAGA TUNGAVIKHILIKINNUTKUT PIYAK-HANI NUTAMI NUNAMI TAMNALU MALIGALICK-TNIKNIK KIHMI NAGLIKHTAKIPLUGIN ILANI ALLA-LU IHOMAGINGITAN HAMNA INUINAILU ITKLILLU IHOMAGINGITAN PINAHOAKTAMIKKUT. TAPKOA NORWEGIAN KUT OKIOTAKTOR NUNAVULLIJUN NAKUNGINAHOGIGAMIKU PINAHOAKTAMIKKUT KANGIKHIYAN PIVALLIANAKNIK OKIOTAKTCMI! NUNAMI. KAKUGUNGUKMAN OKOA GREENLAND NORSE KUT ATUKPAGAIN HONAVALOIT PIYATIK NUNAMIT TALVANGA NIOVOTIGIPLUGIN PIOMAYAMINGNIK EUROPE MIT. OKIOK TAMAN AULLAK-PAKTON GREENLAND MUT KIKITALUNGMIULU HUNA ALLANULLU KIKITANUT KANATAMIOITANI. IHOAKHAKTAOTYAGIKTUMIK ATUKHUTIK AU-LANGNIMIK. TAPKOA NORWEGIAN KUT NANUK-TAKPAKTON AMINIK PIOMAPLUTIK TUGALINGNIK-LU TUGANGNIK PIOMAPLUTIK AVINGNIKLJU AMIN ATUGUMAPLUGIN AKHUNAGIOMAPLUGIN UMIAMING! KALAALLU TUYOGAHOAKHUGIN AHINUT NUNANITUNUT EUROPE MI IMA AKITON-GMATA.

KAKUGUNGUNGMAT EUROPE MIOTAN UMIA\_GIT  
NALVAKPAGAIN KILALUGAKAKTULLU IKALUK-  
NAKTULLU GREENLAND MILU KIKITALUNG MILU  
IMA IKALUKHIOKVINIKHUTIK KAGNIKTAKHAINIK

their repeated visits to those areas where both trade and conflict with Inuit and Indians occurred. Leif Eriksen even worried about his constitutional rights in the New World and his power to organise a legislative assembly, but apart from causing some bloodshed between his family and others, this made no impression, least of all on the Inuit and Indians whom he never thought to include in his plans. If the Norwegians found arctic or Nunavut areas "worthless" for their immediate desires, they quickly learned of the riches of the north. They harvested the polar bears for their skins, walrus and narwhals for their ivory tusks, walrus too for the tough ships' cables to be made from their hides, and falcons for the courts of Europe, all of which were shipped home where they were highly prized and highly paid for. Soon the well-being of the Greenland Norse depended on trading those riches for the European staples and comforts they longed for. Yearly expeditions to north Greenland, and just as probably to Baffin and other islands on what is now the Canadian side of Baffin Bay, were well organised.

Later generations of European captains from many countries also found the rich whaling and fishing grounds of Greenlandic and Baffin waters. The major industry which developed outlasted the Viking era and reached forward in time until the more continuous interest of Europe in a possible Northwest Passage and the arctic trade in the furs and fish of northern Canada. While these Europeans may have had little respect for the arctic lands, the arctic waters attracted them from the first, and like the people of the area, the Inuit, they were fully aware of the wealth those waters offered.

Europe's first perspective on the Americas was of the arctic seas and the bleak lands lying among them. Europeans knew the arctic economy long before the farming and fur potential of a North America developed around the Great Lakes and the Atlantic seaboard. It is remarkable that so little emphasis is given to



HAPKOA OKION VIKING KUT ATUKHIMAYA N HI-  
VUNIKHAMINUTLU PIPLUTIK EUROPE KUT IHO-  
MAGILIMATIGO TAMNA NORTHWEST PASSAGE  
UNA APKUTIKHAKHIONGNIK NUOKIATANGNIKLU  
AMINGNIKLU IKALUKNIKLU KANATAMIT. EUROPE  
MIOTAN PITYAGINGITKALOAKHUGIN NUNAN OKI-  
OKTAKTOMI TAGIONGIT ALIAGIYAIN HIVULLIKKUT  
INUINAKTAOK KANGIKHIYAIN PIPALLIANAK-  
TON.

EUROPE MIOTAN IHOMAGIYAIN NUNAN AMERICANI IMA TAGIONGINATON NUNALLA TAHAMANI KOVIANAITOKHATON ITTON. NIKIKHANIK NAOTINGLU AMILIKINIKLU GREAT LAKES NI (TAHKIYANO) ATLANTIOPLU TAGIONGANI PIYAOGIT LLUGU KANGIKHIMALIKTAN ATULIKTAN TAMNA PITKOHIK. AGLINGNATOK HAMNA HIVULLIT KAVATAMI IHOMAGIYAOYOITOON TITIGAIT TAYA IHOKHAKTAOGALOAKHUTIK.

KIHIMI NUNAVUTLU NUNALLU NAPAKTOLIOQ KULANI KANATAMI TAYA PITKOHINIK ATUKTLN KIVALLINIONGITONIT UALININGMIONIT KIHIMI. INUKKAN ICE AGE MI TAIMANI TAMMALINGMATA INUGIAKHILIKTOK IKIQTAKTOK BERING TAGIONGANIT BERING STRAIT MUT. NUNANUNGA CTON ASIA MIT KANATAMUT GREENLAND MUTLU KOPANGMUTLU LABRADOR MUTLU NUNALIOKHUTIK MIKIYONIK NAYOKTAKHAMINGNIK. NALVAKHIQITILLU ILITOKHOIYILLU ILITOKHGHIMMAK-

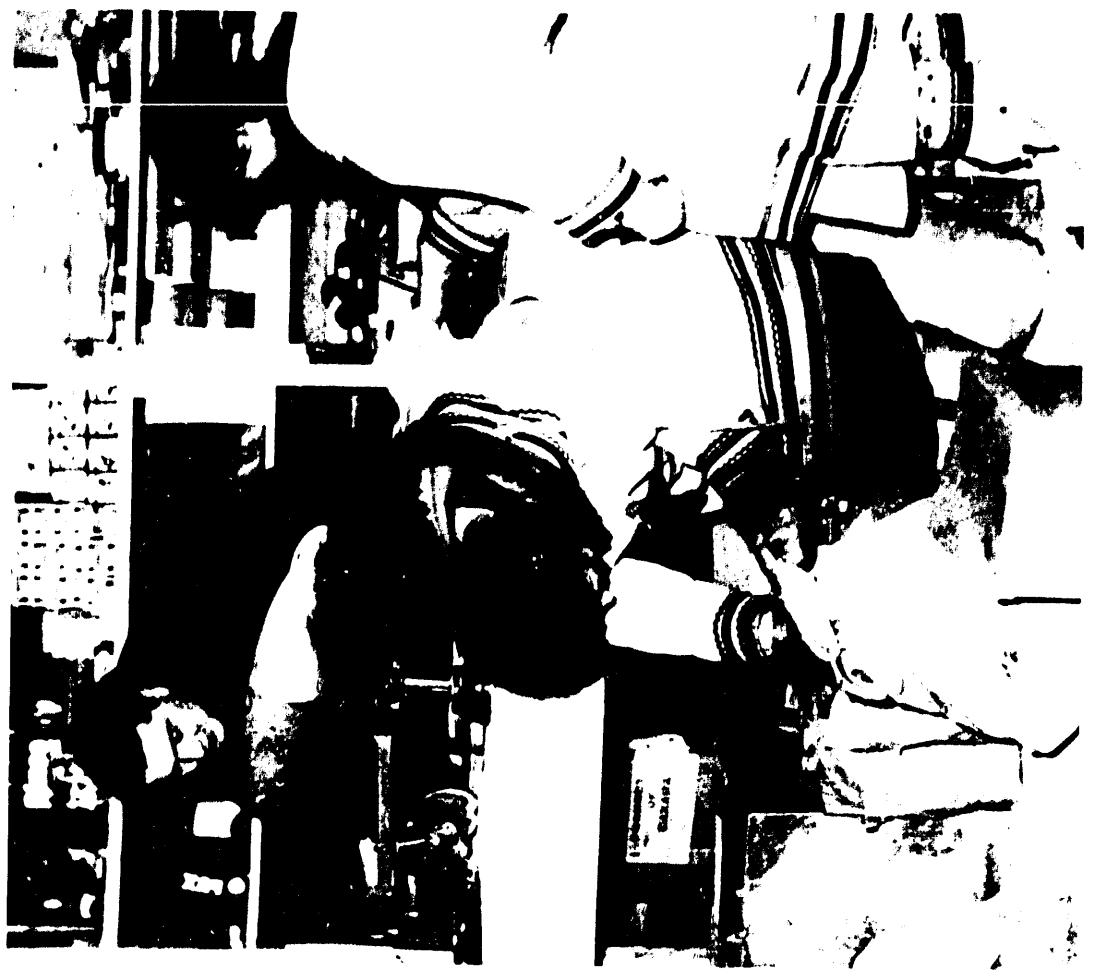
this in Canadian history, although the record is now being slowly corrected.

Nevertheless, the Nunavut region, the land lying beyond the tree-line across northern Canada, enters modern human history from the west rather than the east. Following the retreat of the Ice Age, waves of related peoples entered the previously empty arctic from the lands around the Bering Sea and Bering Strait. Moving across the area from Asia through northern Canada into Greenland, they also explored down the Quebec and Labrador coasts, establishing themselves as small communities. Archeologists and anthropologists are still studying and disputing the details of these various movements, but it is clear that the peoples were related.

They are now all usually called "Eskimo" for scholarly convenience, although the Inuit themselves reject this foreign word and

TAN HAMNA TAIMAILIONGNIA INUIT KIHIMI NAONAITOK INUIT TAMANGMIK KATANGUTIGIKTON TAIYAOPLUTIKLU "ESKIMO" MIK IHOAGIYANIK KAPLUNAN (KIHIMI ATUGUMANGITAN INUIT UNA TAINIK ATIMINGNIK TAIYAOCOMPLUTIK IMA: INUIT NUNGAOVAKTON BERING TAGIONGANIT KILALUGAKHIOKHUTIK. NUNAMIKHAKPACTONIKTON NAONAITON. IGLUGALOANGIT NUNAM ILOANITON KALIKAKHUTIK AMINGNIK TULIMANGIN KILALUGAN. KANUK ILAGINGNIN HAFKOA INUIT DORSET KUNNUT INUNGNUIT NAONAKTOK KIHIMI KATANGUTIGIKTON ILIHIMAYAIN KAPLUNATON BRITAIN MULIAKHMAYON SCANDINAVIAMILLU GERMANY MILLU TAIYAOCVAKTON IMA "SAXONS" NIKLU "DANES" NIKLU "NORMANS" NIKLU UVAPTINGNIT TAYA HUMIT KAIHIMAGALOKHUTIK. NALVAKHIONGNIK TAYA KANATAM OKIOKTAKTOANI KANGIKHINAKHINIAGUNAKHIOK KANUGININIK INUIT TAYA TAIMANILU INUTUKKON DORSET KUT NUNAMIATAUHINGIMPLUTIK. INUIT PITKOHIT NALUKHAKTON HAFUMUNA POI-GUNGIPUGLUN ALLAN, ILAIT NAKUYON ILAITAOX ILAGANAKTON, KIHIMI INUINAIT NUNAGILIKITNOKIOTAKTOK NAIONGINAMIKKU, KANGIKHIMA-





naturally prefer to be known by their own name: Inuit. Only the latest movement, that of today's Inuit, is well known. These people moved quickly from the Bering Sea to exploit the great herds of whales which then moved through even high arctic waters. Their camps everywhere showed permanence. The characteristic house was dug into the tundra and vaulted over by great whale ribs over which skins were slung. The precise relationship of these people to the Dorset people then living in the north is unknown, but is believed to be one of close kinship, perhaps like the successive waves of peoples into Britain from the Scandinavian and north German area who are sometimes known to us as "Saxons" and "Danes" and "Normans" despite their common origins. Current archeological research in the Canadian arctic promises to throw new light on the relations between the modern Inuit and the Dorsets at a place where they apparently lived side by side. Inuit tradition is



PLUTIK HONAVALONGMIK NAKOYOMIK TAKOGUMIK PITKOHINIKLU PIPLUTIK IMA APUTINIK IG-LUKALIKHUTIK DORSET KUNIT AYOIKTAMINGNIK. PITKOHIK KANATAMUNGAKTOK 1200 NI OK ONI ATYIKITOK IMALU ATAKATANGIPLUTIK. INJIT NUNAIT IHOKTUNIK ATUKTAKAKPAKTON TAVALU NUNAN TAMITA ATYIKITONIK PITKOHIKAPAKTON. ITON HIMIKTAVOKTON INUNGNI SIBETIAMI TAIMANI. GREENLAND NORSE MILU. KATAKHIMAYOLU UPLUGIAN NALVAKTAVOKTON INUIT NUNAINI NAYOKPAGAINI. OKIQTAKTOMI LU KIONGNIK NALVAKPAKTON KUGAITA SIBERIAM KANGIVAKHIMAYAIN ATUKPAGAIN INJIT.

KIHIMI HIVULLIK IHOAGIYAN INUHITIK ALLANGUKTITAN HILAM. KILALUGAN AHINUNGAONGMATA HILALU KAYONGNAKHIPLUNI ILAIT K KIKTAN OKIOKTAKOMI INUIKPATON. INUIT NL MUNGAOVALIAKLIKTON NIKIKHAN NUNANI KANGIKAHNAOHALIKHUGIN NUTANIK NIKIKHANIK NIKIKHANIK NIKLIKLIKURIK ANGUNAHOANGNITLIKLU ALLANGUKHUTIK HALALGUTILLU ALLANGA-YONGOKHUTIK TAHPKOA OKITON AULLAGIAMI NIKIKHALINGMUT NUNATIK NIKIKHAIGANGATA. HAMNA ATUKTAN TAIMANI ATIKAKTOK KAP UNATON IMA LITTLE ICE AGE MIK. ILALIK KAKUGUNGKUMAT LATER MIDDLE AGES MIK IMALU FENAISANCE MIK EUROPE MI. TAKUVAGAN PIKTICHAOYOK NUNAMIK UMINGA KAPLUNALINGMIK KAILGAKHIMAYONIK TAPKOA NORSE KUT NUNAMI TALVANI AYOITTIAKHIMAITON TALVALU INUINANGNIT AYOIKHAGUMANGIPLUTIK. ILLITOKHOLNIKKUT NAONAITOK NORSE KUT AYOIKHIMAITONIKTON. TALVA KIHIMI INUINAIT HONAVALONGNIK ATUKTAKAHUTIK CLAPKIOYAKHAMINGNIK OLAPKINIKKUT. ATUKTUYAKKULU ALLATIGJULLUKIKLITINGNIK NORSE KUT NUNANI ANGUYANGNIKULLU ILAMINGNIT EUROPE MIOTANIT NIOVIKTOYUT KILALUGALIKIPLUTIKLU KUKIKTIJULLU ILANI ATYIKUTAGINGITAIN PITKOHITA INUINAIT. ATAOTIKKUT INUINAIT NUTKANGAYONGNAIKTON AYONGNAIGNMAT (TAIMA AYONGNAITOMIK) OKAKPAKTON KANATAM KAVAMAITA IKAYUXTIN KAPLUNANGUNGINTON PITYOTIKHAITIGUT APIK-HUKTAOPLUTIK) KIHIMI INUNAHOAKHUTIK HUGAKHIOGAMIK NUTANUNGAOPLUTIK NUNANUT TAGIONULLU ATUKTAKHATIGLU AYOIKHAKHUGIN NUTANI NUNANI. ATAUTIMINGITON INL IT APUKTAOHIMAYON EUROPE MIOTANIT AGL GIVAGAIN PITKOHIT NUNAMINGNI.

INUINAIT PIJKOHIT OKAOTAKATAKPAKTON, KIHI-  
MI OKALIHALIKTAN INMINGNIK INUINAIT. OKA-

ambivalent on the subject, recounting various contacts, some friendly and some not, but the Inuit quickly took over the entire arctic thanks to their superior technology. They also knew a good idea when they saw one and unhesitatingly adopted techniques, such as the building of the snow-house or "igloo", from the Dorsets.

The culture which spread over the Canadian arctic 1200 years ago was remarkably homogenous and not notably nomadic. The Inuit villages had a secure and comfortable economic base, and throughout the arctic, similar standards and conditions prevailed. Iron was traded from Siberia, passed along the route of past migration, and with the Greenland Norse, and from arctic meteorites, and has been found in virtually all Inuit sites. In the treeless arctic the vast supplies of driftwood carried from the rivers of Siberia by the arctic currents were well used by the Inuit.

But this early period of relative comfort changed with the climate. As the whales moved away to other waters and the cold deepened, some of the high arctic islands had to be abandoned. Inuit moved farther south and began to explore all the food sources of their region. They had to chase new species, learn new ways of hunting and develop new tools and implements, preferably ones which could be easily packed and transported to new and more promising hunting grounds whenever hardship threatened. This "Little Ice Age", which corresponded to the Later Middle Ages and early Renaissance in Europe, saw the destruction of the other arctic community, that of the vikings. The Norse had never made significant adaptations, and were apparently reluctant to learn from the Inuit. Archeology reveals almost nothing learned by the Norse, whereas the Inuit borrowed freely even for their recreation as reflected in games, musical instruments, etc. The tragic shrinking and impoverishment of the Greenland Norse colony, hastened by the attacks of fellow Europeans

HIMAYIN ANGUNAHOAGUTAIN KATANGUTIGILU ILITOKHOIYIN ILALGIT HAPKONINGA ONIPKANIK ALIAHOGOTAINIKLU PIHILLU ANGATKUTITI KALLU HANAYAOHIMAYULLO ALIAGI'AIN KAPLUNAN AHININGMIOTAN. INUIT ONAGUTIGAMIKKIK ILIHAKHIMAYON KATIMAPLUTIK KATIMAKATAKHUTIK HAVAGAHOALIKINT IHOAKHA/GHAOKHUGULU OKAOHTIK INUINAKTON HAKIJINGNIA OKAOHIP ATUKTAOYOP ATAUTIOP OKIOTAKTOMI ILAGIPKAIGAMI INUNGNIK PINAHCAKTAIHINGLU HIVUNIKHANIKLU PIVALLIATYOTICIVAGAN INUIT KANGA KAPLUNAT HAVAKVIKHALIKIOMANMA-TA NUNAPTIANGNI.

TAMATAMAT TAIMANILU ALLANIK INL KAKPAKTOK  
OKIOTAKTOK, INUIT ALLNIK NUNALGIT. NUNA-  
GILIKHUGU HAMNA OKIOTAKTOK, INUINAILA-  
ILANNAGILIKHUGUN AIPAGILIKHUGILINTU. HAP-  
KOA INUIT OKIOTAKTOMONGAOVAGONAKHIO  
HULINAHOAKHUTIK KIHIMI NIUVIOTPLIUTPLIK  
MINIHTAOPLIKLU HAMANTPAKTOK. UNIALIOPLU-  
TIKLU, NALVAKHIICKTIN, AULATTIYIN, TITIGAKTIN-  
LU, TAMANGMIK PIVALLIANAKTOMIK INUHUKKUT  
FIYOT. ILANLU OKIOTKATAKHUTIK IKAYUKA-  
TAKHUTIKLU PITKUHKIKKULU KAPLUNALLU IHO-



who were traders, whalers or pirates as the occasion offered, contrasted sharply with the rapid cultural accommodations of the Inuit. Now the Inuit became nomadic, not out of simplicity (as implied by Government of Canada lawyers in a recent aboriginal rights court case) but as part of a fight to survive, to exploit new lands and waters and to master the requirements of their greatly changed world. The scattered Inuit groups encountered by the first modern European explorers were highly praised for their skill in dealing with their environment, and certainly deserve no condescension.

The Inuit world so formed has been often described, but only recently have Inuit themselves begun to describe it to outsiders. As important as social scientists' accounts of hunting techniques and kinship have been the rich Inuit humour and legends, fables and myths, shaman songs and many graphic and plastic art forms which have excited so much international interest in recent years. And Inuit, tired of being misinterpreted and misunderstood by scholars, have now begun seriously to take over the work of systematizing, analysing and developing their language, Inuktitut. The power of a single language spoken throughout the entire breadth of the Inuit arctic to unite the people in common endeavours and debate about their future has been perhaps the greatest natural advantage of Inuit in recent years as they wrestle with an impatient southern demand for industrialization.

At all times in recent centuries there have been other individuals in the arctic, people from many lands, who have adopted the arctic as their own and the Inuit as their friends, companions and spouses. These people may have arrived in the arctic for many reasons but have stayed as traders and missionaries, sailors and scientists, nurses and teachers, policemen and anthropologists, administrators and adventurers, writers and clowns, all making a valued contribution to northern life and,



GUHULIGANGATA. OKAKTAOHIMAYON EUROPE  
MIT KAIHIMAYON ILAGANAITON ILANNAGILIKITAIN  
INUIT NUNALGIT OOKIQTAKTOMI ALLANGAYONIK  
INUHILGIT NUNALGITLU. IKHINAKTOMIKLU ILA-  
GAHUNGNAKTOIMU INUHKANGITON NUNAVUT-  
MI. KIHIMI ILAGINGNIKLU ALIAHUNGNIKLU PI-  
YAOVAKTOX IHAGIANAKMATA INUYAM.

OALININGMI INUIT AVIKHIMAYON KINGAKUT ITKLINIT NAPAKTOLINGMITONIT. MACKENZIE RIVER-MI (KUGAKYOAMI) HAPKOA ATAUTIMIQTOK INUINAILLU ITKILILLU KITIKMILU KIVALLINGMILU TA-HIGIAKTOK TUKTUNIGLU AMIHOAGYOKAKHUNI. INUIT TAGIONGMITPAKTON HIHIMI KIVALLING-MIOT TUKTUHIOPAKTON. TALVUNA AYIHIMANIT INUINAITLU ITKILILLU AULAYOITOQ. INUIT ATAAKPAKTON KIGLIANUT NAPAKTOLIOP UBLUN IHOAKHIGANGATA NIKIKHAKHIOKHUTIK IKALUN-GENIK PAUNNGANIGLU. KIHIMI ITKILILLJ INUINAITLU PITKOHIT KATIYITOON. NAPAK-“OLIOP KIGLINGA KIGLIGIVAKTAN. ILINNIAKHIMAYOM NAONAIYAKPAGA ALLANGANIT INUINAIT ATUGU-MAYAIN IIKKUTNLU HINIKTAGVIKHLU UKKU-KUTIKHANLU ANGUNAHUAGIAMINGNI HUGANIK HUGAIIAKMAN NUNATIK. TALVATAOK ITKILGIT NAPAKTOLINGMI ATUKHUTIK NAPAKTONIK IGLU-KULLU UKKUTIKHAKULLU NIKIKHAKUKITUMI.

