Life Stories of Northern Leaders

We Need to Know Who We Are
The Life Story of Paul Aarulaaq Quassa

We Need to Know Who We Are is the story of Paul Quassa's journey through life. The story is important for those interested in the history, make-up and future of Canada, for Paul had a truly significant role in negotiating the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, and he maintains trenchant views on the still unfulfilled promise of Nunavut. A relaxed and conversational text is supported by formal, expansive footnotes that stress dates, places, times, people and events.

Terry Fenge

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Nunavut Arctic College

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Edited by Louis McComber

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Since Nunavut was created, Inuit are getting more involved. We have our own government now, which is something to be very proud of. If you look at the world, many people are not able to make important political changes, but we were able to do that even though we are not a large population. We were a minority group but we were able to make some big changes, even though few Inuit had access to political power. Being united is the thing that gave us more power.

– Paul Quassa

We Need to Know Who We Are

THE LIFE STORY OF PAUL QUASSA

Paul Aarulaaq Quassa

Edited by Louis McComber
Inuktitut translation by Letia Qiatsuk

Life Stories of Northern Leaders
Volume Three

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Life Stories of Northern Leaders Series Volume Three
We Need to Know Who We Are

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We Need to Know Who We Are: The Life Story of Paul Aarulaaq Quassa is the third book published in the Nunavut Arctic College collection called *Life Stories of Northern*

Leaders.[1] The research and publication of the first five books of this collection are the result of a partnership between Nunavut Arctic College and the CIÉRA (Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études et de Recherches Autochtones), a Laval University research group specializing in Canadian aboriginal studies.

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NOTES

1. The first three books published in the collection are *We Call It Survival: The Life Story of Abraham Okpik; Changing the Face of Canada: The Life Story of John Amagoalik; We Need to Know Who We Are:The Life Story of Paul Aarulaaq Quassa*, all edited by Louis McComber. Two other books are to follow: *Teach an Eskimo how to read...: The life story of Peter Ittinuar*, edited by Thierry Rodon, and *That's My Vision: The Life Story of James Arvaluk*, edited by Noel McDermott. All five books will be published in English and Inuktitut versions.

Preface

I first met Paul Aarulaaq Quassa in 1985 when I became Research Director of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), the Inuit organization that negotiated the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, ratified by the Inuit of Nunavut in 1992 and the Parliament of Canada in 1993. I worked with Paul, day in and day out, for seven years when he was a negotiator and then the President of TFN. I learned a great deal from him—certainly the most interesting period of my career—and we have kept in touch ever since. If I may use one word to characterize Paul it would be 'gentleman', for that is what he is; slow to anger, patient, forgiving, thoughtful, generous, curious and committed to serving his people. Paul also has an engaging sense of humour. Occasionally I have been the butt of it.

We Need to Know Who We Are is the story of Paul's journey through life including uncomfortable episodes when alcohol got the better of him. The story is important for those interested in the history, make-up and future of Canada, for Paul had a truly significant role in negotiating the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, and he maintains trenchant views on the still unfulfilled promise of Nunavut. A relaxed and conversational text is supported by formal, expansive footnotes that stress dates, places, times, people and events.

Paul exemplifies the quite extraordinary social and cultural changes that Inuit have navigated since the Second World War as 'modernization' crept north. Born in an *iglu*

The Canadian Eastern Arctic
& Greenland
Eureka
Thule
Thule
Air Base
Melville
Island
Grise Ford
Littttle Cornwallis
Island
Resolute Bay
Pond Inlet
Nanisivik
Arctic Bay
Boothia
Peninsula
Fury and
Hecla Straits
Thom
Bay
Igloolik
Committee
Bay
Cambridge
Bay
Kugluktuk
King William
Island
Taloyoak
Hall
Beach
Kugaaruk
Queen Maud
Gulf
Gjoa Haven
Bathurst Inlet
Perry River
Umingmaktok
Repulse Bay
Contwoyto
Lake
Coral Harbour
Baker Lake
Chesterfield Inlet
Rankin Inlet
Whale Cove
Arviat
Churchill
Lynn Lake