OKAKTAOHIMAYON IHUITTOMIK IHOA. HAKTAO-YOKHAN. IHOMAGIYAN IAM OKIKAOTKOK INUILU AULAYOITPIAKTOK TAIMAINGITOK "AMAYA-NIK AULLAKTIKATANGNIKUT. TUHAKATANGNIKLU

σερονιγούρα>δεζιλγό. Ρράστ Δερπέ> Δερδε  
βολε>δερλε>ρε> σαεβολε>ενε>ην.  
αξε>ζε>οτρε>ρε> με>ε>σε>ενε>ην.  
ΣΔΛ εδερλε>ενε>ζε> Δερδερ>ενε>ην  
ζε>δερλε>ενε>ζε>ενε>ενε>ενε>ενε>  
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ΣΔΛ εζε>ερλε>ενε> δερονιγούρα>ενε>  
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often, acting as useful intermediaries between an ancient arctic civilisation and uncomprehending bureaucratic authorities outside. The earliest accounts of European visitors record friendly and productive relations between the arctic's permanent residents and such open individuals from a very different world. Neither hostility nor xenophobia has marked the history of the Nunavut world; co-operation and openness have always been honoured as necessary to survival.

In the west, mountains separated the Inuit from the Indian societies which flourished to the south. At the mouth of the Mackenzie River the two cultures briefly meet. And across the vast expanses of the centre and east lie the lands containing most of the world's freshwater lakes, and the home of the great caribou herds. The Inuit followed the salt water coasts, except in the Keewatin where the people turned to the herds, and so in fact the ancient separation of the Inuit and Indian cultures was maintained. Inuit moved to the tree-line and beyond at certain seasons to supplement their largely sea-mammal diet with the fish, mammals and berries of the inland areas. But the orientation and ways of the two peoples never coincided. The tree-line was as clear a cultural boundary as it was a climatic one.

Several misconceptions are worth correcting. The idea that the arctic and its Inuit inhabitants were utterly isolated and fixed in time is not supported by the flow of trade goods and contacts with other peoples and ideas over a long period of time. Recent studies have shown that Inuit communities became more isolated from each other after the advent of "modern" transportation and communications and the concentration of population in regional villages. The Inuit have survived by values of openness and adaptation, unlike the only European population which competed with them in their region historically. They have not been shy of contacts with others or of new ideas and inventions. And

ALLANIT INUNGNIIT NAONAIKTOK. NUTAKKUT ILI-TOKHOINIKKUT NAONAIKTOK INUIT ALLANUT NANANUT AULLAKATAGOIKTON INUGIAK-HILIGAMIK AULLAKATAUTINIKAMIGLU TUHAKKATAOTINIKAMIKLU. INUIT INUVAKTUN ILAGAHUNGJINAMIK NUNAMULLU IHOAKHIGAMIK. EUROPE MIOTAONGITUTUN TAPKO NUNAKAGAHOAKPAKTOK KANGUGINGITAIN ALLAN ITUGAHOALIGANGAMIKKIK ALLANIGLU ATUGAHOALIGANGAMIK PITKOHITIK HAVAKTAMINGNIGLU. NUNAKALIKTON PIVALLIA-NAKTOMI, ILANI AYONGNAKTOMI, NIKKHALINGMI TINGMIAK, IMAKMIOTANIGLU PITKOHITIK AULAHIMAITOMIK.



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r<sup>9</sup>C<sup>10</sup>C<sup>11</sup> CL<sup>12</sup>d<sup>13</sup>c baC<sup>14</sup> ፩ b<sup>15</sup>C<sup>16</sup> ፩ d<sup>17</sup>C<sup>18</sup>  
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g<sup>39</sup>A<sup>40</sup>L<sup>41</sup>C<sup>42</sup>N<sup>43</sup> ፩ n<sup>44</sup>D<sup>45</sup>C<sup>46</sup> ፩ d<sup>47</sup>R<sup>48</sup> ፩. Δ<sup>49</sup>A<sup>50</sup>  
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Δ<sup>60</sup>C<sup>61</sup>R<sup>62</sup>L<sup>63</sup>C<sup>64</sup> ፩ g<sup>65</sup>A<sup>66</sup>L<sup>67</sup> ፩ Δ<sup>68</sup>C<sup>69</sup>R<sup>70</sup>C<sup>71</sup>  
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c<sup>24</sup>A<sup>25</sup>D<sup>26</sup>G<sup>27</sup>B<sup>28</sup>C<sup>29</sup> ፩ n<sup>30</sup>J<sup>31</sup>C<sup>32</sup>L<sup>33</sup>T<sup>34</sup>S<sup>35</sup> ፩  
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C<sup>72</sup>H<sup>73</sup>N<sup>74</sup>G<sup>75</sup>D<sup>76</sup>C<sup>77</sup>B<sup>78</sup>A<sup>79</sup> ፩. U<sup>80</sup>T<sup>81</sup> ፩  
D<sup>82</sup>N<sup>83</sup>A<sup>84</sup> ፩ L<sup>85</sup>C<sup>86</sup>J<sup>87</sup> ፩ Δ<sup>88</sup>L<sup>89</sup>A<sup>90</sup>S<sup>91</sup>T<sup>92</sup>R<sup>93</sup> ፩  
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n<sup>111</sup>J<sup>112</sup>C<sup>113</sup>S<sup>114</sup> ፩ A<sup>115</sup>R<sup>116</sup>C<sup>117</sup> ፩ C<sup>118</sup>L<sup>119</sup>S<sup>120</sup> ፩  
o<sup>121</sup>C<sup>122</sup>L<sup>123</sup> ፩  
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C<sup>144</sup>R<sup>145</sup>E<sup>146</sup>N<sup>147</sup>C<sup>148</sup>D<sup>149</sup>A<sup>150</sup>S<sup>151</sup>T<sup>152</sup> ፩  
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C<sup>162</sup>S<sup>163</sup>A<sup>164</sup>R<sup>165</sup>T<sup>166</sup>L<sup>167</sup>C<sup>168</sup> ፩ C<sup>169</sup>L<sup>170</sup>S<sup>171</sup>, A<sup>172</sup>I<sup>173</sup> ፩  
Δ<sup>174</sup>L<sup>175</sup>R<sup>176</sup>C<sup>177</sup>J<sup>178</sup> ፩ n<sup>179</sup>D<sup>180</sup>E<sup>181</sup>C<sup>182</sup> ፩ C<sup>183</sup>D<sup>184</sup>J<sup>185</sup>L<sup>186</sup>C<sup>187</sup> ፩  
D<sup>188</sup>E<sup>189</sup>S<sup>190</sup> ፩ m<sup>191</sup>J<sup>192</sup> ፩  
A<sup>193</sup>R<sup>194</sup>D<sup>195</sup>A<sup>196</sup> ፩ L<sup>197</sup>C<sup>198</sup> ፩.

they have made their home in a basically rich enough, though periodically merciless, environment where living resources of bird, land and sea life have enabled a stable, imaginative and strong culture to flourish.

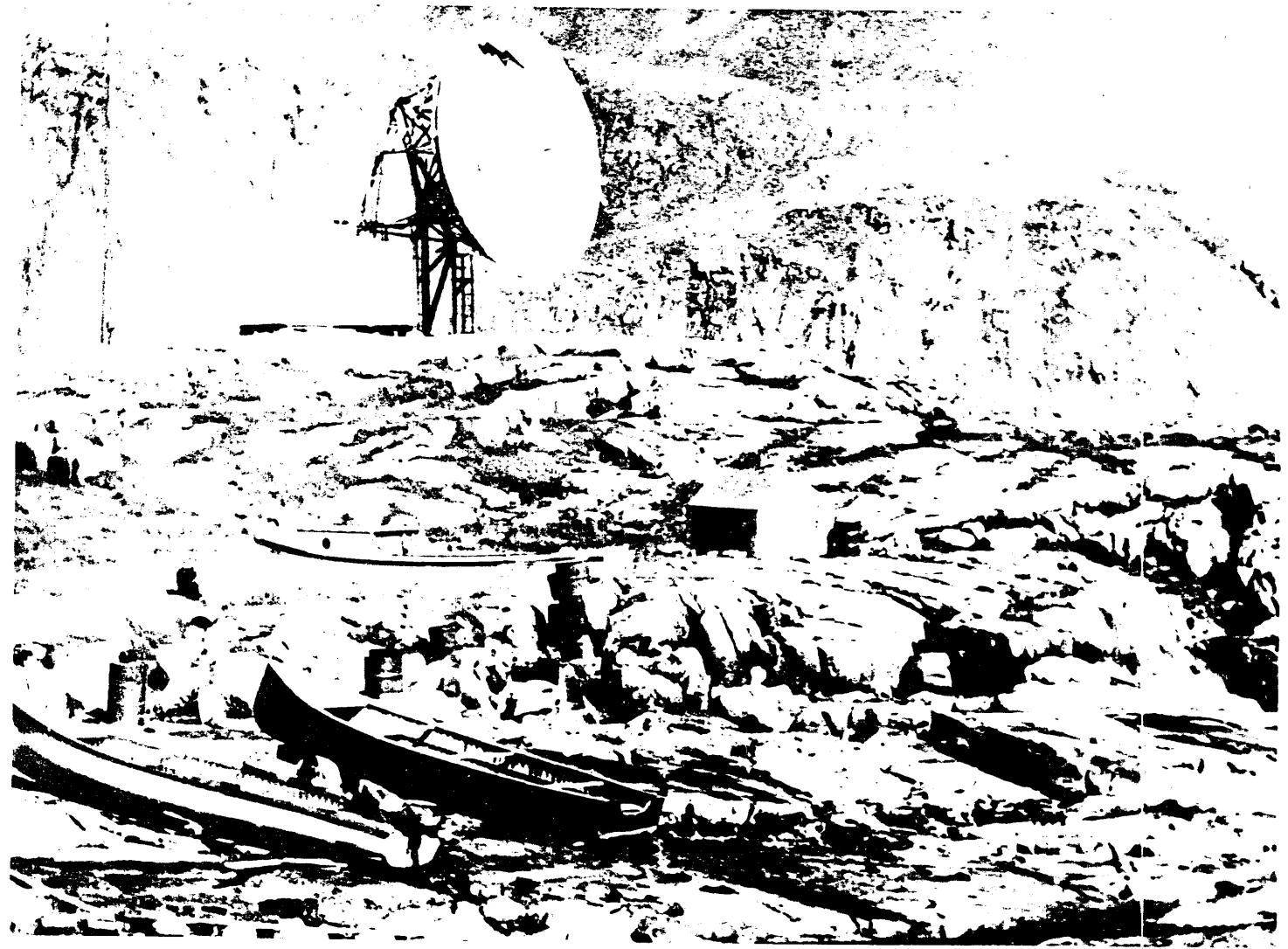
It is hard to say why Inuit and their world are so little known. They are shy of the south and seldom venture down within range of the major press and broadcast media. But they have become Canada's best-known artists internationally, even while the main national cultural agencies struggle to promote the more familiar art forms of European-descended Canadians. They have given much in the way of clothing techniques and many technologies to Canadians and others, and the characteristic forms of their culture have become known the world over.

Canada, when it acquired the high arctic in 1880, gave little thought to its Inuit inhabitants. When this takeover was celebrated in 1980, an Inuit motif was used for posters but the officially sponsored ceremonies left little room for Inuit contributions. Much attention was paid to birds and rocks and legal theories, but not to the people who had secured the area for Canada by living there from earliest times. However, Nunavut is not primarily a political theory but a simple recognition of what is. To Inuit it means, unexceptionally, "our land", matter-of-factly expressed and with no capital letters. To Inuit it has always been the centre of their world; to others, a curious addition or leftover running off the northern edge of a map.

HUUK INUIT PITKOHTLU KANGIKHITTIAKTAONGI-TON NAONAKTOK. KANNGUGIYAN NUNA NAPAK-TOLIK OPAYOITTUGILLU MAKPIGALIOKVIN NALA-OTIGITLU KIHIMI TITIGAOYAKTILU HANAUYAKTILU KANATAMI NAONAIKTON NANANILU AHINI KANGIKHIIYOYOT, TALVA PIPKAINAHOAKPAK-TIL-LUGIN HAVAKVIN HANYAINIK EUROPE MIT KANA-TAMUNGAKHIMAYCN. TONIHIVAKTON ANOGALIO-GUTNIK AYOIKHIMAYAMINGNIK ALLANIGLU KANATAMIONUT ALLANUTLU PITKOHTLU NAONAIKTON ALLANUT NUNANUT.

KANATAM PIGAMIOK NUNA OKIOKTAKTOK IHMA-GINGITAIN INUIT 1880 MI. 1980 MI PIVIKTIK OKIOKTAKTOMIK OANHANANIK OKIONINGMAT IHOMAGIYAN TITIGAOYAKAGALUAKHUTIK IN UI-NAKTON, INUINAIT PIINIK IHOMAGIKANTON. KUPANOATLU OYAKKALU MALIGALIOGUTINLU IHOMAGILLUAKPAGAIN KIHIMI INUIT IHOMAGING-ITAIN KANATAMITON NUNALU NUNAKAKHAKTON. KIHIMI NUNAVUT KAVAMALIKINIKUT IHOMAGIYAONGITOK KIHIMI KANGIKHINIK HUNAO-YOMIK. INUINANGNUT IMA ITTUK "NUNAVUT" ALLAKKUT OKAGAHOANGIPLUTIK.

INUIT NUNAGIYAN ALLANUTTAOK HUNGITTUTUN IPLUNI NUNAOYAKAFUNGMITTUTUN IPLUNI.



▷ eC ፭ ማ፭

▷ aCP<sup>a</sup>σ<sup>9</sup>σ<sup>9</sup> C



# Chapter Two

## WAR AND PEACE

War has many unforeseen effects, and it has had and continues to have a major role in northern Canada. There is a particular irony in this for Inuit who have no traditions of warfare. But in the arctic Northwest Territories — Nunavut — the impact of war has not been from falling bombs. It has been rather a matter of young men carrying out specialised activities at the frontiers of human technology and distant governments making policies related to military considerations.

Just as the Second World War overturned and sometimes eliminated old nations in Europe and the Far East, its effects hit the Inuit north with changes so considerable that the population could not easily adjust. First, it placed the arctic firmly on the Canadian map: indeed the mapping of the north went ahead precisely because of the military demand for reliable information. Secondly, the influx of the latest aircraft, communications and other equipment, and instant but comfortable housing and re-

**AGOYAKTONILO  
ANGOYANGITOIL**

ANGOYAKNIK ILITKOHLIK TAKOGHAONGITOMIK, ILITKOHLIK ALOYAITOK OKIOKTAKTOA VI KANTAM. IHOILOTAKAPALAK INUINAKNI ILITKOHKANGITONI ANGOYAKNIKMIK. KIHIM OKIOKTAKTOMI NUNATIAM — NUNAVUTMI — IHOI NIKA ANGOYAKNIQOM PIHIMANGITOGALAO KAGAKTITANIN IOKAKTIITAOKTONIL. ALANIKTAQK AYOGHAOTIKALIKTOT INULGAMIT ILITKOHITOKAGIN-GITAMIKNIK PINAHOAGAKALIGAMIK KAVAMATL ILITKOHINIUK PINAHOAGHOTIK ONGAHIKTOLIAKATAGHOTIK ANGOYAKTIT IHOMAGIYAINON.

ANGOYATKIOTANI IPIGAKTITAIT ILANGIT ILIK-HITOKAIT AKILIT NUNAT. IHOILOTAGILIKMIYAIT INUINAIT OKIOKTAKTOKMIOT ILIKOHIGI-HIMAITAKIT INUGIAGKNIGIT, HIVOLIK, NUNAKYOAMON ILIYAT OKIOKTAKTOK KANATAM NUNAOYANON, ILA NUNAOYALIKIPKAITYOT OKIOKTAKTOMI ANGO-YAKTIVALOI ILIHIMATAGOTIGHANIK. TCK-LIATOK, TIKMIAKAOHTIGHAK NALGOMIOTIMAYONIK TOHAKATAOTITLO TAMAYATLO NALGOMIOMATIYOT IKLOKATIAKNIGHAKONLO HAVAKTIOYONON NIAMGIYAGIANGINNATOGOMAYAMIKON. IN-UIT UNIUNIANGATKONAGIT AYOGHAGALOAKLOTTIK, ILLAGIGITKOINAKTOK TAPLONAT AKLIKINATONIK TAMAYANIKTOT HINAKTOTON. AKLIK:NAGHONILO, OPINGAGTONONILO, HINAKTOKTOYAKTOK KINGONIKLUGHONI. ANGOYAKTIT OKIOKTAKTOMITOT HAVAGAHOAGHOTIK TAMNA ATATANGITONI ATANGITPIAGHONILO INUKNON NUNALIKNON. IMANKYOMIGHIMALIGANGATA NUNALGIT IN-UIT, AYOKHAGHIYOMIKPAKTOK PINHAOGAAT ATANITA ANGOYAKTIT, INGATAGOTIVAKTOK AK-NAGOTIT PINIKTOKTOKMIOT IHOMA-LIOKTITIYOT KAPLONANATINUHOKTONIK ONGA-LOKTONIK, ILIKHOHA "ILAGIKNIGONGITOM" ATOGAOLIKTOM NOATKATIGINGITONI NL NANI IN-MIKKON IHOILIGOTIVAGHOTIK, INMIKNON MANI-MIYOTIPLOKIT IHOILIGOTIVAKTOK. ILANGATIGON, PIOMANIGATIGON KIVALIKMIOT, TAMNA IHOITOK HIVOGANAGHONILO.

OKIOKTAKTOK PIYOTAOLAKTOK ILANGATIGON ANGOYATKIOTAN. GERRIMIN PINAHOGILOAGA-LOAKMAGO KANILGOK AKOKITOK HOMALOTIGI-YAT KANATAM KAVAMAITA KAINGILAKTILOGIT AMIALIKAT. TAIMANIGALONGITO TIKMIYAT ONGA-HIKTOLAYOTIKOALAKMATA OGHTIKIGHIMA-TOMIKONGAHIKTOK AKILIT NUNAT OPAKAMIKO

creation facilities for servicemen created new ideas of what was possible and desirable. For Inuit brought up to be stoic in the face of hardship, the coddled southerners arriving with marvellous devices must have seemed like characters in a dream. But it became quickly apparent that the dream had unpleasant after-effects. The military was in the north to do a job which had little or nothing to do with the local people. The more curious the local people, the more difficult were matters for the military authorities, especially with hardship cases and the charms of the northern girls preying on the minds of young and homesick southerners. Ultimately the policies of "non-fraternisation" adopted to disentangle two human communities were misunderstood on both sides, and being products themselves of misunderstanding probably created as many problems as they solved. In some cases, such as the famines in the Keewatin, these policies proved brutal and tragic.

The arctic mattered for several reasons during World War II. Possible German invasion of nearby Greenland worried the Canadian government until the Americans moved in. In those not so far off days aircraft did not have the capacity to fly long without refuelling and the long airline routes to Europe required the stopovers provided on the northern route. So, aviation and airports complete with all their support needs came to Nunavut. In the West the Japanese were in the Aleutian Islands and an invasion of North America through the arctic was all too possible. The defense of territory, and defense against possible use of that territory by an enemy, were essential in such times, so much Canadian effort went into activities like mapping designed to give Canada more actual control. The discovery and dismantling of a Second World War enemy weather station in the arctic near Port Burwell last year is a reminder of the danger.

The end of actual fighting ended nothing in the north, however, and began a more important

MITAGANGAMIK OKIOKTAKTOMON. TALVA, TIKMINIKLO MILVTLO INIGIGHAYOT IKAYOOTIGHAIT LIYAOTY NUNAVUTMON. OATANI YAPANIT TAAGILIKTOK ALASKAM KIKICTAOTAINI (ALUIAN ISLANDS) ONAGIYAOTY TONONGA AMIALIKAM NUUT NUNATIGON AYOKNAILGOGHAKON. HAPMIKTILOGALOAK TAMNA APKOTIGHAT TALVONA, TAIMAITOMIK KANATA TAPIOVALAKTOK NUNAOYALIKNIKON. NALVATIAGOTALO ILITOG-YOTALO HALILAKNIKON PORT BURWELMI APIANGANI ITKAOTAOYOK HIVOGANAKINIMIK.

KIKLILIOANGA ANGOYAKNIGOM KIKLIKIAOTINGITOK HOMIKLIKAK OKIOKTAKTOMI, TALVALONIN AOLAGOMIYIMIOK ILITKOHIGHALOAMIK. OTOKAILO NUNAGIKNIT KOKATONI, OVALONIN NON-GOKTITONI, AMIALIKALO ALASIKALO OLASALO, HOIYAGHIMAGHOGO TAOTOA HILAKYOAM INMIK-  
TILITKOHILIKTOGHOTIK KOVIANAITTONIK, TIKLAKTOTIPLOTIK. TAMAKMIK NU VAK ATONI PIOTIKALIGHOTIK OKIOKTAKTOMI KANILGOGHA-  
NIK TIKMUYANI HILAINAKOKTONILO TIKMUYOGHA-  
NIK KOLAOTPIAKLOGO NUNAVUT, NUNAOYA-  
LIOKNIKLO ILITOGHOINIKLO AOLA:GOTIYOK AN-  
GOYALIHALIGHOTIK ILAGHIMALIGHOGITLO ILI-  
TOGHONINITIK. AMIAGAIKYOMIGHOGITLO ANGO-  
YAKTIT NAYOGAGHAI HANAHIMA GHOTIKLO  
TAOTOTIGHANIK TAMATKIGHOGO OKIOKTAKTOK  
ILITOGYOTIGHAMIKNIK HIVOGANILO INIGIGHI-  
PLOTIK INUIT NUNAVUT ILIAGINAHGIYOTH NOAT-  
KATIKALIGAMIK AYOITO GALOKNIK NIAMGYAGO-  
TIKALIGHOTIKLO ATOKPANGITAMIKNIK KAPLO-  
NAT KAHAIGHAYAINIK. ILANI MAMIA-NAKTOKAK-  
TOK, ANIAYKAOKPALIGHOTIK HIVOLIKPAKMIKLO





phase. With many old and famous nations fallen, or exhausted, two "new" countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, dominated the world scene and created their own so-called "cold" war of mistrust, shadow boxing and propaganda struggles. Both had arctic territories and the shortest way between them for aircraft or missiles was right over Nunavut. The mapping and other scientific activities begun in Nunavut in the earlier "hot" war expanded. Many more locations became military sites with the building of the various radar warning lines across the arctic and sub-arctic. The people of Nunavut were poor neighbours living beside a new and apparently permanent population with much higher living standards and access to the full range of services and goods offered by the outside world. There was sometimes envy, there were epidemics and for the first time the Inuit had permanent neigh-

INIT NOATKATIKALIKTOT HOGHGOHONGITONIK  
INUKNIK. TALVANI NOTANI KOVIANAITONI INUIT  
NALVAKTOT IKITONIK TIKIHANIK IHOMATIAK "O-  
NIR KIHIMITAOLI IHOMALIKNIK INUIT IHOMA'-  
OHINIK IHOAGOHONGITOT. OVATAOK PITIAKTAO-  
GOMIN NAKOGOTAOYOGHAAGALOIT KAPLONA-  
NIN, INUIT PIYOMIOTIGHAGALOANGIT. KOVIA-  
NAGTOGAOKTAOK AKILIKTOGAOVALIGAMI K ILI-  
HAKNIKON. HAVAGHATIGON ILIHAKNIKLO TA-MA-  
YAKATIALIKNIKO INUKNON NAKOGOTIKAGOMA-  
YONON NOTANIK ILITKOTINIK HAVAKATIGITALIK-  
LOGITLO TIKIHAT.

ANGOYAKITIHoinaghimangitot. Havalgit Kihimi havagialikniun nunyakaaoakahigamiklo nunakaohigamiklo. Kihimitaok piyi iktoiyot kaplonaniktoniktohagotiliknik pinahoagamiknik, ilihimatiagatik aolakan k-miklo inulikiyamikniklo kaoyimatiagat klo ihoaghaiyaghamicniklo ihoilotavaklonik inmiklo ihoilotagiayamiknik inmikon. Angoyakiti hivolioyot anginikni pinahoagaghaloani.

bours who too often looked upon them as people deserving little consideration. In this new and unpleasant situation Inuit found that the newcomers often regarded Inuit preferences as merely an obstacle to the progress which, if properly administered by the expert outsiders, would supposedly ensure Inuit progress. Happily there were also some few compensations in training, employment, education and material goods for those Inuit who were able to benefit from the new installations and work along with the newcomers.

It had been different in the earlier pre-war era when missionaries and police had been the representatives of Western industrial society. While these agents had a great impact, Inuit as often point to the benefits they brought as to the damage done. Perhaps the bitterest memory of many Inuit is the denigration of Inuit culture in missionary-run schools and school residences, and the denunciation of such cultural activities as drum dances as savage and heathen.

Nevertheless, the scale of this intrusion was relatively small and the society had little trouble absorbing it.

The military had done nothing wrong. They were doing a job whose requirements were determined on a national or even global basis. But they were typical representatives of a southern society which had certain strongly held assumptions, little experience of travel or contact with other peoples and an unlimited faith in its own ability to conquer all problems and obstacles on its own terms. The military were merely the first wave of a much larger "invasion".

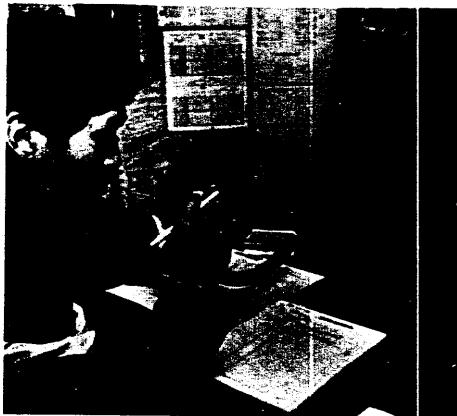
Some people may object that to describe such a period of change in terms of a specific personality type is unfair. There were, and are, other types of newcomers to the north — people who have committed themselves to living in the area, learning its ways, making their homes and sharing in the life of the Inuit.

INUIT ILAGIT NAGOHNIAKTOGALOI" TAMNA OKAOTIKPAN INUHIK NAGONANIGAKLOGO ALANGOKPALIAYOHIK. ITKOMAYOK TAIMAITOK TALVANINAHOGITPAKTOK, ILLIHAGHOGIT LIKOHIT, NUNATAGAHOAGHOTIK NAYOGAHOAGHOGIT INUIT. IKAYOGAHOGOHIAT TAPKOA INUIT NAONAKTOK KANOGITAGHANGANIK HIAMAYAGHIMAVA- LAGAMIK ILANAMIKNONLO NOATKANMIKNONLO. INUKNON HAVAKANMIKNON NUNANCNLQ OKAO- HIKON NAKOGOTIGHIMAVIKMINKNON KIHIMITAQ AVATANI 20 OKIOT KINGOANI ANGOYAKNIGOM TAPKOA INUIT NALAKLOAKTAOYOT KAPLONANIN "ILITKOHITGON" INUA IHOMAGHIMAIMATOMIK ILITKOHIOYOK ATOAMI KAPLONATO NUJNANI OOKIOTAKTOK ALANGOKPALIAYAKAGAHOHYAT ALANGOKPALIAGOMI IHOATKUYAK. KONGNIA- LIOKTITHIMAYOK ATANIK OOKIOTAKTOM PIV- LIAYOTIGHANIK ALOGOTIHIMAYOK INUK TAKO- GHAOPLONI INGILGAN ATOKTOK AMILIKMIK KAYAKMIK NATION AMIANIK HIMAOKHTAOYOMIK KAGAKTITAMIK KAGAKTOMIK NIPTAIGOTIYOMIK KONGNIAKVIKMIK OGAKHIMAYOK "OKIOTAK- TOK". KINGOLIKAUTOK KOVIANAKTON IK PIKSA- NIK NUNAM AHIGOKTIGHIMAYANIK OYAGA- GHIOKTIT PIVALIANIGATA ILIQAIPLOGO NAN- MINIMIKNIK IKAKOTIMIKNIK. ATANILDOIT KAVA- MMAT KIVGAITATONIYAT NUNA NALIKAGIPLOGO NALIANKNIK "ILITKOHITOKATO". INUIT ILALIOTI- PLOGO "ILITKOHIGILIKTA KANATAM". NAONAIYA- GHOGO ILITKOHITOKAT ATOKTAOLAN PLOGIT ATOGOMAYOINAKNIT NALOGHAKTONIN NAKO- GOTIGHAMIKNIK. ILITKOHIGILIKTA KA VATAM NAONAIYATIAGHIMAITOK,ILA KIHIMI. HINAK- TOKTOYATON AKOIOTAGHAINI PIOM NAKNIGIT.



majority. Their contribution is impossible to judge because it is so widely spread among their friends and acquaintances, people they work with and the communities which benefit from their advice. But for more than twenty years after the war ended, these people were seen in the south as "characters" rather than as people to be taken seriously. The official philosophy in Ottawa and generally in the south was that the north was ripe for change, and the more change the better. Quiet voices were usually lost in the commotion. An official film proudly shown by one minister of northern development began with a man in a traditional skin boat followed by an explosion which filled the screen and the words, "the north has changed". This was succeeded by happy shots of landscapes torn up by mining developments and the imposition of a totally imported world with its paraphernalia and litter. Senior government representatives presented the world starkly as a choice between the "traditional" ways of the native people and joining "the modern Canadian mainstream", implying that traditional ways were preferred only by those unable to cope with what was really good for them. Never defined, the modern Canadian mainstream seemed to be some sort of dreamer's mail order catalogue of good things.

Another tendency was also visible at this time. There were many southerners sincerely interested in the north as well as new northerners who saw the opportunity for building a new society. They saw the north as a place to make a fresh start, free from the mistakes which had plagued Canada and the world for so long. Following so closely after the Second World War, this development was natural. People had seen the horrors committed in the name of race and nationality by Hitler and Stalin, and they had seen science used and abused in the interests of killing and maiming more effectively. Here in the north were several races living side by side, little evident material development and a government ready



TALVANITAOK TAKOGHAOYOK TALVANI. TALVANITAOK AMIGAITOK KAPLONAT KOVIAHOKLOAK-TOT OKIOKTAKTOMIK NUNALILOATOONTAOK TAO-TOKTOYKTOK INUHILIOGOTIGHAMIK NOTAMIK-TAOTOKAT OKIOKTAKTOK AOLAKTIGOTIGHAK. IHOINAKVIGHAITOK IHOILOTAGIVAGATA KANA-TAM NUNAKYOAMLO AKONI. MALIGOYAGIGHA-GHOGO ANGOYATKION, TAMNA ILITKOH "TOKAO-YOK. INUIT TAKOVAGAIN KAPIANAKNIGIT PIYAO-VAGHIMAYOT ALATKINI NUNANI OKONANGA HITLER STALINMINLO, TAOTOKPAGATO ILITCG-HOINIK ATOKTAOYOK INUAKTIKNIKLO AOLAK-LIGHAINIKLO PIYAGHOKHOTIK. HAMANI OKICK-TAKTOMI ALATKUT INUIT NOATKATIGIKPAKTO", ILITOGIMANANGITOT PIVALIAYOHIANIK KAVAIHAI-NIKLO INIGIGHIMANGITOTLONIN PIOMANGITOT-LONIN ALANGOGHIYAMNIK HOVALOKMIK. TAL-VALONIN, TOTAIT AYOGHAOTIM AGIYAOVAKTOK KAPLONAT NUNANON ANGOYAKTININ ALANINLO AKOIVAKTONIN OKIOKTAKTOMON MIHIGIPKAIP-YAYOITOK KANATAM INUINON AKLIVALIAYOTA-NIK INUTIM PIOMAYAOYOHIANIK. KINGOLIGIYA TAMAYALIKTOINIGALOK NUNAVUTMI IKAYOTI-GHAOGALOANIK NUNALIKNON, KIHIMI HONNSGI-GOTIYOT INUHIGALOANIK. IHOMALIOKTIT PITIAGHAOKTGAЛОITO KAOYIYONON ALANGOKIPA-LIAYOTIGHAMIK, "KAGAKTTITAIYOT",ILA ATONI NAMAGIYAK ALANGOPALIANIK IHOIGOHOTIKAGA-TIK. OKAMAYOTIKAGHOTIK ALANGOKPALIAYCTI-GHANIK — PIYOTIKAGHAOGHIMAITOMIK HIVO-NIGHAGHIOGAOGHOTIK QOKAOTAOYOMIK.

and willing to spend money to change things. Tales of hardship brought south by military and other visitors to the north had awakened the conscience of the Canadian people at a time when the expansion of social welfare throughout society was being accepted as desirable. The tremendous material development in Nunavut which followed was designed to help the local population, but also shattered or disoriented a previously stable society. The idealists got along well enough with the apostles of change because both accepted change. Arguments centred on the details of that change — specific impacts rather than the broad direction or philosophy involved. Both groups felt they were doing what was best, for Canada and for the people in the north.

Northern administration had long been divided; now the divisions became more acute. The Mackenzie Valley in the western half of the Northwest Territories, with its long history of fur traders and missionaries moving up and down the river among the Dene, northern Indian groups with closely related dialects and cultures, had been subject to Ottawa's Indian administration since the 19th century. The principles of that administration, dating from the earliest European settlement in Canada, were all too well established. But in the Nunavut area — the arctic beyond the forests where the Dene lived — administration had been, in the now famous words of Prime Minister St. Laurent, more a matter of "absence of mind". The Canadian nation was fixated on the ribbon development of long transportation routes, first with the fur trade and then railways, so the Mackenzie Valley seemed a familiar enough problem. But the arctic was quite another matter. Frozen seas and unmapped lands were forbidding: only the advent of the aircraft promoted by military need made it accessible to the south. Until the late 1960s, southern observers scratched their heads and muttered about the difficulties of transportation in the

ATONI NAKOANAGAHOGIYOK, KANATA MONLO IN-JUNONLO OKIOTAKTOM.

OKIOTAKTOM AOLAYOHA AVIGHIMA'VAKTO  
TALVA AVIGHIMANIGA NAONAIIKTO. KOGOM NA-  
GHANI DATANI NUNATIAM, TOHAGHAQHGHO-  
HIAOVAYOT OKPIKNIATITIYOTLO AOLAYOKTOT  
KOKMI AVATIKNON ITKLILKNI, TONOLIT ITKLILIT  
OKAOHKAKATIGIPYAIT ILITKOHAKA'VIGITO, PI-  
TAQAOLOAKTOT ATOAM AOLATITIYOH NI ITKLILIT-  
GON 19 GANI OKIOKYOIT. ANGIGOTAINI AOLAP-  
KAIYOTIM, PILIHAGHIMAYOT KAPLONANIKIT-  
GOTANI KANATAMI, INIGIYAKTAOHIMAYOTVALAT.  
NUNAVUTMI KIHIM — OKIOTAKTOK KOLANI  
NAPAKTOKAKKNIGOM ITKLILIT NAYOGAN — AOLAT-  
IYOHIK ITOK, OKAOHIMINITONG PRIME MINIS-  
TER AM ST. LAURENT, "IHOMALAQTITON". KANA-  
AM NUNAOTAIT INIGIGHIMAYOT ONIFKAMININI  
PIVALIYAHITIGON HIVITOTOY APKOTIT, HIVOLIO-  
IPLOTIK NIOVAYIT AHIN AGHALOTIKYDIT TAKI-  
TOK KINGOLIGIT, KOGOM AYOGHAOHAIA NAONAI-  
OKIYAK, KIHIMITAOK OKIOTAKTOK ALANGYOK.  
NIKLIK TAGIOK NUNAOYALIOGHIMANGITOT NU-  
AT ITKAGOMINAITOT, KIHIMI TIKMIAKALIKMAN  
TOKTAINIK ANGOYAKTTI APKOTIGHANIKTOK KA-  
PLONAT NUNANON. 1960 NONGOLIKTILOGO KIHI-  
MI KAPLONAT IHOMALIKPALIAYOT APKOTIGHAI-  
HOGAON OKIOTAKTOMI. TALVANGA POIGOK-  
AOYOYAKTOK. TALVATAOKLONIN, MANIGHAVA-  
OKAGALOAKTILOGO NUNAM ATANI OKIOTAK-  
TOMI, KANOK, AKYAKTAONIAGALOAKAT  
IOVAVIKNON?



arctic, and that seemed the last word on the subject. After all, even if there were mineral riches under the arctic tundra, how could they be economically transported to markets? But Canadians were not so simply attuned to economic values, whatever the frequently angry criticism of some observers. From 1953 when the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was created, Ottawa began to pour material aid and social services into Nunavut. To do this Ottawa did not rely on the old Indian administration, but created something entirely new. The new administration started from first principles and escaped much of the old philosophy which had made the Indian administration increasingly unsatisfactory. Whereas the Indian administration was nervous about prospective employees



KANATAMIOT ILIHIMATIANGITOT MANIKAKNIG-IA-MIK, MAMIAHOKALOAKTILOGIT TAOTOKTOT. 1953 MINGANINKAVAMALOI INULIKIYINILHIHAKTILOGIT. ATOA IKAYOGHIVITALIYOK NUNAVUTMON. TAIMAILIOGAHOAGAMI ATOA NAHOGINGITOK OTOKAKNIK ITKILIT AOLAYOHIANIK, KIHIMI ALOAGOYIYOK NOTAMIK ILİTKOHİMKİ. NOTAK AOLATIYOHİK AOLAGOTIYOK HİVOLINKİN ANGİ-GOTİNİN AHİTKOATOGIT OTOKAIT ILİTKOTİ İ-Hİ-LOTAOHİMAYOT ITKILIT AOLAYOHIANIK ITKİLIT AOLAYOHİGALOANGAT KİKLÖGHİMAYOTİKAKTI-LOGO HAVAKTIKATIANKİMKİ KANİTPALAGOHATIGON İNUKNON, NOTAK ILİTKOHİK TİLOGİYC-TAYOK ANGOTINKLO AKNANIKLO ILIHİMAYC-NİK OKİKTATOMİK, İLANGTİGON İNİUT ILİHA-GHİMAYOT İNİUT OKAOHINİK ATOGOMINAGHİ-PLOGİT HAVAKPAGHİMAYOT NAYOGHOGİTLİ NİUT. ILİTKOHİKATİGALOAKTILOGİT KAPLONAT NUNANI ANGOYAKTONI IHAGİATIYOTANI, NUNA-VUTMI İNUHIGHAMIK INİGYİYAIYOT. NOTAK İNLİ-Hİ-GHAK İNİKTİGAOLIGALOAKTILOGO AYOGHA-TAYOK İNUKNU NUNALIKİN, ONA TAOTOK-KTAOYOK İHOİLOTAKAFOKTCN AYİLIQGANGAT AYOGHAOHNİ İNİUT KAYIKIPLİTO ANIAGHO-TIKLO, AYOGHAOTİ TTİGAKTONIAKOT KAPLO-NAT MAKPIGANİNGİ MAKPIGAYİOGAINİLO.

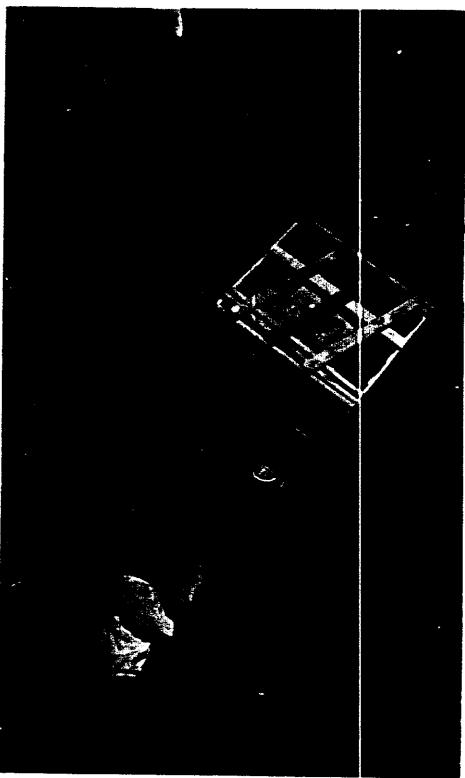
HIVOANOANGANI AVGOTIKAGOMAYOTIGHAM NIJNATAMI AYIKOTANIK TAYAOYOM. ATAOHITOAK KIHIMI ALANGANIGOYOK. ILANGIT OKAMAYOTAOYAL ANGOTIGHAT NUNAVUT ALANGAVAKALNI- GAKTAT HANAKIHAGITONIGAKTAT "INAVIKOTAO- NIAGAHOGIPLIGO" KOKMON HIVOMOKTOGAHO- GITOTON ALBERTTON. OVALO. INUIT KAVAMALI- KINIKON AYOGAHOGIYAPLOKTIKILKINN KAF- LONAGHIKATAYOITKIYACKMATA OKAHOHINAKT K- LO ATOGIKTAGIKMoyOK. TAMAKMIK LIBERALLO CONSERVATIVELO ATONI PINAHOGITOK NUNA"IA- GHAMIK IPIGAKTAONGINAGHONILO OKIOTKAK- TOKMIOK OKAKTIOYOK CONSERVATIVEVENI ALAN- GOKMAGO IHOMANI TILIYA OHIMAYOKANGILIK- MAN NUNATAMIIN OKAKLOAKTOGHAIOLIGAMIKI- LO INUIT PIYOTANIK. OKIONGANI 1963. TAM A KIKLILINANGITO TALVANI. AMIGAITOTO OKIOT- TAKTOMI AQLAKKAIYOT INUITLO IHOMALIKTOT IHOMALIKTOT ILITKOHILIOKLOAGAHOGIPLOGIT KOKMI AHITKOAYOTIKMATA NUNAVUTMI. IHOMA- LIGHTOKLO NUNAVUT MALAONGINAKNILIGIA- GHA KOGOM ILITKOHIGILIKTANON AHITKOALC- GIT ILITKOHIMINGIT MALAOLOAKLOTIK KAPLONA- NON.

CARROTHERS ILITKOHILIOKMATA OKAOTIOMA-  
PLOGO ATOA "KAVAMALIOKNIGHAMIK NUNA-

too close to the people, the new administration actively recruited men and women who knew the north, often people who had learned to speak the Inuit language passingly and who had worked and lived among Inuit. Even while in the south the national philosophy of free enterprise was moving from triumph to triumph amidst the post-war economic boom, in Nunavut a full and humane welfare state was being constructed. If the new society being so rapidly built was hard on the local people, this was seen as a temporary nuisance of little account when measured against the terrible hardships suffered by Inuit in famines and epidemics, hardships well publicized and dramatically described in southern books and magazine articles.

It was not long before the demand arose to divide the Northwest Territories in much the same way as has been proposed today. But at least one important feature was different. Some proponents of change argued that the Nunavut area was so different and would require so much unconventional development work that it would "hold back" the Mackenzie which was presumed to be rushing headlong into an Alberta-type boom. Also, the Inuit were assumed to be less politically developed than the Dene because they had less contact with whites and still mostly used their native language. Both the Liberals and Conservatives moved forward in succession to create the new Nunatsiaq territory. The idea was only dropped when a key northern spokesman for the Conservatives switched his ground because of the lack of elected representation from the Nunatsiaq area and hence the lack of any voice for the people directly affected. The year was 1963.

But the matter did not end there. Many northern administrators as well as Inuit themselves felt that the policies being pursued in the Mackenzie Valley were not suitable for the Nunavut area. They felt that more and more Nunavut would be a minority region towed



TIAMI" OKAKTOK NONGOLIKTILOGO 1956. TO-HAKTAKPIAKTOK TAPKONONGA. AVIKO NGITOT TAYANOAK, ILITOGHOKOFAGHOGO 10 NI OKIONI. OKAMAYOTIGIYAT PIYOGHAK TAYA KAVAMALIKINI NUNAT IILTOKHIAIT MALIKLOGO. HIVOGAGIYAT NUNAVUT AVITKALOAKAN KOKMIN, KAVAMALIKINIGA IHOINAGAHOGIYAT. KAVAMAT ATOAMI IHOAGIYAT ONA OKAOHIK ALANANIKLO IHOAGIPLOGIT PIITKOYITIT. PIOMALOAGHOGO AVIKTOGHIMANIGHAM PIVIALIYOHIGHA YALONAIMI, TALVATAOK PIHIMANAHOAKLOGIT NUNALAT TITI-GAKVIT IKAYOGHIOTIHIMAYOGHAT TO"KOMANAHOAKLOGIT PILOAGAGHAT INUKNON NUNAVUT-MONLO.

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along by the larger Mackenzie population oriented towards the traditional development models of the south.

When the Carrothers Commission created to advise Ottawa on "the development of government in the Northwest Territories" reported in late 1966, it was very aware of these issues. It recommended that division not occur just then, but be reviewed in ten years. It argued that in the meantime, what was needed was political development beginning at the community level, and it feared that if the Nunavut area was cut loose from the dynamic Mackenzie, its political progress might falter. Ottawa accepted this advice and moved to accept other key recommendations, notably the creation of a full-scale provincial-style administration in Yellowknife, albeit retaining the regional offices which helped preserve some important sensitivity toward Inuit and Nunavut.