Ammassálik
Arctic Circle
Clyde River
Sisimiut
Baffin Island
Qikiqtarjuaq
Padloping Island
Nuuk
Pangnirtung
Iqaluit
Cape Dorset
Markham Bay
Kimmirut
Killiniq Island
Kangiqsujjuaq
Ivujivik
Salluit
Ungava Bay
Kangiqsualujjuaq
Kangirsuk
Puvirnituq
Kuujjuaq
Inukjuak
Goose Bay
Sanikiluaq
Kujjuarapik

at Maniittuq close to Igloolik and taken away as a young child to residential school he took jobs as an auto mechanic and in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Even now, Paul has a mellifluous voice and an easy on-camera presence.

In the 1980s and early 1990s he represented his people in challenging and gruelling negotiations with the Government of Canada to define the place and role of the Inuit of Nunavut in Canada. I can attest to his courtesy and honesty throughout. His attitude and demeanour, leavened with the occasional joke and self parody, compelled serious responses by Tom Molloy and Barry Dewar, the Chief and Senior negotiators respectively for the Government of Canada. Tom Siddon, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the early 1990s, told me in 2005 of his respect for Paul and how he was persuaded to get Prime Minister Mulroney's personal approval of Article 4 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement promising federal legislation to establish the territory of Nunavut.

On March 31 1990, the day before the Nunavut Agreement-in-Principle was signed in Igloolik, Paul bundled me and another TFN employee onto his *qamutiik*, and with his snowmobile pulled us to a ridge overlooking the community. He gestured with his hand to the middle of the community and said, "Catholics are to the right, Protestants to the left." I did not appreciate then the full meaning of what he said, but *We Need to Know Who We Are* returns again and again to the assimilative and sometimes divisive outcome for Inuit of Catholic and Protestant evangelism. Families in Igloolik and elsewhere were split by it. Paul should know. He was raised a Catholic, but his spouse, Elisapee was not.

Inuktitut is a touchstone for Paul. The ability to understand the nuances of the language and to use it skillfully is a measure of being *Inummarik*, a real Inuk. Having lost much of his language at residential school and reacquired it later, he wonders whether he lost more

besides language in those years. In this he is surely not alone, for many of the current Inuit political leaders attended residential schools. Mark Evaluardjuk and Louis Pilakapsi, board members of TFN and Paul's mentors and guides, feature repeatedly in this narrative. I remember both, particularly Louis, to whom many in the Nunavut project deferred.

On balance, Paul is an optimist and he is justly proud that the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement enabled the creation of the Nunavut Territory with its own government. But he can't hide his concern and disappointment that many of the promises in the agreement have not been kept by the Government of Canada. As well, he thinks that the Government of Nunavut (GN) and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) should be more assertive in promoting Inuit rights and interests. More than once he urges NTI and GN to emulate the Government of Quebec's uncompromising position in promoting French and to be prepared more frequently to go to court and take on the Crown.

In the 1990s expectations were impossibly high that Nunavut would 'solve' numerous social and economic problems, right past wrongs, and enable the Inuit of Nunavut to successfully blend the best of the old with the best of the new. It has not quite worked out that way. The optimism is still there and Paul faithfully expresses it. There is much of which to be proud, but governing is much more difficult than advocating.

There are about 55,000 Inuit in Canada, comparable to the number of people in a small municipality in southern Ontario. Yet several Inuit, including Paul Aarulaaq Quassa, have contributed significantly to Canada's political and constitutional development as well as defending their age-old culture. Award winning author Yann Martel characterizes Canada as a hotel. Nothing could be further from Paul's viewpoint. Nunavut—more than twenty percent of Canada—is 'home' with all that this implies. It

seems to me—an outsider and immigrant from the United Kingdom—entirely fitting that he is now mayor of Igloolik. Paul's journey continues.