From the beginning, governments had accepted the reality of two norths within the NWT and the need for two sets of policies and administrative structures. Debates in the NWT Council (as the Legislative Assembly was earlier called) often centred on the differences in style and content of the administrations in the two areas, and not always politely.

HIVONGANIN KAVAMAT ANGIGHIMAYAIT MALGOK  
OKIQTAKTOGHAK NUNATAMI, PIYAKAKNIPLÖ-  
GIK MALGOK ILLIKHOILILOGOTIGHAK AOLATIYOTI-  
GHAKLO. OKAMAYOTIT NUNATIAM KATIMAYITA  
(MALIGALIOKTINGOKTOK KINGOVAKON) OKAOT-  
KAKPAKTOK ALATKIKNIK AOLAYOTIKAGIAKAKNI-  
PLOGIK MALGOMANIK, OKATIAGHIMAIATOMIK.  
KINGOLIKNIK TITIKANI KIVIANGAYOYAKNIAKO-  
GOT KAVAMALIKIYAMI.





# Chapter Three

## FROM ADMINISTRATION TO POLITICS

The council which was the nominal legislature for the Northwest Territories had long consisted of senior federal government officials with important interests and responsibilities in the north. In fact, several appointed members continued to sit on this body until into the 1970s. But in the previous twenty years elected representation had been added in stages. Only in 1966, however, was the eastern arctic (Kitikmeot, Keewatin and Baffin regions) given its first opportunity to elect members, the last area to be able to do so.

This transition is of the utmost historical importance because it reflects many other changes, some of them not yet complete. Ottawa had viewed the north as an area under federal control whose problems were administrative pro-

## AOLATINIKMIN KAVAMALIKINIKMON

KATIMAYIT TAIYAOHIMAYOTOKAT MALIGALIOK-TINIK NUNATIAM ILAKAKPACTOK ATANINIK KAVAMALOIT ATANNGOYANIK MONAGHILOAK-TONIK OKIOKTAKTOMIK.ILA, ILANGIT TILI-YAOHIMAYOT TALVANI IGHIVAKATAOVAKTOK 1970 TIKTOGO. KIHIMI KINGOLINI OKIONI 20 NI TAIYAOHIMAYOT ILAVALIKTOT. 1966 GOTKTOM KIHIMI.ILA, KIVALIGHT (KITIKMEOT, KIVALIT, KIK-ITALOLO PUNAIT) NIGOAKTITAQOVALIHAT PIYIG-HAMNIK. KINGOLIKPALIOYAOPLOTIK.

TAIMAILIOPALIOHIAT PILOAGAGHAOYOK ATAKMAN ALANGOKPALIANIKNON, ILANGIT ILANGIT INIGHIMAINMATA. ATOAM TAOTOKTOYAKPAGA OKIOKTAKTOK ATANIKTOGAYOYOK KANATAM KAVAMAININ AYOGHAOTIVALOIT IHOAGHAKTA- PLOTIK ATAYOT MANILIKINIKMON IL- AGINAKLOGIT PILIMANGITOT, TAIMAILIO-KNIK IHOAGHAOTAOKY HAMAYAOANIGANON MILVIT AYOGHAOTAOVAKTOK INUKNON PITKOYAOG- GAMIK. IMAKKAGNAGHVAKTOK INUIT "INGIG HIMAITAGHAINIK" ATOGAHOAKLOGIT KAVALI- KINIGIT KANATAMIOT ATOGAHOGIVAGAIT IN- UKNON, IHOMAINAKTOHITIK NIKITIGON, OKOAK- MIOVIKTIGON, INUHKON, OKAOHIMIKONLO PIVA- LIOHIGHAITIGONLO NOTAKAMIK. INUIT TONIK- TONIKAKPAGHIMAYOT TALVONA, KIHIMI TAMAIYAT ANGOYAKPALIOTANI KAPLONAT AOI ATIVAI IKMATANOTAMIK INUHIKMK.

NUNAVULIOLIGAMIK OVALONIK NUNATIOLIOLIGAMIK 1963 MI OKPIKNAZHIVALLAYOK IILTOKHIA OKIOTAKTOM NAPAKTOKAKNIGOM ALANGAYOHIA KOKMIN, INUIT ALATKINIK IHOMAGIYALGIT PIOMAYAKAGHOTIKLO, OKIOTAKTOK ANGIVALALOAGHONILO ATAOITIMIK ATANIKTOGACYAMINI. MALGOIK KAVAMAT KINGOLOGIKTAGHIMAYOK ATAOAMI MALIGALIOPAKTOK TITIGAGIGHIMALIGHOTIKLO NAONALOTAGHANIK NOTAM NUNATIAGHAM. KIHIMITA 1963 MI NUNAVUTMIOT AHITAGION KOKMIOT NIGOAKTITAALAITOT, TALVA AVIGHIMAYOTIGLIKLTAMIKNI TAIMAINGINAENIAGONAGHIYOGALIT AOLATINAHOAKTONGITOTON INUHKIMKNIK. IHOMALOGIYAT INUIT AVIGAITOT AVIGHAOKTAOYOHIA NUNATIAM TALVONA. TAPKOA INUIT INMIKON ATANIKTOVALIGHIMA-YONGINAMIK: IGHINAGOMANGITAIT INUIT AOLATIYOT IILTOKHIANI. TALVA, NUNATIAC AVINGITOK.

blems which expertise, money and patience would surely remove. This approach, fully appropriate perhaps to engineering airstrips, became more difficult when applied to people. It assumed that the people were not "ready" to exercise the political rights which Canadians believe all peoples have, namely rights to express their preferences about essential matters of food, shelter, livelihood, language and opportunities for their children. Inuit had always had that power, but in the post-war period they temporarily lost much of it while a southern administration created a wholly new society around them.

The move to create a Nunavut or Nunatsiaq territory in 1993 had been based on the realisation that conditions north of the tree-line were very different from those in the Mackenzie Valley, that the people had different interests and needs, and that the north was too large and diverse to be held together in a single jurisdiction. Two succeeding governments in Ottawa had legislation and even a new coat of arms ready to create the new territory. But in 1993 the Nunavut people (apart from those in the Delta area) had no vote, so in their new territory they might have continued to be treated as an administrative problem rather than as a people taking charge of their own lives. That was the fear of many people who opposed division of the NWT at the time. Such people were not opposed to self-government for Inuit; they did not want Inuit left behind in the hands of administrators. So, the NWT remained united.

The most important change resulting from the Carrothers report was the establishment of Yellowknife as the territorial capital. In the late summer of 1967 planes carried an Ottawa staff to Yellowknife where they spent the next frantic months and years taking over the former federal administration and adding their own new elements. The arctic or Nunavut areas briefly continued to have their own arctic administration in Ottawa briefly while the Yellow-

ALANGOKTIGOTIKAGIATOK ILITO GHOSHIANIN CARROTHERS YALONAMI HANA YOYIN NUNATIAM ATANIKAKVIANIN. AYOANI 1967 TIKMIAK OHIOYK ATOAMIN HAVAKTINIK YALONAIMON IHOAGHAIYAKTOGHOTIK TAVANITOT AMIHONI TATKIGHIOTINILQ OKIONILQ IHOAGHAI PLOTIK KAVAMALOIT AOLAPKIYOHIGHA INNIKILA OGHOGIGIT INIMIK PIOTIMNIK. OKIOKTAKTOK OVALONIN NUNAVUT NUNAIT AOLANGITOT AOLATIYOHIT OKIOKTAKTOM ATOAMI KAVAMAT IN-IGITAITILOGIT YALONAMI. TAMNA ATAINAGITOK. ILANGITA INUIT HIVOGAGIYT OKIOKTAKTOK KIHINGKOVALIGIAGHANGNICK. TAPKOIA INUIT IHOMAGITAOLIKTOT IHOMAKIAGIAGHAINIK INGILGAKNITANIK OVALONIN AOLATIMA GITOLOLIN NUNAVUTMIKHAGVAGHAT PIOMANGITOYAGHOGIT, TAMNA ITKOMAYONAGHITOK ILANGATIGON. TALVALONIN PIYAGHALOIT AOLANGITOT ANOK





knife government got organised, but this did not last long. Some people who feared that the arctic areas would now get less attention than before were dismissed as old-fashioned or just wanting to keep the running of Nunavut in their own hands, and this was perhaps true of some. However, the larger issue remained: how would Nunavut develop as a mere minority fringe of a territory whose centre of gravity and of interest lay along the Mackenzie River?

It was not just a question of whether the closeness and familiarity of Mackenzie interests would be more likely to catch the eye of the Yellowknife administration, or that the Mackenzie had greater numbers and more conventional political lobbies to push its interests. The federal arctic administration had been the focal point of Canada's interests in the north; it had had its field staff on the ground in every arctic community, the prestige of its exotic and well-publicised work and a mandate in Ottawa to bring arctic loose ends together. The mandate remained, in theory, but became meaningless for two reasons. The headquarters and field staff were lost to Yellowknife, with the remaining skeleton staff kept in the dark by a Yellowknife government naturally anxious to establish itself as chief spokesman on northern affairs. And the amalgamation of the northern administration with the old and vilified Indian

# NUNAVUT HIVOMOKTOKNIAGALOAKA AVIGHIMA-YOLONI NAHOGILOAKTOPLONI KOKMO?

APIKOTIKAFONGITO KANIYOHIALO ILITOGIMAYO-HIALO KOKMON MALAOYOHILo IGYIYA OYOHIGHA YALONAIM AOLATIYOHATIGON, OVALONIN KOK AMIGAITKIYANIK KITYOTIKAKMAN IHOAQNİKAT-KIYAOGOMILONIN KAVAMALIKIYAMINI. KAVAMA-LOIT OKIOKTAKTOKON AOLATIYOHAT TOGAYOK KANATAN OKIOTAKTOLIKIYOHAGON, POLATAT-KAKPAGHIMAOK TAPKOTIGONA NUNAINI OKIO-TAKTOM TAMAINI, TAOTHOIA NUNANIN ALANIN IHOMALIOHOHIA TTIGAKTAOHIMAYOT INIGHI-MAYONIK ATOAMI TAPKOA KATIGHOKTITIYOT OKIOKTAKTOM TAMAYAGHIMAYOTAINIK. PITKO-YOT AOLANGITOK, TTIGAINAKON, KIHIMI HIVONI-KAKTYAGOIKTOK MALKOGON: ATANAKAKVILK HAVAKTITLO TAMAKTITAUYOT YALONAIMON, KI-HINGOKONOIT IKITOT AVALIYAKOT TIKLAGOTI-PKHIMAYAIT YALONAIM KAVAMAITA ILITKO-HINGOMAYOGALOIT OKIOKTATOM PINHAOGAINIK, OVALO, KATIGHOKTAONIGA AOLAYOHIANIK OKIOKTAKTOM OTOKANON ITKILI-NON AOLATIYOTIKAFOKNON NOTANI KAVAMANI ATOAMI NONGOKTHIMAYONI ATOAMINISTANIGA-HOALIKMAN ALATO IPIGAGHIMAYAIT ALANGOKTI-GINAHOALIGAMIK. NOTONIAHIT NUNAVUT AOLATAYOYHA YALONAIMON ANGOYAGOIGHI-MAGHAKTILOGIT, NAKLIGHAKPAOHIALO TAKOG-HAOYOOYAOHALO ATOAM OKIOKTAKTOMON. KINGONIGIYA MIHKNAOHIAIT KAVAMAT, PINA-HOAGALOIT OKONATON TOHAKATAOTITLO OG-HOKYOALIKINKLO KASILIGHIOKNIKLO.

ILATAOK ONATAOK, OKAOTIGIPLOGO, NAONAI-  
LOTAOYOK. ATOA "PITKOINGITPAN", PITKOIYON  
TONIAYOYOK NUNATAMONLOAK. ONA ITKOMA-  
TIANGITOK. ATANILOANGIT NUNATAM OKAMA-  
VAKTILOGIT PIOMAPLOTIK TONIKTONIGHAMIK  
NOTKOIPILOTIK ATOAMIN, KAVAMALIKINIGOM IL-  
ITKHKHA ATAOHIVIGHAMANGITOK OKIOKTATOK-  
MIOT PIOMAYOHIATON TONIKTONIGHAMIK: ATA-  
NIKTOGAOLAOAGHINAKTOK YALONAIMIN. HIVO-  
MOKPALIOHIGHAK, IHOMAYOHIATIGON NUNA-  
TIAMI ATANNGOYAT, KILAMIGHOTAOTON IOTK  
KAPLONAT ILITKHOIANON. ONA TONIKTONIK  
NOLAYOK OKIOKMIOTANON INUHIMATILONON  
OKIOKTAKTOMI KIHIMI NOKAFOGHIMAYONON  
KINIGHIAPLOTIK NOTANIK PINAHOAGAGHANIK  
NUYOTIGHANIKLO.ILA TAMNA NAONAIYAGHI-  
MAYAT OKAOTAOVAKTOK KATIMAYONI

LIKOHIGALOANGAT KANATA TOHAOMAYOHIA  
AKLIKNAKTOK. KINGOANI HITAMAT NUNAT

administration in a new government department in Ottawa so diluted departmental credibility so that other Ottawa ministers and departments either ignored or flouted the attempts at co-ordination. Indeed, this large new co-ordination structure became something of a curiosity in the central agencies of the Ottawa government. Effectively, the transfer of the Nunavut administration to Yellowknife ended Ottawa's long post-war period of energetic, humane and visionary interest in the arctic. What followed were the various efforts of this or that government body, the most profound initiatives being in communications and in facilitating oil and gas development.

But this was also, arguably, a sign of the times. If Ottawa did not "initiate", the initiative had passed to the territories themselves. This was only partly true. While senior territorial officials argued for more and more transfers of power from Ottawa, the political system was

KIVATANI KATIGHOKMATA KANATAM ILITKOHIA-TON, HIVOLIK ILALIOTIHIMAYOK MANITOBA. ALTKIVALOKALIGHOKTIN UNIUNITIGAMI NOATKATINGITONIK TAYAKTAOYOTON ILIPLOTIK NUNAKAGOMAYONIN, OKAKTONIN NIPITOGHOTIK OKAGHOTIK KAVAMALIKINIGOM ILITKOHIANIK, TAOTOKAMIKO IHOILIGHAIYOTIG-HAKTIK INMIK PITAGIOLAOAGOMAPLOGO MANIKA-LIKNIGHAK. ILITKOHIGIYAT NUNALILOU INUIT ALITLIG RED RIVER REBELLION (AKIKKITOTIYOK) — AKILIYAT ATOA TAVANGAHIN NOTAMIK AV-GONMIK ALAGOYIPLOTIK HIVONIOTKAYOMIK NUNALIKMIN REILMIN. (KINGCNGATIGONTAOK, LANGIT PIVALIOTIYGALOI TAMAGAKTO, ILINA-OGOTIGHAIT INUIT PITKOYAO'OT NOVEMBER, 1982 MI, MANITOBAM ITKILIPYANIN KATIMAYOTANI MALIGALIOGHOTIK ATOAMI).

DOHOLOTAGIYA KAVAMALIKINIGOM IILTKOHIATA  
DONGATAKOLOAKMAN ATOAMIN INUINLO YALO-  
NAIM, TITIGAKVIT TONIKTONIKAGATIK, TAMAGA-  
LOKMIKLONIN NUNATINNIGAGHIMAYONATIK.  
CARROTHERTHGOGIT IILTOGIMAYAT TAMNA  
HOILOLAT IKHOMATINAGHOGOLO KAVAMANIKTI-  
GOMIK NUVANI INUKNON IILTOGHOTIGINIGA-

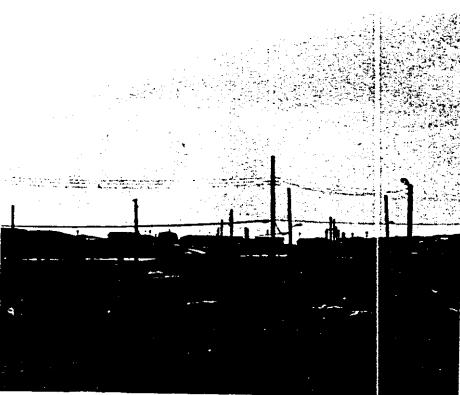


not yet one in which northerners then acquired that power: it was merely concentrated in the hands of the Yellowknife administration. The way forward, according to the official territorial viewpoint, was to advance quickly to responsible government on the southern model. This would effectively transfer power to the minority of northerners who had moved there in search of new opportunities and lifestyles. But that is what the historical conventions seemed to indicate.

A parallel with earlier Canadian history is remarkable. After four eastern colonies came together as Canada in Confederation, the first area added was Manitoba. There a mixed-blood native population was being pushed by a more impatient settler influx who, proclaiming loudly the dictates of the traditional political system, saw their chance to dominate political events and take over the local economy. The reaction of the local people — the so-called Red River Rebellion — forced Ottawa onto the side of fair play and the new province was created along lines chosen by the natives led by Riel. (Subsequently, many of those gains were lost, a lesson urged upon Inuit in November, 1982, by a Manitoba Metis delegate during a constitutional conference in Ottawa.)

The problem was that this political history was being played out by people in Ottawa and people in Yellowknife, few of them elected to any office, and none of them from the native population majority in the territories. The Carrothers commission, recognising this problem, had proposed the establishment of local government structures to give the people an education in politics. Nobody had apparently thought to inquire if perhaps the native people had their own ways of doing things, having successfully survived in the area for millennia and, therefore, having obviously made some correct choices along the way.

The territorial government had, as its chief mandate, to move ahead vigorously with the



HOGIYAT. KINALIKAKLONIN IHOMANGITOK  
APIGHILOLIK INUINAIT INMikon IL-  
ITKOHIKAGIAGHAI HOLYOTIGHAMIKNI K, IN  
UHIMAYOPLOTIK OKIONI AMIGAITONI OVALO,  
IHOANAKPAGHIMAYOPI OTIKI O

NUNATIAM KAVAMAIT PIKHIMAYOT, HIVOMOK-TOKNIKMIK PIVALIAYOTIGHANIK NUNAT KAVAMAITA. PIHIMAYOK, KIHIMI INUINAIT OTAK-INGIT. NONGOANI 1960 KAPLONAT ILITOGIYOT ILANGANIK NALVAGONNIK OKIQTAKTOMIK, TALVANI KIHIMI NALVAKPALIGAMIK OGHOKYOANIK-LO KASILINIKLONUNAM ATANI AMIGAONAHOGI-YAOYT IMAMLO ATANI. AMIGAGHOLAGCTIYOT KAPLONAT NUNANIN KOINGINAGHIPILOTIKLO NIPIGALITO IKAKOGALOITLO NALVAGHIOKTOT PI-YOMIKITINAHATOAL HOIIGOTIYOT OKIQTATOMI INUHKIMIK. HIVOGAKPANITAOK ITKILIT, IHOAGHAINAHOGITPAKTILOGIT TITIKANIK ATIGHIMAYONIK INIGLGN NALVAKPALIHAKTILOGIT, IHLIMALIGAMIKO INIGIYAILIKTOT, IN JIT AFIMAYOT ONGAHTOGHIGKPALAGAMIK, KIHIMI KOGOM PANGANI NUNANI AMIGAITOT TONIKTO-YOT HIVOLIGHOIYIT, AKNAINAPAYIT IN-IGIYAILIKTOT HIVOLIGHA $\frac{1}{4}$ NIK KINGOVAKON HONAHOVA INUIT KAVAMALIKOTIGHAINIK. KATOYIGIYAT COPE, HIVOLIKPANGOYOK KAVAMALIKINIGHAK OKIQTATOMI. TAIMAITOT INUIT ILIHIMATIKTOT PIVALIAYOHANIK ALASKAMI NOATKATIGIGOHIAT KANINAMI NUNALIKIYAMIK-NI, NUNALIKINIK HOLIANGOLOALIKTOK INUINAIT PINAHOOGOHIANI OKIQTAKTOMI AHIANILO KANATA.



development of local government. It did so. But the native people did not wait.

At the end of the 1960s, the south experienced one of its periodic discoveries of the north. This time it was inspired by the oil and gas reserves which were thought to underlie much of the northern lands and seas, especially beyond the tree-line in the Nunavut area. A new rush from the south began and the noise and litter of exploration and development suddenly impinged upon the arctic way of life. Further south the Dene, still trying to get satisfaction for treaties signed long ago in earlier discovery eras, knew what this foretold and began to organise. Inuit were scattered and more isolated, but in the Delta communities a number of strong leaders, mostly women, began to organise what later became the Inuit political movement. Their organisation, COPE, was the first native political organisation in the north. These people were very aware of developments in Alaska where their close kinsmen were involved in the land claims movement. Land claims became the focal point of the

OKIOTAKTOM KAVAMALIKIYOHIA MALGOKNIK AP-KOTIKAKTOK. INUINAIT OKAOTIKAKTOT NUNALI-KINIKMIK, KIHIMITAO IHOMAGILOAKTAT PILOAT-KIYONIPLIGO NUNAM ALANGCKTIKNIGANIK. PIYOTAOLOAKTOK APIKON ALOYATAGON INU-HIKMIK IHOMAGIYAOLOAKPAGHIMAYOK AMIGAINIKONLO HILAKAOHALO — NUNAKPOT, NUNAVUT, KAVAMALIKINIGOM IHOMAYOHIA KIHIMI TAMNA IHOMAYOHIA KIHIMI TAMNA IHO-MAGIYAOATINGITOK KAPLONAGINAIT ATOLIKPGAT HONIKLIKKAQ OKAOTIKALIGANGAMIK. KAPLONAT OKAOTIKALIKPAKTOK AVIGHIMANI-KON, INMIKNON, ILIKOHITOKAKTIPLOGO, PINAHOGITOGO KAVAMALIKINIK PIYOTIGIPLOGO, AOLATINAHOAKNICK HONAGHAKA<sup>K</sup>NIKMIC TAL-VANGA PINIAKMAN IHAGIANAYOTIGHA OKIOTAKTOM. ATOAM OKAMANIKLOTIGIYAKTAP-KOAK IHOMAYOTIK. ILLIHIMANGITDYGHOGO AVGOTIKAKNICK NANMINNIKTOAONGINMAN. MONAGHINIKLONIN MANIKAQNKLONIN, ONALO NUNALIKINIK APIGHOTAOYAGHANGANIK KAVAMALIKINIGOM ILLIKHOIANIK OVALONIN KIVGATOKINION. KIHIMITAO OKIO<sup>K</sup>TAKTOM ONIPKANGIYOHIA HIVONIGHIMATIAGIALIK TALVANI: "AVIKTOGHIMAYOKAKNICK NUNALIKINIKLO" NAONAILOTAOKAFOKTOK IH-MALIOTGITIGON PIOMAYATIGONLO NAONAITAO-TAPLOTIK.

ለቤት የደረሰ ማርቃያ ንግሥት እና በአዲስ ደረሰኑ  
ለኋላ የሚገኘውን ቤት እና ስራውን አገልግሎት ነው ለጠቅም  
የኋላ የሚገኘውን ቤት እና ስራውን አገልግሎት ነው ለጠቅም  
የኋላ የሚገኘውን ቤት እና ስራውን አገልግሎት ነው ለጠቅም  
የኋላ የሚገኘውን ቤት እና ስራውን አገልግሎት ነው ለጠቅም  
የኋላ የሚገኘውን ቤት እና ስራውን አገልግሎት ነው ለጠቅም

native movement in the north as elsewhere in Canada.

Northern politics henceforth ran in two channels. The native population talked of land claims, but really meant a great deal more than just a land transaction. What was involved was the entire question of management of their own lives which always had been determined by the bounty and climate of the land — our land, Nunavut. It was a political viewpoint but one which did not fragment into the various specialties by which southern constitutional experts tended to approach such issues. The non-natives talked about provincehood which, given their tradition, represented for them the fullness of political development and, significantly, the control of the natural resources from which the future wealth of the north was assumed to come. Ottawa has disputed both views, denying that provincehood necessarily implied resources ownership, management or revenues, or that land claims involved questions of political structures or representation. But northern history must be clearly understood on this point: "provincehood" and "land claims" are code words for whole baskets of ideas and aspirations which express the shared longing of northern peoples for the power to run their own lives.

With the founding of COPE at the beginning of the 1970s, and the national Inuit organisation, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, as well as regional member organisations in the four NWT Inuit regions plus Quebec and Labrador, a new force was present. At Churchill, Manitoba, the federal government had operated a residential school and here many of the young Inuit from the various regions of the eastern NWT and from Quebec spent many hours together discussing the problems of their people and their homeland. Most of today's Inuit leaders were once part of that small group of young people. From the beginning, the imposition of alien cultural forms by a determined administration run

MANILIKTOHIAGON COPE-KOT HIVONIANI 1970, NUNAKYOAAMLO INUIT KATOYIATA, INUIT TAPI-  
RIST KANATAMI, ILAGIPLOGIT NUNALAT KATOYI-  
VALOIT NUNATAMI INUIT NUNAINI ILAGIPLOGIK  
KOPIKLO LAPRATOALO, NOTAK TONIKTONIK  
MIHINKAGHIYOK. CHURCILLMI (KOKYOAGA-  
LOKMI), MANITOBAMI, KAVAMALOIT ILIHAKVIA-  
GHIMAYOT TOKOVOLKIMIK TLAVANI AMIGAITOT  
INULGAMIT INUIT ALATKININ NUNANIN KIVATANI  
NUNATIAM, KOPIKMINLO, OKAKATIGPKARTOT  
AKONI AYOGHAOTAINIK NOATKANMIK NAYOKA-  
MIKLO NUNAT. AMIHONIGIT INUIT HIVOLIGHOTIT  
OPLOM ILAOHIMAYOT TLAVANI IKITOGLAOIT IN-  
ULGAMIT CHURCHILL ILIHAKVIANI ATAOTIKON.  
HIVONGANIN, ILLTKOHIA ALANGAYOM ILLITKOTIM  
IHOMALIOGOTAOVAKTOK ALOYATIGHAM KA-  
PLONANIN IHOATANGITOGALOAK, OVALOTAOK  
ILITHOHOVIKAVOKTOK II IHAKVKNI

PAMIGHAKVIOANGAT INUIT AOLAYOHIATA, TAL-VATAOK, OKIOTAKTOMILOAKTOK AHINIVALANGONGITOK KIHIMI INUONO CHURHILL ILIHAKVIA-TA. KOKMITAQ AYIKOTAPYALIKITKILIT HIVO-NIOKTINIK, KOKLOGHIMAYOT NALOPIGHAK-TOTLO KAPLONAT KAVAMANI MIHIGIPKALIKTOT NUNAKATIGINGITO IILTOKHINNIKKAVAMALIKIYOHNIKLO NOTANI KATOYIKATIGINI, ATONI A VAKTALITIVAKTOT. OKIOTAKTOMILOAKTOK KIHIMI INUVIKMI COPE-KOT AYOGHAOTIKA PAKTOK PINAHOAKAMIKON. OKIOTAKTOK AVGOGHIMALIKTOK TAYA, INUIT HOLIYAGHALIKTOT NUNATAMI NIIGOAKMATA OCTOBER, 1979 MI, TAPKOA ILAGIYAT TAMNA.

KAPLONAT NUNAKALIKTOT KOKMI NAGHANITONI  
NUNANI ITILKOHIGILIKTA OKIOKTAKTOM, KIHIMI  
IKPIGINITA. OVAILA, KAPLONAT AMIGAITIKO-  
TAGINAKTAIT ITKILIT INUITLO ITKILIPYAITLO AMI-  
GAINIGOPLOTIK, KITIKAHIOHTIHIMAITPATA HAVAK-  
TOVALOIT AOLAKATAINAKMATA NIIGOAKPAKATIK-  
LO. OVALO, KALONAT AYOGIHIMAYOT TO NIKTO-  
NIGAGON KANATA KAVAMALIKIYOHITA IL-  
ITKOHIGAGON NUNALNIKOLO AVOGOGHIMAYOTLO  
KAVAMAITIGON KIHIMITAOK OKIOKTAKTOMI  
TAPKOATOKTAOHOIMAITO KAVAMALIKINIKON  
AYOGHAOTIKTOK. KINGOVAKONTAOK, OKIOK-  
TAKTOLINAMIT HOTIGONLIKAK ILINGAYCTIG-  
HATIGON, ANIGOYAOTOYAAKTOK KAVAMAT  
PIVALIAYOHITIGON, ILLIKOTIT AKAYOGHIOHTINA-  
HOAGOTIT INUINAKNON MANITLO AOLATIYOTT-  
LO ITAGIPLOGIT ATOAMI. TAYA ILANGAT H'YON-  
IKKITI HIVOMOKTOGHOTIA OKAKPALIKTCT KAP-

by outsiders was an obvious sore point, and perhaps nowhere more obvious than in school. The real breeding ground of the Inuit movement, however, was more in the state of the north than in any one forum such as the halls of the Churchill school. In the Mackenzie Valley where similar developments were occurring under Dene leadership, frightened and confused southerners in government and out saw radical conspiracies and racist politics in the new organisations, and fought them bitterly. The arctic areas were always more fortunate in social cohesion, but around Inuvik the COPE Inuit had perhaps the most difficult situation of all to deal with. The north was now polarised, and all public affairs until the landmark territorial elections of October, 1979, would be a function of that.

The white community centred in the Mackenzie Valley towns was the dominant force in the north, but it didn't feel so secure. For one thing, the whites were a numerical minority; the Dene, Inuit and Metis population considerably outweighed them, especially if one did not count the short-term workers who came and went constantly and rarely voted. Also, the

NANGOK IHOMAINAKTOKTAKTOGAHONGITOT  
NUNATIGON ANGOTIGHAITINGILONO, ANGOTIGHAT  
MANINAKTOYAQAVAKTOK OOKIQTAKTOMI. TAPKOA  
INUIT IHOMAYOT HIVOGAHAKTAOYAMNIKIN,  
ANIGOYAQOYOYAAGHOTIKLO IHOMAINAKTOKNIK-  
MIK KANATAMI.

INUINAIT, ILANGATIGON, ILIHIMAYOT KAPLONAT TONIKTOKTIYAONTANGITOKIQTOMATOMI HAVAGHAT OKIQTAKTOMI, ILIKOKTOTOLO INUITLO HAVA-GHAIT, TONIYAOLAOAKPAKTOT KAPLONANON IK-LOGIGHIYAOPLOTIKLO PITIAKTAOPLOTIKLO, NIAMGITATAQIOPLOTIKLO HOVALOKTIGON. KAVAMAT ILLITKOHIT, MALIGAITLO APIASHOIVNIK HOLIYOVALOITLO AOLATAOYOT KAPLONAT PIO-MAYAITIGON, ILLITKOHIMIKMONLO OKAOHIKMI-KONLO. OKIQTAKTOMI KAPLONAT ILIHIMATIAT-TOT AOLAYOHINIK ILLITKOTIT ILIHIMAYOHIALO NUNATIAM MALIGALIOGAINIK TAMNA ILIHIMA-NAKTOK. INUIT NUNAIKTAOHOGHAKTOK ANGO-BIAVIKTAOPLOTIKLO !KLOKPAKNONGAKTAOP-LOT!K NUNANI MONATIATKAOYAMIKNI KAPLONA-NIN AOLAIGHOGITLO INUHIT. ILANI NUIT NALO-PIGHALIKPAKTOK AYOGHALIGALOTIK\_O TAMNA PINAHOGILIGANGAMIKO, PITAGIYAOHIMALIGHOT-IKLO, INUTIT TAMAGHOTIK PILGHOKTALIGHOTIK-LO KITONGAGIT TAPOTIPLOGIT AGHAKTAOYOA-GHOTIK HONGITOYALIGHOTIKLO NUNAMI.

TALVONA, ATONI ANIGHOTIK IHOMALOLIGHOTIK-  
LO, INMIKNON PIYOGIYOTIPLOTIK OLOGIAHON-  
MIKON, INUINAIT PIVALIOHIAT PIYOTIGIPLOGO.



Հայության մեջ այս պատճենը հայտնի է որպես Արդարացման վայրի հայտնաբերություն:

whites were heirs to the strong Canadian political traditions of local and provincial government which were not developed in the north and they felt politically disadvantaged. And finally, having come north in many cases because of economic prospects, they found these denied by government policies of gradualism, policies clearly aimed both at helping the native population and keeping revenues and control in Ottawa hands. Now some native leaders were going further and saying that these whites should never have rights to lands and resources, the very economic assets which seemed the sole way to make big money in the north! Such people felt threatened, and felt they were being denied the elementary rights of Canadians.

The native peoples, on the other hand, knew that the real power in the north lay with whites. The jobs in the north, private and public service jobs, went to whites who were provided with good houses and often special allowances, special sources of southern supplies and other luxuries. The government system, the courts of law and every public agency worked the way the white people from the south had chosen, according to their rules and in their language. The northern whites knew how the system worked, and they dominated the territorial Legislative Assembly. Inuit had literally been taken from their hunting grounds and placed in new bungalow communities where the white people could better administer them and run all aspects of their lives. At best Inuit were bewildered and disadvantaged when trying to deal with this. At worst, they were victimized, with lives lost and many smaller but poignant tragedies affecting every family as a result of an uncomprehending and frequently inappropriate way of life superimposed on their world.

It was in this situation, with two hurt and aggrieved parties blaming the other for its ills, that the native movement developed. Founded on an ethnic definition, repudiating the role of



# KINGDOM OF NORWAY THE LAND OF OUR CHILDREN

PYOTIGILOGO INUYOHIAVITOGO ILITKOHIA  
KAPLONAT INUITOLILIKOHIAATOKLOALGA-  
LOGO ILANI ILIKOHIAKAPLONANAGONGITOL.  
TOOTIYOTON IPILOTIK KAVAMANON. ITKDMA-  
PLONI INUINAIT HIVONIQUITINULGAMIOPLOTIK  
ILANILO ILIHIMATIAGATIK KAPLONAT IN-  
IKNIGOVAKTILOGITHIVONIOPKTIT TANMA  
IKAYOGHIOTIYOITOK. ATOA AYOKNAKTOMIK  
TAFOMINGA IHOAGHAIVAKTOK. ILITOGIYOK  
PIVALAGHOAGITOMIK.

INUINAIT KATOIT OKAKPAKTOT NOATKA-  
MIKNON OKAHOIKMICKON AKOLIKTOIPLOTIK ATA-  
NIKNIKLO NUNANIKLO. OVALONIK INUIT APIGH-  
GANGATA APIGIGOTIGHALOANIK NUNATIAM KATI-  
MAYINON ALANITAOK TAPKO AYOGHAK'OT  
KIOYOTIGHAMIKNIK. HAPKNATION NUNALIKI-  
NIKTIGON MALIKAMLO ALANGOHINIK. KIHIMI  
NOTAT KATOYIOLIKTOT INNMIKON IHOMALIOOKPAK-  
TOT INUIT AYOGHAOTIGYAINIK ILI-  
HIMALIGHOTIKLO IHOAGHA OTIGHAINIK. PIHIMA-  
TAKAGHOTIKLO ILIHAOTIGHALOANIK, ILI-AOTIP-  
LOGIT INUIT NUNAKYOAKON KAVAMALIK'AYO-  
HIVALANGITIGON, TAPIRISATKOT



the established (i.e. southern and white) public structures and often using analogies from the Third (i.e. non-white) World, the native movement was on a collision course with government. The fact that native leaders were young and often unkempt while white leaders were older and had "made it" didn't help. Ottawa, faced with the unenviable task of sorting this out, found that the easiest approach was to do as little as possible.

The native organisations spoke with their populations in their own language and acted as intermediaries between officialdom and the people in communities. Even when Inuit raised important questions in the territorial assembly these were often beyond the competence of that body, matters like land claims and constitutional change. But the new organisations

MONAGHILOAGHOTIK NALAOHKIN IKON  
HATKOTAGIPLIGO, TAIMATON NOTAT  
KATOYIKATIGIT HAVAGHTIGIVAGH-OTIK HAVA-  
GOMAYONON INULGAMINON, HAVAGHT OMIG-  
HIMAYOGALOIT INMKNON ILHATIAGHIMANGINA-  
MIK HAVAGHIKTOTAOYOT KAVAMANIN. IL-  
IHAGHIMAGHOTIK KAVAMALIKINIKI TALVANA  
KAVAMAIT NUNATIAM PITKOIHIMAGHO TAPKON-  
INGA AYOGHAGALOAKTILOGIT MALIGALIOKNIK-  
MIK KIHIMI AOLAKAINAHOAYOITCMIK INUIT PIO-  
MALOAKTAINIK ILAGILOGIT INUINAIT, HAVAKTI-  
GHAGHAGHIMAGHOTIK AYOITOINIR. MONAG-  
HIYOGHANIK OKIOKTAKTOMIK.

NOTAT KATOYIKATIGIT HAVAKALIKTOT KOYAGI-  
NAK KAVAMAT IILTKOHINI. KAVAMALOIT MANI-  
GHIKTOHAT AOLATIYONMIK MANI KAKVIAT, AO-  
LATAOYOK ATOAM KAVAMAININ PIOMAGAMIKO  
HAKLOVIOGYAONAILAK INUKNIN "AMANI KANA-  
TAMI, KAKLIKPAKITIYOMIGHOGIT INUKNUN IHOT-  
TOKTOKAT IHQAGHIVALIGANGINI, ILANI KATOYI-  
KATIGIT. ANIGHALIKPAKTOTHAVAGHATIGON

concerned themselves with people's problems and found ways to tackle them. They also carried out an important educational role, teaching the people in communities more about the world and especially the political world around them. Inuit Tapirisat always paid particular attention to broadcasting as a tool, for instance. The new organisations also provided job opportunities for dedicated young Inuit, opportunities closed to them in government by the formal qualifications demanded, as well as the chance to learn and practice the political arts themselves. The territorial government insisted that such bodies had no legitimacy but still failed to open up the administration effectively to the interests and participation of native peoples, preferring to hire more and more outside experts with more and more specialised qualifications to sort out the north.

The new organisations quickly found themselves working in virtually every area of government policy. The federal funding which was the main source of their operating budgets had, after all, been allocated in part by an Ottawa government anxious to overcome the distrust and isolation of native peoples across Canada and bring them closer to public policy processes where long-standing problems might be resolved. Sometimes the associations could obtain particular funding for projects which were of priority to Ottawa and then develop some new approaches. Other times the job was to criticise abuses or mistakes, to press for the development of relevant policies where needed, or to participate more effectively in existing processes. The co-operative movement begun in the late 1950s had often been a training ground for the first wave of Inuit politicians; now the native movement took over that role. The organisations pursued their work through lawsuits, publicity campaigns, appearances before Parliamentary committees and other public bodies, but at all times they were and continue to be democratic political forces operating within the norms and conventions of

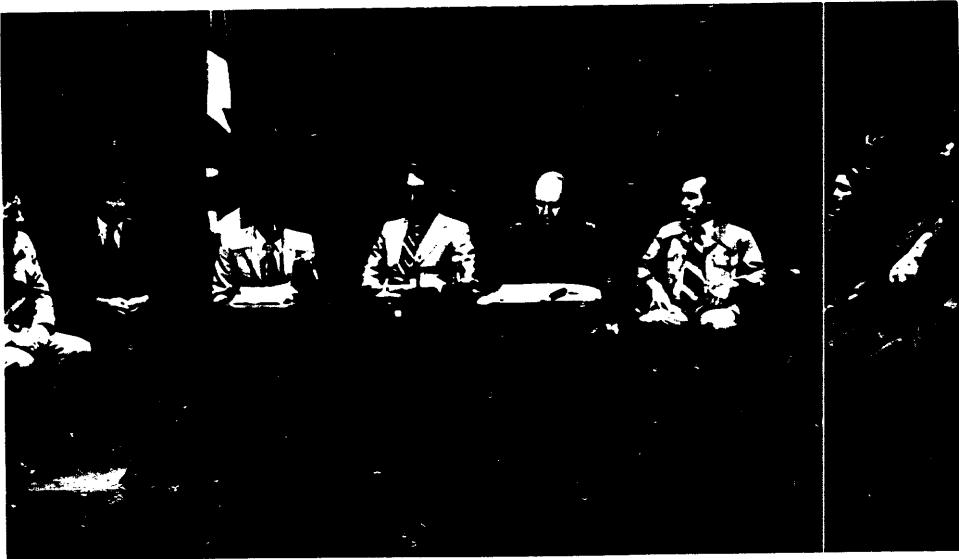
HIVOLIOYGHIMAYAIT ATOAM ALAHIGHIMA-  
GHOSTIKLO. AHIAITIGOTAOK HAVANGOVAKTOK  
NAGOGIHIMAGHOGIT IHOINAGOTIKT, ILANITAOK  
AGHOGHIMAPLOTIK PIVALIANIKMON KAVAMALI-  
KOTILOATIGON, OVALONIN ILAONAOHAGHONI  
PIYAKAKNILOANON ATOKTAOYONON. TALVA-  
TAOK KOAPAIT AOLAGOTIYOT NONGOLI KTILOGO  
1950 TIT ILIHAOYVILIGHOTIKLO HIVOLIKNON IN-  
UNKON KAVAMALIKIYIGHANIK. YAYA EN JINAIT  
HAGAGLIKAT TAMNA. KATOYIKATIGIT ONAGIYAT  
ONAGIYAT APIGOHOOYTIGON, TOHAGHTAIPLOTIK,  
ALATLO INUIT, KAVAMALIKINIKTOK AOLAYOI-  
TAT KATIMAPKAINKTGTGON INUKNIK.

KOKLOKNAGALOAKTILOGO OKIOKTAKTOKMIOT  
ILITOGIPAKTITALIGANGAMIKIK PIOMAYALOATIK,  
KAVAMALOI HONGIOTIYAIT. HIVOLIKPAKMIK TA-  
KOYAKTOKTAIT IHOANAK TAOHIMAYAGHAIT  
INUINAIT ILITKOHIANI HIVOMOKTOKTOT ILIHIMA-  
PLOGIT, KANOGITKALOAKTILOGIT KAVAMALIKI-  
YOHIT. TOKLIATAOK, TAKOYAT KANOGITKLIK  
INUIT ILITKOHIAIT, TAPKOA PIYILIKTOKTAONGI-  
TOT. KINGOLIKPAKMIKTAOK, NAMAGIYAT INUI-  
NAIT ILOMOKTOMIKOLO TONIKTOHAGHOTIKLO NU-  
NAMON ATAYOT. TALVALONIN, TAMNA ILITKO-  
HIKAFOKTOK INUINAIT NUNALIKIYOHIAITA AIV-  
NIGA HAKLOVIOKNAYALIGAT PIKAFOGH-IMAYO-  
HIA. ATAO KINGOVAKTHIMAYA KAVAN ALIKINI-  
GOM ALANGOHIA KAPLONAT AOLATILIKONAGIT  
OKIOKTAKTOMI INUINAIT HAPOMIALIGIAKTIKAGIT  
PIOMAYALOAMIKNIK ILITOGIPAKTITIKLOGOLO-  
NIN ILITKOHIL.



a liberal democratic society. Despite regular shivers when northern native groups published their more strident demands, the federal government learned to live with the situation. Firstly it came to see that there was much justice in the native position and that they were truly a disadvantaged group, whatever their potential as a political majority. Secondly, it saw that whatever the form of public structures, these were in fact not representative. And finally, it accepted that the native people had a real and strong attachment to the land. This was a minimum position and the native land claims negotiations are proving just how minimum it is. Ottawa, however, did hold back political change in the north so that the white minority could not take control before the native majority was able to defend its interests or impress its own viewpoint on public policy.

All of these struggles took place out against the frenetic activity of the oil and gas explora-



TAMAKMIK TAPKOAGHOGOTIT ATCKTAOYOT  
MAMIANAKTONON ATOKTAAYONON HAPKONIN-  
GA OGHYOAGHIOKTONONLOKASILIGHIOKTO-  
NONLO OKIOKTAKTOM NUNANI. OKIOKTA-  
KTOKMIOT NIIGIOGIKAKTOM MANIG-HAKAKNIK  
KAHAGHIYAGHANGANIK TOGAYOGI AK OKIOK-  
TAKTOM KAVAMAINON HONAGHAKKNIGHA  
AOLAYOTIM KOVIANAKNIAGALOAKOK. ILANGITA  
TAOTOKTOYAKTAT PIYAGHAOYOYAKTONIK ILLI-  
KOKTONIN. KIHIMI ATOA OTAHINGONAKTOK NOT-  
KANGAINAKTORYALIKPAMATAMATIGON.