Terry Fenge
Ottawa
February, 2008

CHAPTER 1

From the Maniittuq Camp to Residential Schools

My name is Paul Aarulaaq Quassa. But my name is also Qungatallurittuq, as we Inuit are given different Inuktitut names. We used to have E numbers and mine was E5-1231. I was born in a place called Maniittuq, around thirty miles from the community of Igloolik. The whole island is now called Igloolik, even though Igloolik is only a part of it.[1] There is an inlet there called Ikpiarjuk. That is where I was born in the winter in an *iglu*. My age group is probably the last generation of Inuit to be born in an *iglu*. I recall one time very well, when I was on my mother's back, in her *amauti,* and I could see the *qulliq*. There was a bucket above the *qulliq*. I was probably one year old and we were living in this *iglu*. That is one thing I recall and I can't forget.

In our camp at Maniittuq, there was just my father, my uncle and his family living there. Sometimes, two of my uncles would be there with us. There were very few people. My uncles had their own sod house. We would live in an *iglu* all winter long. I remember my grandfather when we were in Maniittuq. We were living according to our traditional culture and we had to follow all the taboos and rules. There were things we were not supposed to do. For example, we were not allowed to kill spiders or insects because something would happen. We were told that if we killed a spider, it was going to rain, and we believed that.

Friday Point
ORMONDE
IG-18/47D
ISLAND
Sevigny Point
Freuchen Pt
A N D
Aukkarnirjuaq
Cape Lilly
Labrador
Narrows
Cape Ossory
Northeast Cape
BOUVERIE
MT SABINE
Uqsuariattiak (001)
Maniittuq
SLANDS
IG-22/47D
Aupaluktuq
Inuksugalik
IG-17/47D
Kangiligjualik
RICHARDS
IG-16/47D
BAY

If we were in an *iglu* or a sod house, because there was only one bed, our parents would be on one side. There was a shelf on that side. There were things like clocks and other belongings there. We were told not to take anything from there and that if we did, there would be a hand that would grab us. There were all these sayings we were told to follow. They were superstitions. If we were down playing at the beach and we were not supposed to be there, we were told there were *qallupilluit* who would take us.

There was an Inuit way of advising. I recall my grandfather telling stories when we were in bed in the evenings. At times, we would play string games. We were told not to play string games in bed and if we did our intestines would get tangled. That's how we were told not to do certain things.

I lived mainly in Maniittuq before I left to go South. In winter, Maniittuq was the main place where we would camp but we were not living just there. In the spring, we moved to Inuksugalik. From there, in summer, we would travel to this other camp, Kangiligjualik. In the fall we would be in Aupaluktuq. We were moving from one place to another, to seasonal camps, one for winter, and one for summer. We didn't just camp in one place.

As children, we were not allowed to listen to adults speaking. That was one of the rules we had to follow. Whenever there was a conversation and elders started to converse we were told to leave and go somewhere else. Perhaps they thought that because we were children, we had to live like children. We were not allowed to be in the same place with elders when they were talking. We only knew about children's things, children's socializing.

We were not even allowed to use the name of an elder, and we would be thought of as disrespectful if we did that. I didn't know my uncle's full name until I became a teenager. I just called him *anga,* my uncle, or my cousin. We called our parents by kinship terms. I didn't even know my mother's name; we just called our mother and father

anaana and *ataata.* I didn't learn their names until I was a teenager and then realized that they had names, too. When someone used a person's name it was something unique.

There were unhappy times as well. There were times when we would go hungry. I recall one incident. Once we were camping, and the ice came. There was a lot of loose ice gathered in that area and we ran out of food. I remember eating sealskin. There were times when the food became scarce.

One time, the men went to get supplies in Igloolik, at the time when a store had opened. When they came back, I could even smell the odor of *qallunaat.* You could smell them! I had a very good sense of smell. Even when someone was cooking with flour you could smell it from a distance. It was really delicious. An *iglu* had a main living space and another area for food storage. They would let fat rot and then mix it with something like rabbit hair and make chewing gum out of it!

As children, we would slide and play traditional hide-and-seek; there were all kinds of games, but I forget some of them. We would get the dogs ready when the men would go out dog-sledding. We would untangle their harnesses. When you turned eight or nine years old, you would go out with your parents.