TILIYA OYO HIA API GHOI YIM THOMAS BERGER ILI-  
TO GHOIT KOYA OPLONI TO GOAK YOAGHATIGON  
BEAUFORT SEAMINLO KOGOMLO PANGANIN HI-  
VOGANONLO KIGOM ALBERTAMON ATOKTAOLIK-  
TOK 1977 MI AKAOTA YOK ALANGKTITIYOK KA-  
NATAMIOT IHOMAYOHINIKILA, API GHOI YOTIT  
AMIGAITONI TATKIGHIOTINI I LITO GHOI PLONI TO-  
NIKTO HAKNIKAKNIAGONAGHIALGOAKOK  
OKAOTA OHIGHANMI, ITKILITLO INJITLO HAKLO-  
VIKNAYAITILOGIT NUNAMIKNI TONILOGO  
KANATA TITKIGOTIHOMAYOHILCA MIKNIK  
INU YOHIMKONLO ATAKTOYOM OKIOK TAKTOM  
ILOANI (TAI YAOVA OHIMKONTOK). KCVIANAKNIKO-

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tions being carried out in the arctic. Northerners had cause to hope that revenues would soon flow and that if these could be directed to a northern government, the economics of public administration would be very encouraging. Others saw the situation more in terms of opportunities for private or collective enterprise. But impatience with Ottawa's stand-pat policy grew on all sides.

The appointment of Judge Thomas Berger to inquire into the impacts of a pipeline from the Beaufort Sea and Mackenzie Delta area south through the Mackenzie Valley to Alberta resulted in a report in 1977 which significantly changed Canadian attitudes. In fact, the hearings over the many months of the inquiry may have had more impact than the final report, with Dene and Inuit testifying in their communities and through the media giving Canadians their first real insight into the human side of the vast northlands (as they were so often called). Whether from feelings of romance, or scepticism occasioned by Vietnam and the US race riots, Canadians did not like the sight of their own culture crushing the ancient and workable ways of northern native peoples; what was more, the family and community values of the natives were evident and all too evidently different from the disorienting society of the south. The country was fascinated and moved by what it saw through the Berger inquiry. Also, Berger for the first time was able to bring together expertise and research which examined the impacts of northern development and, but for the first time effectively, made the powerful case against the "development for its own sake" mentality which had always characterised Canadian thinking. Berger's report killed the immediate plans for a pipeline and the northern native people had won a stunning political victory.

This victory had profound psychological consequences for native northerners. It was clear that the old frontier days when hardnosed outsiders could use the north as a playground for

LONIN KOVIANAILGOKOLONIN ATOGHIMAYATIGON VIETNAMLO AMIALIKAMLO INUNAGIN-  
GIYOHIAKTON ALATKIKAMIK, KANATAMIC  
IHOIGIYT TAOTA ILIKOHIMIK HONGIYAKTA-  
YOYT INGILGAKNITAKLO HANAKIYOMINAOSHIALO  
ILITKOHIAK OKIOTAKTOM INUINAITA: TAPIGI-  
PLONI, KITONNGAGIT NUNATLO HOTILANGIT IN-  
UINAIT ALANGOKPALIAPLOTIN ILITKOHITOKANIN.  
NUNA AKLIGOTAKTOK IHOMALAKPILONILO TAKO-  
YAMIKON BERGERM HAVAKTAITIGON. OVALO,  
BERGER HIVOLIKPAKON KATITIYOK ILIHIMANIK-  
MIKO NALVAGHIOKNIKMIKO AMIGAITONIK  
ILITOOGHOPIKAIYOK OKIOTAKTOM  
PIVALIAYOHIANIKLO, HIVOLIKPANGONGITOGA-  
LOAK KIHIMI TALVONA HIVOLIK, AGHOGCYOTI-  
GITA "PIVALIANIK ILIKON PIYON"  
IHOMAYOTIGIVAGAT KANATAMOT. BERGERM  
HONNGIKTITAIT INIGIYAOTAOGALOIT TOGO-  
AKYOGAOGHATIGON TALVA INUINAIT  
AKIMAYOTIGIYAT KAVAMALIKINIKON AKIMAYON.

BERGERM AKIMAYOHIA INUINAKTIGON H VONI-  
LIK IHOMALIOKNATONIK, ILINAOGHATITIALIK IN-  
GILA ILITKOTIT KIKLINGANIK KAPLONAT ATOK-  
PALIGAMIKO OKIOTAKTOK OLAPKIVIKTON  
ATOGHOGO HINAKTOMIKON HIVONIGHAMIK-  
NOLNO IHAGANAIKLOTIK. OKAMAYOTAOLOYAK  
OKIOTAKTOK TAIMAHIMAINMAN, TAIMA ONIN  
OKAOTAOVAKTOK ALANIN. CARROTHERS-KOGIT  
IHOMAYOTIGIYAT KOLINI OKIONI NAOTIK "OG-  
OMAPLOGO PIVALIAYOHIGHA KAVAMAT KOLIT  
OKIOT NATKIPILOTIKLO. KAPLONAT KILANAGIYAT  
BERGER NUNAKOMAYA, KOVIAGIPLOGOLO TILI-  
YAOYOHIA ANGAYOGHIK ATOAM KAVAMALIYI-  
GHIA. BUD DRURY, ILITOOGHOIYOGHAK TA-FOM-  
INGA. YALONAI INMIGON NALVAGHIOKTINGO-  
MAHIMAYOK, KOYAGINAOAHOHIMAYOK IHOMAY-  
OHIA MALIGILOKTIK TAYA PIHIMAYAOYONIK,  
TAPIONIAGONAGHIYOK BERGER PIYAINON.

DRURY INAVIGIYAOYOK HIVONNGANIN INUINAIT  
AOLAYOHIAK HAKLOVIOGOHOKMATA TALVONA  
AGHOGOYIGINAGOLO PITAGINAHOAKLOGO TAM-  
NA OKPIGITAON. PIVIGHOTAONAHOOAGHIMAIT-  
KOMI IHOTATKIYAOYONAGHIOYOGALOAK. KIHIMI  
OKIOTAKTOKMIOT TAIMAINGITOT, MAMIAKAT-  
TOT. IHOMAGILOAKTAT AVGOTIGHA NUNATIAM,  
ATAINAKTOKLO ATAOHVIGHIMAYOK INUIT PIO-  
MAYAT, TAFOMONA. ILA OKAOHKI KAVALOJANGI-  
NAKTOK OKAGHONI "IMANAK, KIHIMI...". AHIN  
OKAOHKI AVATIKNOKTITOGO. NAONAITOK  
NUNAVUT AKITAGHAK. TALVALONIN, DRURY  
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their dreams and their fortunes were over. It may be argued that the north never was such a playground, but so went the legend in certain quarters. The Carrothers commission had proposed a ten-year review of the development of government and the ten years were up. Many whites, anxious about the post-Berger world, greeted happily the appointment of a senior Ottawa politician, Bud Drury, to study the situation. Yellowknife had threatened to create its own inquiry and, given the generally reactionary attitudes of the Legislative Assembly majority of the day, it would like have been little more than a rearguard action against Berger.

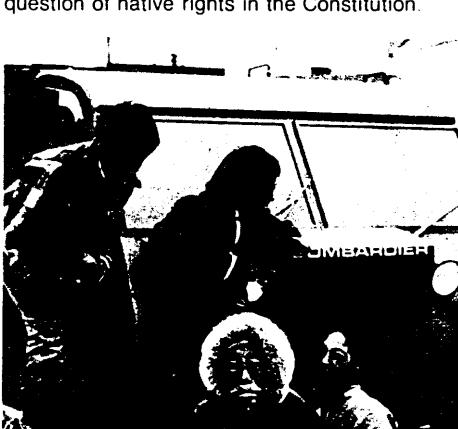
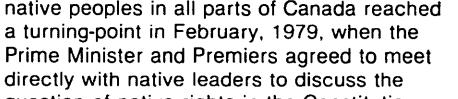
The Drury inquiry was hampered from the beginning because the native movement did not have confidence in it nor was any serious attempt made in practice to win that confidence. The inquiry's low-profile and discreet approach might have suited the board room set, but northerners weren't like that, and besides, their tempers were up. The inquiry's major focus was on the question of division of the NWT, the continuing and universal Inuit demand. On that issue, strangely, the report went around and around, saying "No, but . . .", and then turning the subject over again. Clearly Nunavut was the idea to beat. Nevertheless, the Drury report made many quiet, useful analyses of how the NWT government was working, or not working, and despite the unsatisfactory nature to native northerners of its final recommendations, contains much interesting material.

Several other events tended to bury the Drury report just before it came out in early 1980. In January, 1979, the Inuit population of Greenland voted strongly to adopt "home rule", a plan which their elected political leaders had negotiated with Danish parliamentarians and government. In May, 1979, the new Greenland government took office. It has amply demonstrated the capacity of Inuit in a similar situation to deal with the most complex



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 7<sup>810</sup>7<sup>811</sup>7<sup>812</sup>7<sup>813</sup>7<sup>814</sup>7<sup>815</sup>7<sup>816</sup>7<sup>817</sup>7<sup>818</sup>7<sup>819</sup>7<sup>820</sup>7<sup>821</sup>7<sup>822</sup>  
 7<sup>823</sup>7<sup>824</sup>7<sup>825</sup>7<sup>826</sup>7<sup>827</sup>7<sup>828</sup>7<sup>829</sup>7<sup>830</sup>7<sup>831</sup>7<sup>832</sup>7<sup>833</sup>7<sup>834</sup>7<sup>835</sup>  
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 7<sup>862</sup>7<sup>863</sup>7<sup>864</sup>7<sup>865</sup>7<sup>866</sup>7<sup>867</sup>7<sup>868</sup>7<sup>869</sup>7<sup>870</sup>7<sup>871</sup>7<sup>872</sup>7<sup>873</sup>7<sup>874</sup>  
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 7<sup>888</sup>7<sup>889</sup>7<sup>890</sup>7<sup>891</sup>7<sup>892</sup>7<sup>893</sup>7<sup>894</sup>7<sup>895</sup>7<sup>896</sup>7<sup>897</sup>7<sup>898</sup>7<sup>899</sup>7<sup>900</sup>  
 7<sup>901</sup>7<sup>902</sup>7<sup>903</sup>7<sup>904</sup>7<sup>905</sup>7<sup>906</sup>7<sup>907</sup>7<sup>908</sup>7<sup>909</sup>7<sup>910</sup>7<sup>911</sup>7<sup>912</sup>7<sup>913</sup>  
 7<sup>914</sup>7<sup>915</sup>7<sup>916</sup>7<sup>917</sup>7<sup>918</sup>7<sup>919</sup>7<sup>920</sup>7<sup>921</sup>7<sup>922</sup>7<sup>923</sup>7<sup>924</sup>7<sup>925</sup>7<sup>926</sup>  
 7<sup>927</sup>7<sup>928</sup>7<sup>929</sup>7<sup>930</sup>7<sup>931</sup>7<sup>932</sup>7<sup>933</sup>7<sup>934</sup>7<sup>935</sup>7<sup>936</sup>7<sup>937</sup>7<sup>938</sup>7<sup>939</sup>  
 7<sup>940</sup>7<sup>941</sup>7<sup>942</sup>7<sup>943</sup>7<sup>944</sup>7<sup>945</sup>7<sup>946</sup>7<sup>947</sup>7<sup>948</sup>7<sup>949</sup>7<sup>950</sup>7<sup>951</sup>7<sup>952</sup>  
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 7<sup>979</sup>7<sup>980</sup>7<sup>981</sup>7<sup>982</sup>7<sup>983</sup>7<sup>984</sup>7<sup>985</sup>7<sup>986</sup>7<sup>987</sup>7<sup>988</sup>7<sup>989</sup>7<sup>990</sup>7<sup>991</sup>  
 7<sup>992</sup>7<sup>993</sup>7<sup>994</sup>7<sup>995</sup>7<sup>996</sup>7<sup>997</sup>7<sup>998</sup>7<sup>999</sup>7<sup>1000</sup>

issues and has expanded the range of contacts and mutual interests with Canadian Inuit. Although Canadian Inuit are sceptical about applying home rule precedents to northern Canada, they are interested in various specific features and in the broader experience of cultural and administrative development in Greenland.



ATGOMINAKTOLIOTOK KANOK NUNATIAM KAVAMAIT HAVAOHINIK, HAVANGITAINKLONIN, IHONAGHIMAYOGALOIT INUINAIT PIOMAYOHIT. IL-OLIKAMTIOTLONIN ATOKTAGHALOANIK.

ALATLONIN PIYAVALOIT PIGOLGAYAKTAIT DRURY OKAOHT HAVITAOGIAKTIAGIT. JANUARY, 1979 MI, INUINAIT AKOKITOMI AGHOHOTIK NIGOAGHIMAYOGALOIT "NANMINIK ILITKOHINGOMAPLCIT", IHOMALIOGOHIAT NIGOAGHIMAYAMIK KAVAMALIKIYIGHAKTAKMIK AIYKOTIGIHAMOGAMIK TONONGANI KANATAM, HILGAHOTIKAKTO ATANGITLO KATIKAGOMAKMATA INUIT HIVOLIGHOKTINIK TAKOPIAKLOGIT OKAOTIGIOMAPLOGO APIKON INUIT IHOMAINAKTOLIAT MALIGALIKANI. ANGKATIGIYOHOTIKLA NAONAIYAIYOMAPLOK HAVAOHIAAGON TAFOMA INUINAKNO PINAHOAGHOTIK INUINAIT PIKATIGILOGINA-OAKLOGIT. HIVOAGON TAFOMA TOHAGHAOYOKANGITOK KANATAM ONIPKAOYOHAGON AKIMAYOHITA ILITKOHIAON OVALO HONNGIKTTA OKAMANIAOTAT TAPKOA OKIOKTAKTOMIOT IN-





They also agreed to conduct detailed work on that subject with as much native participation as possible. Such recognition, won by no other group in Canadian history, certainly weakened the argument of those northerners who denied that native people had any special claim for attention in northern political development. During the year various meetings and commitments followed. One northern native leader proposed to Prime Minister Clark that just as southern regions had entered full Confederation in Canada according to their local circumstances and history, the north should enter on the basis of the native history and land occupation, a view which the Prime Minister began to study before his government fell.

In September, 1979, Inuit Tapirisat held its annual general meeting in Igloolik. With a large number of expert advisers reflecting the complex work in many fields now under development by the Inuit, and the many reports from organisations set up under the Inuit Tapirisat

UNIAIT PIHIMATAKAKNIPILOGIT AYOIYONMIK IL-  
ITOGIMAYAOYOGHAMIK OKIOTAKTOM KAVAMA-  
LIKIOHIANIK OKIONI ALATKINI KATIMANIGIT  
MALIGHAOYAKPACTOK, ATAOKHICKTAOK  
OKIOTAKTOMI INUINAK HIVONIOKTIYOK FIT-  
KOYOK PRIME MINISITAMIK KAPLONAT ILITK-  
HIKALIAGIATKLOGIT (ATOLIGIATKLOGIT) KANA-  
TAM ATAOHINGOKTIOHIANIK ILITKOHIMIKOVOLO  
ONIPKANGOYOHIMIKONLO, OKIOTAKTOK PIYA-  
KALIKNIPILOGO INUINAIT ONIPKANGOYOHIANIK-  
LO NUNAKAOHIANIKLO, TAOTOA TAFOMA PRIME  
MINISTAM TAKAGHAOALIKTA KAVAMAT HON-  
NGIKTAOTINAGIT.

SEPTEMBER, 1979 MI, INUIT TAPIRISAT KATIMAP-  
YOAKTOK IKLOOLIKMI. AMIGAITOIK AYOITOKTAGI-  
AGHOTIK AYOIGHAGHIMAKTOK HAVAGHAVALOK-  
NIK KOYAGINAK ATOKPALIKTAINIK INUIT, AMI-  
GAITONIKLO TOHAKATAGHIMAGHOTIK KATOYIVA-  
LOKNIK ATANIKTOGAOYONIN TAPIRSATKONIN,  
KATIMAYOT AYIKOHIKTOKLOAKTAIT KAVAMAT-  
KOT PINAHOAKLOAKTAMIKON APIGHOLOAHKI-  
MAITOMIK INUINAIT. OKAOTAOLAOAGHIMAYOK:  
NUNAKTOAMI MALIGAGHAK NUNAVUTLO KAVA-  
MAITA ILITKOHIGHAT. OPLONI AMIHONI NUNA-  
VUT OKAOTAJOYOK — KATIMAYONI, IKLON ILDA-

aegis, the gathering more resembled a government in its capital than a native lobby group. The main subjects under discussion were the developing work on the national constitution and the proposal for a Nunavut territorial government. For days Nunavut was discussed — in meetings, in halls, in long walks outside the smoky meeting room — and at last a detailed plan was adopted. (This will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.) But the Inuit gathered from communities in all parts of northern Canada also dealt with many of the most mundane and technical matters too. The new Commissioner of the NWT assured the Inuit of his desire to replace the former confrontation policies with co-operation and openness. Various joint government-Inuit committees were agreed to, as well. A new era had begun and the new north had been recognised.

The change was complete the following month. In October, 1979, elections in which the native movement for the first time endorsed participation, returned a new type of Legislative Assembly, one full of young and energetic native leaders and younger, more open-minded whites. This new Legislative Assembly lost no time in reversing and discarding many of the actions and positions of its predecessor.

NI, PIHO% YAKTON HILAMI POYOKTOMILO KATIMAVIKMI — IHOMAGIYAT ILITKOHINIKTAJNATOK. (KINGOVAKON TAMNA OKAOTAONIAKOK KINGOLIKMI). ILATAOK INUIT KATIGHOKTOK KOGAGINAK NUNAININ TAMANIN KANATA OKIOKTAKTOININ HOLIAGILOAKTAIT AMIGAITOT AYKOTAOPTAKTOTOLAYOKNATKIYATLORIPIYOTIVALOIT. NOTAK KAMISINA NUNATIAM KATIMAYAKTOKATAOYOK AKALAOTTIAGHOGITOLINIUT HI-MAOHIGHIYOMAYOHIMINIKAYOGHOTVALOIT ILITKOTITOLYOMALIKATINIGITOLANGIGHIMANIGITLO. ALATKIT KAVAMALIKINIGITINUUT KATIMAYIGALANGITANGIGOTAOYOT, NOTAK ILITKOHIKAKMAKTOKNOTAKLOOKIOKTAKTOKILITAGIMAYAO-IKTOK.

ALANGOHIGHAK INIKTOK KINGOLIKMI  
TATKIGHIONMI. OCTOBER MI, INUIT NIGOANNGA-  
LIHAKTOK ALOYATIGHAMIKNIK ILAPVLIOITIGHA-  
MIKNIK, OTIGIATOK NOTAK MALIGLIOKTIT, IN-  
ULGAMIT HIGAHOKTOKTINUINAIT HIVONIOTKG-  
HAT INULGAMIOTKIYAOPLOTIKLO, IHOMATOTKI-  
YAT KAPLONANIN. TAPKOA NOTAT MAIGALIOK-  
TIOLKOT IHOAGHAILKNAHANGITOT HOVALOK-  
NIK HIMOLIMIK IHOAMAGIYITAANIK.





# Chapter Four

## SEVERAL REGIONS, ONE NUNAVUT

At the end of the 1970s, the opportunity for sorting out the political future of the Northwest Territories appeared bright. The anger and passions of the previous decade had been transformed into new conditions where interest groups and power balances were more generally accepted. Politics had not become cool and relaxed, but the self-confidence of all groups gained through years of debate and conflict was creating a more mature political situation. The north had political spokesmen and leaders aplenty, representing all viewpoints, and these men and women had come to recognise that some degree of mutual accommodation and reconciliation was necessary for any political progress.

## **AMIHOT NUNALAT, ATAOHIK NUNAVUT**

NONGOANI 1970 TIT, IHAGHAIVLIOTIGHAT KAVAMALIKIYOHIGHATA NUNAVOT AVIGHIMANIGATA KOVIANAGHIYOMIKTOK. MAMANIKLO KILANAKNIKO HIVONGANI OKIOT ALANGOKYOMIKTOK HILGAHOKTONON TONIKTONIGHAKLAHOKANGIKAHOKTONIKTOK. TAFOMA IHOAGHITYOTINGINTA ILIKTOKITLIO HAILILOYAGOTIGILINGITAT, KIHIMITAOK HIVONILIK IHOMAINAKTOKNIGAT TAMAKMIK INUIT OKIONI AMIGAITONI AGHOGOTIGIVAGAT OKAGHOTIKO AYOGHAKPAHOHKMINKONLO PIOMINAGHIVALIAYOHIA KAVAMALIKINIGOM ILITKOHIAKI. OKIOKTAKTO KAVAMALIKINIKON OA-KAKTINIKTOK HIVONIOTKIGIAGHIPONILO AMIGAITONIK, PIYILIKTOIYONIK IHOMAYOHIVALOKNNIK, TAPKOAKNATLO ANGOTITO ILITAGHIMAYOYALIKTOT INUTIT ALATKIGOHIANIK PIOMAYOHINKLO PIOMAYALOAONGINKA KAVAMALIKINIGOM.

TALVATAOLONIN, ANGINILOIT AVALIGHOTIK. NUNATIATKANGIYOK, ILOLILIK MALKOKNI ILITKOHILIOAKNIK AFIMAYOKNKO NUNAKAGHOTIK. KATIMAYILIK NOTANIK MALIGALIOTKINIK, ATOHINGOM KATIMAYIGALANGIT, OKAGHIMAYOT OCTOBER, 1980 MI, INUIT OKIOTAKTOMGOK, INUINAVALT, TAPYAOHIMANGINIPLOGIT NUNATIAM KAVAMAITA ILITHOKHIGILIKTAININ. PIYOTIGILOAKTA TAFOMA ATANIKTOKTAOYOHIA NUNAM ALATKIGHIALO ILITKOTT, NIIGIOTHITO ILITKOHITLO INUIT TAPKOKNAKNI NUNAKNI. NAPAKTOKAKNINGOM HILAKAOHIA AVGOTAONGITOK.

TONONNGA NAPAKTOKAKNIGOM TAGIOK ILIT-KOHIKAKVIGIYAT INUIT, ATAHOITOAK NUNAT — KAMIKYOAK — ILITKOHIKANGITOK INGILGAKNIT-AMIK HINANI. KIHINAONGITOKON INUIT INUYOT-KAKPAKTOK TAGIOMINGAKTANIK, KIHIMITAOK PIVALIAYOMIN HINATA ANGOTIGHAINIK OMIAYOIT-LO ILITKOHIANIN, NUNAKYOAALMO ALATLO NU-NAKYOIT MALIGAITIGON OKAMAYOTIGIVAGAITI-GON MALIGAITIGON OKIOKTAKTOM IMAOTAITI-GON ILOANILO ANGOTIGHAIT<sup>¾</sup>GON PIOMAYO-HIATIGON ALANGAYONIK PITKOHIKAGOMAYOH-IAT HIVOLIOTILOGIT KAVAMANIN. ATOKTAONA-HOAGOHIGHA INUINAKTON OKAOHIGILOGO, IN-MINAKNOLONIN INUKNILONIN, ATOGIKTAOLOAK-LONI INUIT HOLIVALONIGINI. AMIHONIGHAT ILITOGIYAT AMHOT INUIT NUNAINI, AMIHONILO OKIONI ILIOTOGHOIVAKAMIK APIGOHIPLOTLIKLO NUNANI ILAGIPLLOGO PIVALIOHIAT INUIT NUNA-



However, the fundamental facts remained. The NWT was a very large area, encompassing two principal cultural groups living in two distinct geographical regions. A committee of the new Legislative Assembly, the Unity Committee, reported in October, 1980, that the people of the north, particularly the native people, were seriously alienated from the territorial government system which had developed. A principal cause was the extent of the area governed and the different styles, hopes and conditions of the people in those two areas. The tree-line was not just a climatic boundary.