In Maniittuq there were mainly seals. We would catch seals and bearded seals in the winter and narwhal and belugas in the summer. I remember the first time I caught a seal. We were waiting for the seal to come up through a hole in the ice. I was really young at the time. I was placed on a spot where I had to wait for a seal. My cousin was beside me. Since he was older than me he had a gun, a .22 rifle. I didn't have anything. He shot through his seal hole but the seal came up at the place where I was waiting. The seal was already shot! With my bare hands, I caught my first seal! I had help, but that's how I caught my first seal. It was still alive when we pulled it out of the water. The person who killed the seal would be the person

who was considered to make the catch. I was told to hold the flippers and my cousin Dominat Uviluq knocked the seal out. He was the one who caught the seal. That's how it was. The person who catches the seal kills it.

These camps were quite far apart, but were visible from the area you were in. We were camping close by, up there in Maniittuq. We would travel by dogteam only. I remember one time in the spring, we were in Kangiq&ugjuaq about twenty miles away. My uncle and his family were in Maniittuq. I was told to take his dogteam back to that area. The dogs would not listen to me and I was crying.

We were the main family living at Maniittuq. A little further from our side, in the Baffin Island area, there was Simon Awa's father Naujaaruluk's camp. They were the main people that we saw outside of my family. I didn't see anyone else but them. I used to think that we were the only people who existed! That's what I thought.

In the early 1930s, the Roman Catholics came to Igloolik. The Hudson's Bay Company came around the same time.[2] When we were living in Maniittuq, a missionary from the Roman Catholic Church used to come to our camp. We were Roman Catholics. He always carried a suitcase. He made his suitcase into an altar and put candles up. He would put on his uniform and he would pray and we would have a service. Perhaps once or twice a month that priest would come to our camp. That was the only *qallunaaq* I saw. That was the first white person I saw, coming from the Catholic Church. We didn't see any RCMP then.[3] When I was older, I travelled to Igloolik and that's when I started to see *qallunaat*.

When I was probably five years old, I was sent down South, but I don't remember exactly where. I remember way back then being somewhere down South watching *Friendly Giant* on a black and white television. I saw movies like *Rin Tin Tin* and cowboy movies. This was around 1957 when I was five years old. There were a lot of Inuit who were sent down because of the tuberculosis epidemic. I was

sent down there for one year. When I came back I couldn't speak Inuktitut anymore. I had completely forgotten how to speak Inuktitut. I couldn't understand my parents because I had been down South for such a long period of time. The people were still living in outpost camps.

I probably had lung problems. I remember going back home on an airplane. It was in the evening. I saw a bright thing. I thought we were at my father's camp site. I thought that it was an *iglu*, but it was the moon. I thought I was going there for my homecoming from down South.

Some of us were able to speak English when we were around five years old. We were probably the first to be sent South, aside from the children who were sent to school. At that time, Inuit weren't able to vote, but today they can. In 1966, Inuit were given the right to vote. We didn't know anything about voting.

We were taught to respect our camp. We were taught a lot about respect. I was told to respect my uncle. I remember playing cards with my uncle. He had a deck of cards. We would win .22 rifle bullets. One time I won a .303 rifle! We were just playing. I was very small and I had to haul the gun back home. I remember some of those happy times. We didn't live at all like *qallunaat*. We would have bannock once in a long while.

From the time I started remembering, there was only the Catholic mission and the Hudson's Bay Company in Igloolik.

It was only later that the Anglicans came.[4] Mark Evaluardjuk, who has passed away now, used to work for the Hudson's Bay Company. He was the only Anglican there. He started going to church because there was no other church available. His father heard about this in Pond Inlet and that was how the Anglican Church came to Igloolik. Noah Nasuk moved by dogteam to Igloolik because he heard his son was going to the Catholic Church and I guess he didn't like that. He was the first Anglican minister.

The Anglicans and Catholics were separated. They were divided and they used to fight each other. After I went to school in Chesterfield Inlet, we were actually against each other. The Anglicans were on the right hand side of the settlement. When we were children, when I was around ten, eleven and twelve years old, we were told not to play with Anglican children. When we went to church, the priest would say that the Anglicans were wrong. They would preach that Anglicans were wrongdoers and that they were delivering the wrong message. Even families were divided between Anglicans and Catholics. These families were destroyed. Noah Nasuk and Father Fournier were really against each other.[5] As Catholics, we were allowed to play outside on Sundays, but the Anglicans were not. Maybe because they were envious they started to hate us, and we were against each other as young children. We formed Anglican and Catholic gangs. That's how it was. For years it was like that.