North of the tree-line was the maritime culture of the Inuit, only one of whose communities — Baker Lake — did not have a significant coastal orientation. Not only did Inuit still live from food harvested from the seas, but the rapidly developing offshore resources and shipping technologies, and the national and international legal disputes over the regulation of arctic waters and the species which inhabited them, demanded a different set of policies and priorities from governments. The revival of Inuktitut as the main language, for all purposes private and public, made demands on the delivery of public services. And the con-

LIKINIGATA, ILITKOHINIGHIMAYOK KAVAMALIKI-  
NIGOM ILITKOHIANIK. INUIT NUNAMIKNI HIVO-  
LIGHOIYIT IHIOAGHAHIMANGINAKTOT NUNAT  
MANIKAOTGHAINIK PILAYAMIKNIK KOAPMIKON,  
KIHUMITAOK AKONI IGHIVAVAKTOT TAKIYONI  
KATIMANIKNI TILYIAOHIMAYOTLO ANGINIGIT  
HAVAKVIVALOIT AKIMAYOTIKAGAHOGITOTIK IH-  
AKNIGHAITIGON NALVAGHIOKNIGHTALO PIVAL A-  
NIGHTALO PIVALIANIGHATLO ATOKTAOYOGHAT.  
ATOGIKTAGHALOANGANIK ATANIKAKVIATA  
NUNAVUT NUNAITA ILITOGIMAYAOYOK KAPLONT  
KAVAMAININ OKIONI HIVOLIKNI TAIMANI. KIHIMI  
TAYA PIYOTA AKLIYOMIKTOK. KATIYOTIGIYAT  
INUITA NUNAVUT KAPLONANON OATATALO  
NAPAKTOKAKNIGOM PIYPTIKAKLOAKTOK NAN-  
MINIKI ATANIKTOIYOTIGHAMIK TONIKTOYOMIK  
PIGHAMAKTIGINIKO MANIKAKNIGHAM  
AOLAYOAHIANIKLO ILITKOHIA.

1960 MI NUNAVUT NUNA ILOLIKAKTOK MIKIYONIK INITOKLIKNIK AKLIOYOMITAKTONIK INUNIKPALIAGAMIK HANIVANIK KITONNGAGINNIKOL AC LAYAKTONIK NUNANI ANGOTIGHAGHIQIQTOTNIK. NONGOANI 1960 TIT NOTAT NUNAT AOLAGOTIVALLIYOT AHININ INUNIKTIGHOTIK, AYOGHAOTIK, AGHOTIK NAYOGHAONGITONIK. TAHPKOA TAMINGITOLIGIT, MALGOK MIHKNAGHIYOK. KIVOLIK AYOKNAILGOK OVA KILAMIK INUIT INUGIAGHILIGAMIK NOTANGOVALAGHOTIK, INULGAMIDNIGIT NALITA HONGIOTILAGHOTIK KIKAO-LILAKILAGHOTIKLO HIYAGHavalonin. TAPKOANTAONIGIT, ILAGNAITOT HONAVALOKNIK, TAO-

siderable experience gained with the public bodies of all types now found in Inuit communities, and years of detailed research and consultation in the communities accompanying the development of the Inuit land claims, had created a sophisticated political culture. Inuit community leaders continued to work out the best local economic arrangements they could through their co-ops, but they also routinely sat in long meetings with the representatives of giant industrial enterprises and debated the best forms for exploration and development to take. The need for a capital and an administration suited to the needs of this great Nunavut region had been clear to southern governments many years before, but now the reasons had multiplied. What joined the people of Nunavut with the people south and west of the tree-line was only the demand for more self-governing powers and a stake in resources development action and impacts.

In 1960 the Nunavut area had consisted of small villages growing dramatically as they received the scattered Inuit camps and families who formerly ranged over the lands and seas in the quest for their livelihood. By the end of the 1960s the new communities were startling in their suburban atmosphere, but troubled with many problems of dislocation. While these have by no means vanished, two factors have intervened. The first and simplest is that the fast-growing Inuit population is overwhelmingly young, and the young of any society are quick to adapt and to be excited by new opportunities. This young population, seeing the limits of the material development poured into their land, has eagerly sought to immerse itself in its people's values and traditions as a source of strength and stability. This apparently contradictory blending of old and new is one of the hardest things for the southern Canadian society to understand because it flies in the face of the 19th century progress and expansion ideologies which were the roots of the development of the Canadian

TOKTOT HOVALOIT PIVALIAYOHIT ILIYAOKAFOKTTON ILYOT NUNAMIKNON KINIGHALIGHOTIK-LO TALILVIGHAMINIK ANGINIGINON IL-IKOHITOKAINON INUNMI HAKOGIOTIGHAMINCN. TAMNA ILLITKOHILIOTNAKTOK NOTANONLO O-O-KAKNMONL AYONAKNIVALANGINON KAPLO-NANGINON KANATA INUITA HENIVIGHINAHOAK-PAGHIMAYAITA HANMIKMAN INGILGAKNITANON AKLIOYIMIHALIO INUYOTIM ATAVILOANGAT PI-VALIANIGITA KANATAMIOT NUNATA, OKOA AH-NIKMIOT KANATAMILIKTOT. AYOGHAOTIGIHIMAIT-PALAKT TONIKTOYOT FRENCHLO BRITISHLO TAKONGIHINALAITAT TAMNA,ILA, PIYAGIVAGAT PILOGO INGLGA ILLITKOHIC.

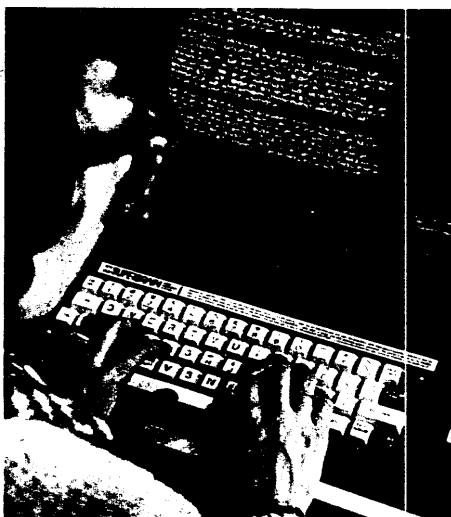
TOKLIATAOK PIYAOLOAKPAKTOK NUNAVUT IL-OANI KAVAMALIKINIKGOM PIVALIOHIA PIVALIO-  
TAOKMIOK NUNAT INUININ, ILOTIGIYOMIGHOG-  
ITLO PIYOMITOAIT NUNATIMLO NUNAKYOAMLO  
ILIKOHIT. PIYOTIGIPLOGIT KOAPLO, NUNATLO  
NALAOHIKIVIT, PIVALIOHIT NUNALGIT AKLIOY-J-  
MIOTIGIPLOGO CARROTHERS PITKOHIMAYAIT  
NUNAT PINAHOAKTILOANGIT — IKLOKAKNIGHA-  
MON, ANGOHIKINIGHAMON, NUNANIK MONAGHI-  
NIGHANIK, OMATON — ILAGIPLOGIT NUNAT  
KITIMAYITLO NOTATO NUNALAT KATIMAYIT  
KATIGHOIYOT NUNAT HIVONIOKTINIK OKAO-  
TIKAKPLOGIT AYOGHAOTAOKVAKTOTOKAT, AMI-  
GAIGOTIVIALAGAMIK INUIT UNINUKPALIKOT AMI-  
GAIGILIGAMIKIK KTUMANIGHAT ATAOKHIMI PIGI-



nation, at least of the European Canadian nation. It has been too easy for the descendants of the powerful French and British empires to overlook the fact that they, too, do what they do because of long-rooted cultural attitudes.

The second factor in Nunavut's internal political development has been the development of local and regional public bodies, as well as experience gained in territorial and national politics. Starting with co-ops and community radio stations, the development of local bodies accelerated in line with the Carrothers recommendations. Local special-purpose bodies — for housing, game management, community centre management, for instance — as well as community councils and then the more recent regional councils bringing together community leaders to discuss common problems, have proliferated to the point that many Inuit groan at the number of meetings they must attend in any given week. As well, through the regional and national Inuit organisations, Inuit have been able to voice their own concerns on wide-ranging matters and not just within the confines of limited mandates. The scattered population of the camps of old now meet and live together in settled communities, and have worked their way through many new structures to recover more control of their own lives. But at the territorial level where decisions must be resolved, they are blocked — a permanent minority whose interests always take a back seat to Mackenzie Valley development, and like all other NWT residents, lacking responsible government.

The several regions of Nunavut have their own characteristics, but are united by more than divides them. The Mackenzie Delta area was the scene of the first large-scale arctic development, from the building of the town of Inuvik to the Beaufort Sea oil and gas activities. It experienced the largest influx of southern, non-Inuit people at a time when protection of cultural and environmental values was little considered or understood by govern-



AKNIKMI KATIMAVIGHATIK. ILAGIPLOGIT NL NALATLO NUNAKYOOTLQ INUIT KATOYIKATIGINGITA IKAYOGHOTINAHOHGIPAGAIT ATAOHVIGH- MANAHOAGHOTIK PINAHOGHITPAGAIT ILA TAPKOTIGONA INUIT NIPTIK TOHAGIOTIVAMATIGIK IHO MAGIYAMIKON ANGINIVALOKTIGON TTIGAGHI- MAYOINAONGITOTIGON. APTATAKIHIMAYOT INUIT INITOKLIVALOKNI ATOKTAOVAKTOKTOKANI IN- GILGA TAYA KATITPALIGHOTIKLO NOATKAT GIL- IGHOTIKLO INITOKLIKTAAONYI, HIVOMOKTOK- PALIAGHOTIKLO ATOLIKPALIAPILOTIK AMIHONIK IILTOKTINIK NOTANIK AOLALIKPAIAPLOGITLO INUTITIK. KIHIMI AVIGHIMANIGOM IILTOKHIAAGON IHOMALIOGOTIGHAT INIGIAKAGANGATA, AFKO- TAILITPAKTO — AMIGAITPALANGINAMIK HOLI- YOKALITOAGANGAN TONOLIOYOYALIKPAKTOT KOGOM PIVALIYOHIAAGON. AYIKOHIGHOGIT TAMAITA NUNATIAKMIOT, KAVAMALIKOTIKANGI- NAMIK.

KIHIMI ATAOHIVIGHIMAYOT AMIAITKIYAININ  
AVIKTAOHITNIN. KOGOM PANGATA NUNA HIVOLI-  
KON OKIOKTAKTOMI PIVALIAVIOYOK, IKLOK-  
PIVIOLIAHIAGON INUVOIM TAIAGOMON OGHOK-  
YOAGHIGHOTIKLO KASALIGHIGHOTIKLO. TAHA-  
PNALO ILITOGIPLONI KAPLONAT ILITKHONIK  
AMIHOVALANIK, KAPLONAT TALVONA MONAGHI-

ments. It is not surprising, therefore, that here the first Inuit organisation, COPE, developed. Under the pressure of various project proposals COPE advanced to land claims negotiations first among Inuit groups in the NWT, and as government policies and project proposals have fluctuated, the COPE-area Inuit have suffered more than their share of uncertainty. It is for this reason that COPE has developed, as part of its program, the concept of a Western Arctic Regional Municipality (WARM) as a way to guarantee adequate local power for the people in whatever jurisdictional arrangements are eventually adopted by governments.

The COPE area has also been heavily influenced by the work of Inuit in Alaska, as well as the massive developments on both sides of the international Canada-US boundary in the Beaufort Sea. A distinctive Inuktitut dialect, the unique riches and ecology of the huge

YIYOT ILITKOTINIKLO MANIKAKNIGHAKONLO  
IHOMAGITIAKTAOHIMATOMIK OVALONIN HI-  
VONIGHIMAYAATIGAKT KAVAMANIN. AKLIKVAI-  
TOK, TAIMAITOMIK, TALVA TAPKOA TALVANI IN-  
UIT KATOYT HIVOLIT, COPE-DOT, HONAGOKTOK,  
AKLINAITKIYAMIKAQ TITIGAOHIGHAKTOK  
KATOYIYONMIKNON. PITKOYOHIAGON ALATKIT  
COPE-KOT NUNALIKINIKMIK AVIAYOTIKALIKTOK  
INUIT NUNATAMI, KAVMAT ILITKOHIT LO  
PINHAOGAITLO AVATIKNOKPAKTTOTILOGIT,  
COPE—KOT NUNAITA INUIT NANGYOTIKAKTOK  
NALOPIGHAKNIKMIK. ONA PIYOTIGIPLIGO COPE  
AKLIYOK, ILAGIPLIGO PIYAGHAMIKNON, ILOLA  
OALIT OKIOKTAKTOMI NUNALAT MONAGHINIGAT  
(WARM) APKOTIGIPLIGO KOLAKNAYOTIGATH  
NUNALGIT TONIKTONIGHAT INUIT HOTIGOLONIN  
ATAIKTOINIGHAM IHOGHAOTAITIGON ATOGIK-  
TAOLIKPALIAYOT KAVAMANIN

COPE-KOT NUNAT AYOIGOTAVALIAYOK HAVA-OHIAITON INUIT ALASKAMI, PIVALIAYOTIKALI-GHOTIKLO ATONI NUNAKYOAKNI KANATA-AMIA-LIKAMLO AVIGHIMANIGANI BEAUFORT TAGION-GANI. NAONAITOK INUINAIT QAOAHIAIT ATACH-





Mackenzie Delta itself and a strong tradition of independence in the face of outside pressures have given the COPE area a spirit of independence which is not always well understood by outsiders.

But every region of Nunavut has its own history. The administrative districts established by governments have contributed to the cohesion of the eastern arctic, particularly in the period when the camps were giving way to settlements and government administrators seemed to be in charge of all aspects of Inuit life. Life for a decade or two focussed so heavily on the local community and region that the wider interests of Inuit were sometimes forgotten. It is a great tribute to the work of the Inuit organisations making up Inuit Tapirisat, to the many gatherings of community spokesmen sponsored by the NWT administration, as well

VIGHIMAYOK ILINGAIYOHIK INUKAKNIGHALLO  
ATAKTOYOM KOGOM PANGATA TONIKTOYOMIK  
ILIKHOKAGAHOGITOT INMIKOKLOTIK HOIGIHI-  
MAITOMIK KAPLONAT PITKOIYOHIAH KANIKON  
KIHIMI KAVAMAT NALVAGOHIATA TONIYAIT  
COPE-KOT ILIKOGOTIHAMIK HIVONIGIMAYDA-  
TIAYOITOKLONIN KAPLONANIN.

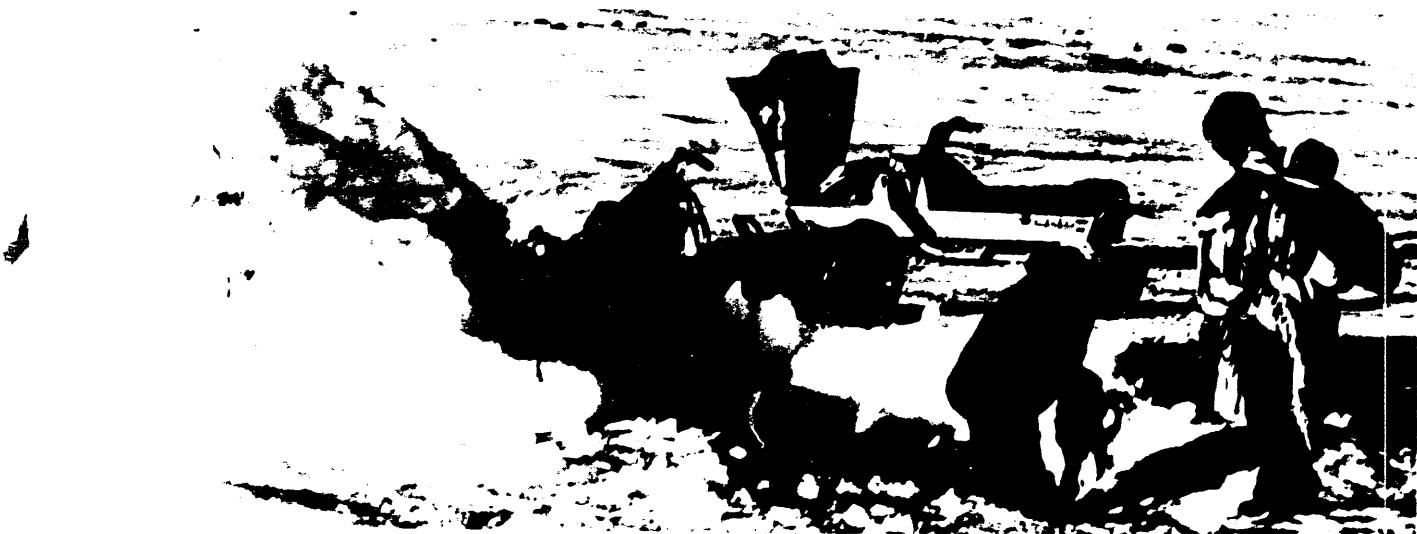
KIHIMI TAMAKMIK NUNAIT NUNAVUT ONIPKAOTIKAKTOK ILIKON. AOLAPKAIVIYOT INIGHIMA-YAIT KAVAMAT TONIHIHIMAYOT APTOANGIYOTI-GHANIK KIVALIT, OKONANALAK ANGONIAKVALOIT NOKTILIKMATA NUNATOKLIOLIKTONON KAVAMATLO AOLATIYIT MONAGHIVIALIKMATA IUYOHNIK INUIT. INUYOHIK AMIHOIN OKICNI HANMILOALIKTOK NUNALGIT NUNAINON INUIT PIOMALOAKTAIT PIOGOKTAPLOTIK ILANI. TONYOTAOLOAKTOK HAVAOSHINON INUIT KATO-YINON HANAPLOTIK INUIT TAPIRISATKONIK, AMIGAITONON KATITPAGHOTIK NUNAT OKAKTIGIYAITA AOLATAINIK NUNATIAM AOLAYOHIATA, TAPIGIPLOGO ONAGOINIK AOLAYAGHONI INUKNIKLO APGHONIK NIQOAOKTAOHIMAYONIK ILAO-

as to the tireless travelling and public consultation of the elected Nunavut Members of the Legislative Assembly, that Inuit have again found mutual help and cultural renewal in their commonality.

Increasingly Inuit have found strength in unity. National organisations and national efforts have grown. Even in such traditional areas as language development, the tendency is to overcome regional problems and strengthen Inuktitut as a language for the future. Canadian Inuit have joined in the formation of the Inuit Circumpolar conference, an organisation which brings together the Inuit of Alaska, Greenland and Canada, and here too problems such as economic development, environmental management, cultural and language co-operation are receiving much attention. Inuit have not developed grandiose political platforms, but have consistently sought to find practical means of co-operating on the practical problems they face.

**YONIK MALIGALIOKTINI, INUIT IKAYOKTIGILIKTAININ ILIKOTITLO NOTANGOKTAKNIGIT ATOKTAO-YOTIGHAMIKNI.**

INIT NALVAKPALIAPLOTIK HAKOGIGOTIGHAMIK  
ATAOHINIMKI, NUNAKYOT KATOYIT NUNATLO PI-  
NAHOAGAIT AKLIYOMIKTOK, HOTIGOLONIN I-  
TOHITOKATIGN OKAOTIM PIYOMIKNIGATON AYO-  
GOIKPALIALOGIT AYOGHAOTIVALOIT TONIKTOHI-  
YOMIKLOGOLO INUINAKTON INIT ȐKAOHIGHAT.  
KANATAMIOT INIT ILALIOTIKMIOT INUIT OIKI-  
TAKTOMI KATIMAYOHIANON, TOFOMA KATOYI-  
KATIGIKNIGOM KATIGHOKTTIPAGAIT INUIT  
ALASKAO, AKOKITOM KANATAMLO, TALVANILO-  
TAQ AYOGHAOTIT HAPKOAK MANIKAKNIGHAM  
PIVALIAYOHIT, AVATIMILO MONAGIYOTIGHAT.  
ILITKITOLO OKAOTITL IHOAGIYAJOYOHIT ILAGI-  
NAKTAONGIT. IGIYAGHALAO INUIT ANAGAI-  
YAGOTIKAKTOGHAONGIT KAVAMALIKINIMIK,  
KIHIMI IHOGHAOTIGHALOAMIK KINGHAYOGHA-  
YOT IHOAGHAOTIGHAGHIOKLOGIT  
AYOGHAOTAOYOT HANMIYATIK.





CALC ԱՐԴՔՈՒՅՆԸ ԾՐԱԾԵՎ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ  
ԽԱՆՐԱԾԵՎ ԱՐԴՔՈՒՅՆԸ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ  
1898-Ի ՄԱՅ 1 ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ



# Chapter Five

## THE NUNAVUT PROPOSAL

Nunavut is a practical proposal developed by Inuit Tapiriyat over many years of working with the communities and other groups in the arctic. It is, at its simplest, merely a reflection of geographic, cultural, administrative and political realities. Nunavut is, but of course the form a Nunavut government might take is variable.

In developing the Nunavut proposal, Inuit spent many years of discussion and even presented to Ottawa an earlier proposal which was withdrawn for further study. They wanted something which addressed the practical problems Inuit faced in their homeland, something which was built on the traditional and more recent experience of Inuit with decision-making structures and something which was familiar to Canadian governments fearful of novelties which too often led to cries of "separatism". Inuit, tired of being marginalized in Canada,

## **NUNAVUT PINAHOAGA**

NUNAVUT PINAHOAGAGHALOYOK AOLAGOTIYAT  
INUIT TAPIRISAT OKIONI AMIHONI HANAKIHIMA-  
YAT NUNATL PIKATIPILOGOT ALATLO AKIOK-  
TAKTOMI. TAKONAKTOMI HIVOANI KANITOKON.  
ILA, AYOKNAITKIYAOKMAN, TAGAKFOA NUNAO-  
YALIKNIGOM. ILIKOTITLO. AOLAYOHIALO  
KAVAMALIKINIGOM HAUKLOVIOKNAINIGA. NUNA-  
VUTILA TAOTOGI NUNAVUT KAVAMAITA PIHA-  
HOAGAT ALATKIKMATA.