Maybe I was six years old when I went to Igluligaarjuk[6] to attend school. Our parents didn't hear from us. They didn't know how we were. There was hardly any communication. Once in a long while we would get a letter from our parents that was written in syllabics on a piece of paper that was just folded. They would fold it here and there and send it.

Later on, my mother told the story of how we were separated from our parents when we were young to attend school. At a later time, I learned that my mother had cried then. Our parents used to be afraid of the Roman Catholic missionaries. In Igloolik, the Catholics were the main people, the authorities who sent children out to school.[7] I was around five or six when I was sent out. I recall when we were sent from Maniittuq in a single-otter airplane. There were no safety precautions at that time. We just sat on the floor of the plane. We went from Igloolik to Naujaat and from there to Kangiq&iniq. I remember there was no washroom, but because we were children we had to go.

Because it was a float plane, we just landed along the way. Then we'd lift off and go. That's the way it was.

Around the end of August or early September we would be sent to Chesterfield Inlet and we would return around May 15th or 20th.[8] It used to be fun when we were going back to our home community. There were about forty males and forty females at the Chesterfield residential school. There were about eighty students in total. Only people who were under the Roman Catholic Church were sent to that residential school; people like Peter Irniq, John Ningark, a few of the people you hear on CBC, and Louis Tapardjuk.[9] My sister, my older brother, my other sister, my younger brother and I were sent out to this residential school. Even Levinia Brown attended the school.[10]

The school opened around 1954. That was the first time people were sent out to attend school, around 1954 or 1955. Our teachers were nuns. We were taught mainly in English. Nowadays, the school curriculum has improved. The curriculum we followed was very strict. We were taught to speak English as if they were trying to change us into white people. There was a Catholic bishop who would teach us how to write in syllabics. That's how we were taught Inuktitut. We weren't just taught in English. One of the things I recall very clearly is that it was run by Catholics. We had catechism every day.

It used to be like that. We would attend church at 7:00 in the morning. There were about forty beds in the dormitory. Sometimes we would misbehave. Those who didn't want to attend church would put their clothing on the rail at the foot of the bed. We were taught a lot of religion. Even us boys were given uniforms to wear; we looked like bishops, and we pretended we were praying. We shared cookies as if we were having mass. That's how it was.

One of the things I remember was that we were sent out trapping. Fox furs were expensive then. We were provided with traps and went out on the land every weekend and set our traps. We caught a lot of foxes.

I don't remember how many. I think the money from those foxes stayed with the nuns. I think that's the way it was. I don't recall because money wasn't a big thing then. We trapped. We learned how to skin the animals. We were taught these skills properly and we were very skillful. We used to make hand-made nets, us males. At Igluligaarjuk, there were plenty of fish that were used by the mission.

The funny part is that the nuns were practically all French and all the priests were French, but everything was done in English. They were all nuns teaching us at first. The priests used to come in to do our catechism or syllabics. Amongst themselves they usually spoke French. In school it was all English. It's funny that we don't speak with their accent!

Those nuns, not just nuns, others too, could be harsh on us. Even if we made a small mistake in school, the physical abuse was tremendous. I remember some students being thrown across the classroom and abused with a ruler. That's how they treated us. There was a lot of strapping. If you made a mistake in your writing they would hit you on the head with their knuckles. It is very painful when you are hit like this. I remember one teacher who actually punched the students. I was writing on the blackboard and he punched me. I was hurt. I couldn't move my arm for a while. Those are some of the things I remember. After many years, I saw him and I was still angry with him. There was a time when I wanted to take revenge and hit him back, but I couldn't do that. That's how we were treated.

On top of that, you probably read about the sexual abuse by the Roman Catholic nuns and brothers and priests. They had brothers there who were cooks. They did everything there. They baked their own bread. The brothers were the ones that committed the sexual abuse at that time. Because we were children, we didn't know what this was when they were doing bad things. These were people who were Christians and this was confusing

for us. How they treated us was really confusing. They were trying to change our ways. They introduced religion, yet they acted like this. I couldn't understand it and I still can't up to this day. A lot of people are healing and dealing with it. We are surviving this. I myself have to forget it and move forward. I just have to look at my future and move on. It is depressing just remembering it all the time. It really angered me inside, but now it is over.

We attended school from 9:00 to 12:00 and from 1:00 to 3:00 in the afternoon. We had supper at 4:30 or 5:00. We had study periods every night from 6:00 to 7:00. Everything was scheduled. At 7:00 we would go to church again. We would say our rosary. By 8:30 the younger ones would go to sleep. For us who were older, 9:00 was our bedtime. We would wake up at 7:00. At 8:00 we had breakfast. At 9:00 we had school. Every day we had the same routine except for Sundays or Saturdays.

My siblings and I were sent there. At the residence, the girls were on the third floor and the boys were on the second floor. Even though we were attending the same school, we couldn't even see our sisters. We weren't supposed to speak to females, so we couldn't even speak to our own sisters. We were being taught not to think of females. That's how we were divided. Whenever we went for meals the boys would be on one side, and the girls would be on the other side. It was the same scenario at the church. We were separated. We were never to contact each other. There were some occasions when we were given the privilege to visit our sisters. Even the family structure was destroyed.

Our parents didn't hear from us. They didn't know how we were. There was hardly any communication. When we returned home we were more distant. We were not as close as before. Even with our parents, we were not as close. We were gone for ten months of the year. We were sent out at five years of age. It was pitiful. You know how tall five-year olds are. It was really hard seeing the children crying missing their parents, their mothers. That's how it

was. But looking at the way the education system was set up, it really worked. We were taught well. We did take French there. I remember when I was in grade eight I took French. That was the hardest language to learn.

There was no television, but we had radio. We didn't have a gym, but we did a lot of skating. That's where I learned how to skate. There was a priest there who was a really good skater. He was like a figure skater. We did a lot of skating on the lakes, but there was no hockey at all. I remember when we first started hearing about hockey, it was on radio. We used to listen to *Hockey Night in Canada* on the radio every Saturday. This was before television came up North. There were the *Montreal Canadiens*, and the *Detroit Red Wings*. Most of us were *Detroit Red Wings* fans. I don't know why!

I didn't really understand the game as I had never seen it played. Somehow we got hooked on it, but I don't really understand why. It was fun. There were hardly any sports, but we did a lot of other things. We trapped and made nets. We did a lot of activities. On Saturdays we would watch movies at the school. It didn't cost anything for us students, but for people from the community it cost about twenty-five cents. Most of the movies were Charlie Chaplin, or The Three Stooges; old stuff, nothing but black and white. There was Roy Rogers and people like that.

Every morning there was nothing but porridge and biscuits. The biscuits that we ate were square and they were soft. We poured the porridge and mixed it with the biscuits. We had hot chocolate.

For lunch we had tea and maybe a soup and a sandwich. We were also given frozen fish. Sometimes we were given Arctic Char. When it was Christmas time we were given cereal, actual cereal. Our favorite was Sugar Pops! We were also given oranges and apples at Christmas.

In winter, the nuns would give us cod liver oil every day. We were punished if we didn't take it, because we were ordered to take it. We had no choice. They used to

treat us like that. We were not allowed to cry. Sometimes we would hide and cry. A lot of people who attended this school survived these things.

I was an altar boy. We were so full of religion, even me. I thought that when I grew up I was going to become a priest. I'm sure many of us, most of the boys, thought that when we grew up we would become priests. I'm sure the girls thought the same thing; that when they grew up they would become nuns. That's what we were thinking because we were living this daily; everything was connected to praying. It's a wonder none of us became priests! Myself, I didn't know about any other religion. I didn't even know that Anglicans existed. I learned more about this when I became an adult. That system was really religious.

Back at our camp, those of us who attended school were speaking more English. I remember our parents scolding us not to speak English too much. Perhaps we were speaking too much English, but we kept our Inuktitut language. Today, when students are outside the school, they can speak in Inuktitut, but when we were at Turquetil Hall, we were only allowed to speak English.[11] When we were in school we only spoke English. That's how it was.