PIYOMIGAHOAGHOGO NUNAVUT PINAHOAGA, INUIT AKONI OKAKPAKTOK TONIHILOITIKO ATOAMON PINAHOAGAGHANIK ONGAVAKTAOHIMA'ONIK ILITOGHOTIAGAHOAGAMIK. PIOMAYAOLOAKMAN HONALIKAK NAONAIYAITIGHALOAK AYOGHAOTVALONON ATOKPAGAMIKON NUNAMKINI. HONAVALOK ILALIOTHIMAYOK ILITKOHITOKANON KANITOVALAKON ILITOGHIMAYAT INUIT IHOMALIOGOHIMIK ILITKOHIAQON INNVIK TAMNALO ILIHIMAYAT KANATAM KAVAMAITA HIVOYGAGIYAT KOINGIKOTAYAT HOVALOKNON ILANGATIGON "APTIGOTAQYOMAYOKTOK". INUIT, ONAGOTIGAMIKO KIKLIKAGAHOAKNIK KANATA-MI, ILAOYOMALIKOT KAVAMALIKINIMILO MAN-KALIOHIGHANILO NUNAMIK. NUNAVUTAQOK PIOMAYOHIATA TAMNA PIHIMALIKTA. IMA TAITOK KANATAMI NUNAKTOKTOKANGOKKLONI. AVINAHOAGHIMATIMIK KANATA

HONA PIYAOLOAKTOK, TALVA, PIOMAYOHIK A/  
GOTIGHANIK NUNATIAM NOTANGOKOPLOGO 'NU-  
NAVUT AVGOTADA NUNA. 1898 MI YUKON NUNA  
ILIKOKTAOYOK NUNATIAMINILA OKPIKNAKTCOK-  
LO ATNIKTOHIGHAKONLIO PIOMALIGAMIK KACY-  
MAYOMAGAMIKO AKLIVIALIYOHIA YUKON ATD-  
LIKILIGO KLNDIKE AMIGAGHOTAT GOLNDIK  
(KANOHAKNIK) NALVAGHIMALIGAMIK. TAIMATDP.  
YAKTAOK AVIGHIMANIT ALBERTAMLO SASKATCH-  
EWAHLO AVIPKACTAOYOK NUNATIAMIN 1905 MI.  
NUNATIAM ILITKHONI ILITKHOGINGITA, KIHINI  
"KHINGOKOK" KANATA HONAGOKTAOVALIAK  
MAN. INUIT TAYA NUNAVUT HONANGOKOLIKAT  
INUIT PIVALIALIKOPLOGIT, TALVA, NIPIKATIALIK-  
LOTIK MONAGHINIKMI INMIK PINAOHKAMIKNIK.  
ATOIKTAOVIKTOK OKIONIK AMIGAITONI KANA-  
TAM KAVAMAITA ILITKHIAH AGHOGHAGAHOA-  
GHOGIT INUINAIT INMIKON MONAGHITKOYAO-  
PLOTIK ALOAYOHIANIK PINAOHKAMIKNIK, KIHI-  
MITAOK MONAGHINIK I LANGATIGON PIYAKAG-  
PLONI KAVAMALIKINIKIMONAGHIIYAKAMICK.



wanted to participate fully in the political and economic life of the country. The Nunavut proposal is a means to enter Canada as full citizens, not to question or depart from Canadian society.

What was selected, then, was a proposal to divide the NWT so that the Nunavut area would be a new territory. In 1898 the Yukon territory was carved out of the NWT because a more realistic and practical jurisdiction was needed to take account of the sudden growth of the Yukon in the wake of the Klondike gold rush. For similar reasons the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were carved out of the NWT in 1905. The NWT is not a natural or logical area, but rather the area "left over" in the process of Canada's nation-building. Inuit now propose that Nunavut be created in order to take account of the new realities and to give Inuit, at last, a real voice in the management of their own affairs.

For some years, official Canadian government policy has been to encourage native people to take more responsibility for managing their own affairs. But responsibility at a certain point involves political responsibility. Inuit are not

INUIT AHIKOVALAK KAVAMALIOGAHOANGITOT  
INUKNON, KINIKTAT KIHIMI KAVAMAGHAK NUNA-  
VUTMI AKMAYOK NUNALIKNON TAMAINCILILA  
MONAGHVIALIOHIGHAT INNMIKON ATOKLOAKTO-  
GHANON ILITKOHIMONLO NUNAMLO ATOGIK-  
TAGIOMAYANON. TAMNATAOK HIVOGAHAGO-  
TAANGITOK KAPLONANON INUIT NUNAA-TONON.  
NAYOGHOGOLO HAVAKVIGIPLOGOLO INIJIT HA-  
VAKATIGIPLOGIT

OVALOTAQK. INUIT INIGIYIAHIMAYOT PINAHOAKAMIKON ALATKITIGON INMIKKIK KA- MAKOTIPLOTIK KAPLONATAQK MONAGITIKA TAOT- KOPLOGIT. TAYALO, KAKOGOLO, KOVIATOKAKO- PLOGIT PILAYOHIKMICKON. ILIKOHILIO TIGHIMA- YOK NUNAVUT MALIGALIOGANAI AYKOHITO GAKHAK INUIT NUNALIKINIGANON. TAOTOGIAGIA FAKTOLI- KOTIGIYA DRURY PITKOYIONMIGON.

HIVIKITOKON, INUIT KIMI HAYOT AVIGHIMAYOMI KAVAMAGHAMIK AIYUKTANIK YUKONLO NUNATIAMLO TAYA ATOKTAKNIK. HIVONIGHA ATAHONGGOYOK AVGOINIGHAT KIHIMI PIYOTIKAKNIKTOK MALIGOTILONIK KAVAMALIKINIGOM ILITKOHIA-NIK KANATAN NUNAITA

NAGOGIYAOYOHIVALANGIT NUNAVUT PIOMAYO-HITA — PILOAGIAGHA "OKPIKNIAGOHIKON ATANIKTOINIK" — HIVONIGHINAITOK. KANATA ATANIKTOGAOYOK TAMANIN AVGOHIMAYONIN ILIT-KOHITIGONLO NUNAITIGONLO INUKNIN PIYAOH-

proposing a special form of government for Inuit; what they seek is a government in Nunavut which would be open to all residents but would enable the large Inuit population to influence those matters of cultural and regional significance. Significantly, this proposal has not appeared threatening to the area's non-Inuit residents who are, after all, living and working with the Inuit by choice.

Furthermore, Inuit have incorporated in their proposal various minority safeguards so that non-Inuit are fully protected, now and in future, in the exercise and enjoyment of their rights to self-fulfillment. A special feature of a Nunavut constitutional act would be its relationship to an Inuit land claims settlement act, a necessity foreseen by the Drury recommendations among others.

In short, Inuit are seeking a territorial government similar to those in the Yukon and NWT at present. Its future evolution would depend on circumstances but would be wholly within the political norms of the Canadian nation.

The most frequent criticism of the Nunavut proposal — that it would create an “ethnically-based jurisdiction” — is difficult to understand. Canada is a federal state which provides for particular cultures and regions in public structures of government, the national constitution and many laws. A Nunavut territory would have a majority of Inuit citizens, but government would be open to all. It is not reasonable for Canadians to deny to a non-European people living in the north the basic rights of Canadian citizenship.

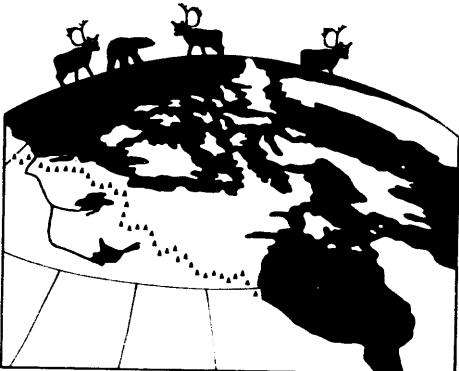
In addressing the question of Nunavut, the old split between administrative and political thinking has surfaced again in Ottawa. Many government officials have argued that the north should be firmly held and managed by Ottawa and not given its political freedom, whereas politicians have been more understanding and accepting of the political rights of people.

MAYONIN KAVAMALIK, NUNAKYOAM ILITKOHILIO-GAIT AMIHOOTLO MALIGILOKAT. NUNAVUT NAN-MINIK INUKAKNIKTOK, NOVA SCOTIATONTAOAK TAMAKMIKTAOK AVGOGHIMAYOT NANMIKNIK IN-UKATOT ATAOTIMINLONIN ALANINLONIN ILIT-KOHILKNIN. KIHIMITAOK KAVAMAT AKMANIAKTOK TAMAISON. IHOITOK KANATAMIOT ANIGOYIKPATA KAPLONAGOGINGITONONIK NU-NAHIMA YONIK OKIOKTAKTOMI IILTOKHIKALIK-TOK KANATAM NUNAKAOHIGILIKTANIK.

OKATIGIPLIGO APIKOTA NUNAVUT, AVIGHIMANI-MINIK AOAATIYONMILO KAVAMALIKINIK MILO HA-TOKOMIKTOYAKTOK ATOAMI. AMIGAITOT KAVA-MAT HAVAKTTA AGHOGHAOTIGIVAGAT OKIOT-TAKTOK TIGOMIKTOGAGHAOYOK MONATAOLO-NILO ATOAMIN TONITALILOGO KAVAMALIKINI-GOM NIAMGIYAGOHIANON, TAIMAINMAN KAVA-MALIKIYT HIVONIGHIMANIAKTTOT NAMAGOHOKTOT KAVAMALIKINGO IHOMAINAK-TOHIANIK MALIGHOGIT INUIT IHOMAINAKTOHIAIT.



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# Chapter Six

## EPILOGUE

In April, 1982, a plebiscite was sponsored by the Government of the Northwest Territories on the question of dividing the NWT, that is, of creating Nunavut. In the eastern arctic where the majority of the Nunavut population lives, 80% of the votes were cast for Nunavut in a voter turnout higher than in previous national, territorial and local elections. Inuit Tapirat, which led the campaign for Nunavut, was especially pleased that non-Inuit residents had voted strongly in favour.

In the communities of the western arctic, the vote was uneven and closer, apparently due to confusion over various proposals by Inuit and other native groups for where land claims boundary lines would be drawn. Some Inuit feared that one or other boundary line might separate them from their usual hunting areas, for instance.

The voter turnout in the Mackenzie Valley was divided. The Dene and Metis by and large voted strongly for division because it

KINGOLIA

APRIL, 1982 MI, NIGOAKTITIYOT KVAMAIT NUNATIAM APIGHYOTIKSGHOTIK AVGOTTIG-ANNU-NATIUM, IMA, NUNAVUNGOGHINAHOGHOTIK. KIVATANI AMIHONIGIT INUIT NUNAVUT'MI ITOT, 80% NIGOAGOTIT AGHOGHIMAYOT NUNAVUGHAMI KOLIOTKIYAOPLOTIK NUNAKYOAKNIOT NI-GOAGOHININ. INUIT TAPIRISAT ALOAPKAIOAK-TOT TAFOMINGA NUNAVUKAGOMAYOT KOVIA-TAKTOK KAPLONAT AGHOGHOTIK NIGOAKMATA NAMAGOOGHOTIK.

NUNATAOK OATANI, AYIKINGITOT NAN APYATKIYAOPLOTIK, AYOGHAOTIGIYAT NALOPIGHAOHTIK AMIGOTIGON INUIT PIOMAYOHITIGON ALATLQ INUINAIT HOKPANI AVGOTIM AVIGHIMANITA TITIGHIMANIT INIAGIAGHITA. ILANGITA INUIT HIVOGAGIYAT ATAOHIKLONIN AHIALONIN AVGOTIM ATOLAIKTITAGHA ANGONIAKPAKVINIMITIK, OMATON.

NGOAKNIGIT KOKMION AVGOGHIMAYOT (ALAT-KIKTOK). ITKLITLITO ITKILIPYAITLO AMIHONIGHAO-  
PLOTIK TONIKTOHAKTOT AVGOTIGHAKON ILA  
PIOMALOAKTAOVAGHIMAYOK KAVAMALIKINIGOM  
ALANGOHIGHA AFIMAFVAOHIKTIK ITKAOMAGI-  
PLOGO INUKNIN. TONIKTOHAKTONI KAPLONAT  
NUNAGIYAINI, ILA, NGOAKTOK NAGOHOGHOTIK  
AVGOTIGHAMIK KIHIMI IKITPALAGAMIK AYIKO-  
HIKTOPYAGHOGO iNUIT PIOMAYOHIAIT. NGOA-  
GOTILOIT PIOMALOAGHIMAYOT AVGOTIGHAMIK.  
KANITOKINAAKTOA, NUNATIAM MALIGALIQTIT  
NGOAKTOK 19 — 0 AVGOTIGHAKON.

MALGALIKIYITLO INUITLO KATOYIVALOIT NUNAVUT ILITKOHIGHALIQTOT, ILOLILIK MALKOKNIK NUNAVUT MALIGALIOQTIKNIK. MINIHITAKANE TOLOGANAKLO DENNIS PATTERSON-LO, INUIT TAPIRISAT ATANIAT JOHN AMAGOALIKLO COPE-KOTLO ATANIAT PETEF GREEN. OKAOHIIK ILLIKIITOYOGHAK HANAKIYONIK ILITKOHIGHAINIK NUNAVUT MALIGALIOQAGHAINIK, ILITOGHOIYOGHANIK PIYAGHALOANIK, PIKATAKLONI TOHAGHITIGILONILO NUNAVUGHAMIK. (TAIMAILILOGHIMAKMOT NUNATIAM QATANIMAL-GOK HAVAKATIGIGHOTIK PIYOTIKAGHAQGHOTIK MALIGALIOQNIKON)

NOVEMBER 26, 1982 MI, MINIHITAT INULIKIYIT JOHN MUNRO, OKAOTIKAKTOK KANATAM KAVAMAITA ILIKOHIGHANIK NUNAVUTMI. NUUVUT NAMAGIYAQOYIK ILAGATIGON, ANGNIQ PLOGO NUNALIKINIGOM INILAOHIGHA, OKIQTAKTOK-

▷ PDC<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CJD<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CD<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CLA<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup>  
σ<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CJD<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CD<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CLA<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup>  
CL<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CJD<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CD<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CLA<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup>  
CLA<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CJD<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CD<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup> CLA<sup>፳፻፲፭</sup>

represented long-needed political change and in solidarity with Inuit. In the predominantly white towns, the vote went against division but the turnout was not high, reflecting at least acceptance of whatever outcome the Inuit chose. The over-all plebiscite results favoured division. Soon after, the NWT Legislative Assembly voted 19-0 in favour of division.

The Legislative Assembly and Inuit organisations then created the Nunavut Constitutional Forum, consisting of two Nunavut MLAs, ministers Kane Tologanak and Dennis Patterson, Inuit Tapiriyat president John Amagoalik and COPE president Peter Green. The Forum was to be the umbrella group working on the details of a Nunavut constitution, conducting research on outstanding issues, and working with the communities in a program of public consultation and information leading towards Nunavut. (A similar Forum was created in the western portions of the NWT and the two work together for particular purposes as the Constitutional Alliance.)

MIOTLO PIYOTAQOYOT ANGIGHIMAPLOTIK AVGOTI-  
GHAGON NUNAM NOTAM AOLANGITKFLOTIKLO  
ILITKOHIANON NUNAM. KINGOLIKMIPIGIAKNIKMI  
MALGOK ILIKOHILIOKTOK KATIMAKMIOK  
MALIGALIOKTOK AKOITILOGIK ATOAMON KATI-  
MAKAKATIKAGAHOAGHOTIK MINISTANIK, KATI-  
MAYINIKLO KITOVALOIT ONIPKALIQUITLIO  
OKAOTIGIYAKTOGHOGIT IHOMAGIYATIK, ONIMA-  
GIGHAGHOGITLO NIGIOGIYATIK, NAONAIYAI-  
PLOTIKLO KOIKIOKTAKTOM KAVAMALIKINIGATA  
ALANGOHIGHANIK. ATANGIT ATOAM AKLIGO-  
TAKTOK PIKATIGIKNIGATIGON KAVAMATKOGIT  
PINHAOAGAITIGON PIYILIKOITYOT, PILOTIK,  
TAMAITA INUIT NGOAKTAOHIMAYOTLC NUNAT-  
AMI, OKAOTAQOYOT IHOMAGILOAKTAQOYOT KAVA-  
MANON NAONAIYA TIGHIMAILGOT KAVAMAT ONI-  
OYOIYOHIN AMIKAGOTIGHAT HONAVALOIT MA-  
NIKAOTIGHAT AVGOGHIMAYOM KAVAMAITIGON.  
TALVALONIN, KAVAMAT MINISTAIT OKALAGHIMA-  
YOT ATOA NAHOGINIANKNIPLOGO IHOMALIOGO-  
TIGHAMIGON KAVAMALIKINIGOM PIVA\_LAYOHI-  
GHATIGON MALGAGHAKANGITKIPLOTIKLO ATOK-  
TAGHAMIK.

TALVANI, NUNAVUT MALIGALIOGHIGHAKON  
ILITKOHIA, INIGHIMAYAT KATIMAYIT NUNAVUTMI  
IHOMAYOM KIKKITOILONI ALALIOTIYOK KAVAT-  
KOGINON NUNAVULIOGHIMAGIAMIKNI, HAVA-

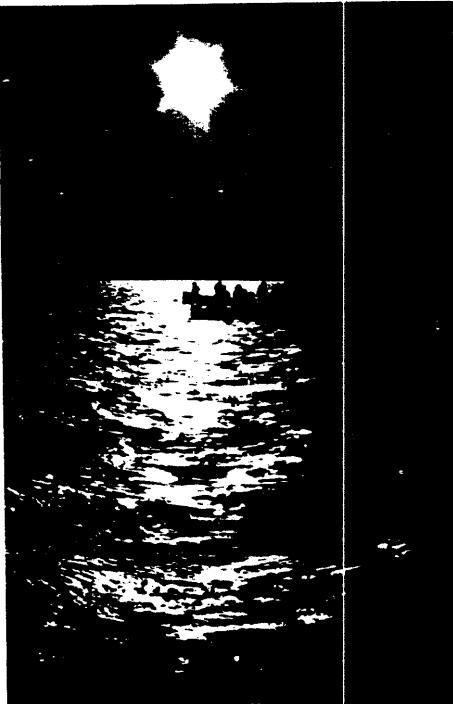




On November 26, 1982, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, John Munro, announced the federal government's position on Nunavut: Nunavut was acceptable subject to several conditions, the most important of which were that land claims be settled, and that northerners involved agree on the boundaries of the new territory and remain constant in their commitment to such a territory. The following week the two Forums meeting as the Constitutional Alliance visited Ottawa and held meetings with ministers, MPs of all parties and the press to express their views, explain their hopes, seek clarification of the conditions and seek support for northern political change. Official Ottawa was surprised by the degree of unanimity and co-operation among the Alliance principals representing, as they did, all peoples and major elective bodies in the NWT. A subject of particular concern to the Alliance was the lack of reference in the government announcement to any sharing of resources revenues with territorial governments. However, government ministers did say that Ottawa would be flexible in its consideration of political development and did not have a set of rigid guidelines which had to be fulfilled.

GHAKALIKTOT HIVOMOKTOHIGHAMIKNIK. HAVAG-  
HAK OKIOKTAKTOMIONI NUNANILIO IHOGHAI-  
YOHIGHAKTIK AVGOTIGHAKON HIVOLOYOGA-  
HOAHGOGOT. HIVOLI AVA ATOKTILOGO 1983 IL-  
TOGHOTIGHAT MAKPIGAT TITIGAKTAONIAKTOT  
KAVAMABIT IKAYOGHIOITYOHGAT NAONAIGOT-  
AONAHOAKLOTIKO INUKNINLIO IHOMAGHIOTAO-  
NAHOAKLOTIK ILOANITOTIGON NUNAVUT MAL-  
GALIOGAINI. TAMNA MALIGALIOGAK TÖNYAO-  
NIAKTOK NUNAVUT MALIGALIOKNIKON KATIMAK-  
PATA KINGOVAKON OKIOK, ATOMONTAOK KIN-  
GOAGON.

HIVITOYOMIK OKAMAVAKTILOGIT KANATA  
NUNAKYOAKON MALIGAGHAINIK, KILIOYOGHO  
GIT 1982 MI ILALIOTIYOGHAT MALIGALIOGAG-  
HANON, AMIGAITOT NUNAKYOAMI HIVONIOKITT  
OKALOKAKTITLO PIVALIGHIMAYOT NCTAMIK KA-





Meanwhile, the Nunavut Constitutional Forum, assisted by the MP from Nunavut, Peter Ittinuar, who left the Opposition to join the government party in order to continue the work to create Nunavut, has a program of work to continue. Work among northern groups and communities to resolve boundary issues is a top priority. During the first half of 1983, a series of study papers will be published by the Forum to help clarify and seek public advice on the contents of a Nunavut constitution. That constitution will be presented to a Nunavut constitutional convention later in the year, and then to Ottawa.

During the long debates on Canada's national constitution, culminating in the 1982 adoption of additional constitutional provisions, many national leaders and commentators hoped that a new era in Canadian political development was opening. It was hoped that once Canadians were fully in charge of their own constitution, a new spirit would prevail. A few days before the Queen arrived in Canada in April, 1982, to sign the new constitution into law, the people of Nunavut voted overwhelmingly for their new territorial government. The whole Nunavut process has been one of popular constitution-making, and we may hope that the Canadian people see it as the opportunity that it is.

NATAMIOT KAVAMALIKINIGHANIK AKMAKPALIA-YOGHAMIK. NIGIOGIYAOYOK KANATAMIOT MONAGHILOALIKATA INMIK MALIGAGHAMIKNIK IPIGAKLOGIT BRITISH, NIAMGYALIKPIAGAMIK. HIVOANOANGANI TIKIGIAKTINAGO QUEEN (KOIN) KANATAMON APRIL, 1982 MI, ATIGHI'YAKTOG-HONI NOTANIK IHOMALIOGOTINIK M'ALIGANGOK-TOGHANIK, INUIT NUNAVUT NUQAOKTOK AKIMAK-YOAGHOTIK NUNAMIKNI KAVAMAGHAMIKNIK. TAMA-KMINNON NUNAVUT ILITKOHIGHALIOGHIMAYOK, IHOMAYOGOTLI KANATAMIOT INUIT TAO-TOKYAKLTAGHAT PIYALOAKOT.



**Prepared for the Nunavut Constitutional Forum  
by Peter Jull**

**Credits:**

**Government of the Northwest Territories, Royal  
Canadian Mounted Police, Inuit Today, Inuit  
Tapirisat of Canada, National Museum of  
Canada, Public Archives of Canada, Committee  
for Original Peoples' Entitlement, Native Press.**