Before I went to Chesterfield, I had been sent to the sanatorium and I learned how to speak English there. When I came back I had completely forgotten my Inuktitut language. I went to school already able to speak English. It was very hard for the other children who didn't speak any English. I was one of the students who could speak English. I was around five years old then. I say I am from Igloolik, but I wasn't actually residing much in Igloolik. I was sent out when I was five years old. That's the way it was.

I was at the Chesterfield residence for eight years. When I reached grade eight, since there was no grade nine, I had completed my education in Chesterfield. This was in 1967. Then I went to the Churchill Vocational Centre, in Manitoba. Many of our elders today went to Churchill, Manitoba, around 1969.

After 1967 in Churchill, the influence of religion started to diminish. They weren't really forcing it then. We began to have teachers who weren't priests or nuns. They were just ordinary Canadian citizens. We had a hippie for a teacher and he started playing music. There were record players there. We started hearing all this rock and roll music and we learned that there were hippies then. We were not taught about Inuit culture. Even our textbooks didn't contain anything about Inuit. We were not taught about our own identity. We were taught about how people overseas lived.

NOTES

1. Europeans 'discovered' Igloolik when two ships of the British admiralty spent the winter there in 1822, the *Fury* and the *Hecla*, respectively commanded by William Edward Parry and George Francis Lyon. Charles Francis Hall visited Igloolik in 1867-1868 in his quest to find the remains of the Franklin expedition.
2. According to Usher (1976: 164) and Neatby (1984: 378), the Hudson's Bay Company opened its first trading posts in Igloolik in 1939, six years after the first Catholic mission was opened.
3. According to Weissling (1991: 192), the RCMP opened its first detachment in Igloolik in 1964. Before the opening of this detachment, the Pond Inlet detachment, which opened in 1922, had jurisdiction over Igloolik.
4. The first Anglican mission in Igloolik opened in 1959.
5. Father Louis Fournier is a Roman Catholic missionary who worked in Igloolik from 1953 to 1978. He was very much involved in the creation of the Igloolik co-op in the early sixties. Father Fournier is now retired after ministering in Repulse Bay and Coral Harbour.
6. Chesterfield Inlet.
7. Since the early 1920s, through converted Inuit the *Iglulingmiut* had been in contact with the two most important Christian churches of the Canadian Arctic: the Anglicans and the Catholics. Most of them were well aware of the new Faith when the first Catholic mission was established in 1933 by Father Étienne-Charles-Louis Bazin. The Anglicans waited another twenty-six years before founding their own mission in Igloolik in 1959 (see Laugrand 2002).
8. Chesterfield Inlet: The Joseph Bernier School and its residence, the Turquetil Hall, in Chesterfield Inlet was run by Roman Catholic Oblate priests and Grey Nuns. It was opened in 1951 and transferred to the Canadian authorities in 1954. Between twenty-two and ninety-eight students attended the school any given year. The students were fed with a combination of western and traditional food. However, after 1961, the Department of Health and Welfare banned the eating of raw meat on the school premises (King 2006).
   Churchill: The Churchill Vocational Centre opened in 1964. It was the last federal hostel opened by the Canadian government. With a capacity of two hundred and fifty children, it received Inuit from all over the Arctic (King 2006).
9. Peter Irniq: Born in the Kivalliq region, Peter Irniq was the former Commissioner of Nunavut (April 1, 2000 to March 31, 2005). He also held the position of Deputy Minister with the Nunavut Department of Culture Languages Elders and Youth from 1998 to 1999. Before that, Mr. Irniq held various positions: President of the Keewatin Inuit Association, Executive Director of the Inuit Cultural Institute,

Director of Communications for Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated and member of the Nunavut Implementation Commission (see: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Irniq).

John Ningark: John Ningark, who is from Kugaaruk (Pelly Bay) was one of the first students attending the Chesterfield Inlet residential school. He was one of the other students' mentors while attending the school, as he was one of the oldest and that was in the early 60s. He was a Member of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories. He is still very much involved in his community and territorial activities. (Personal communication with Paul Quassa)

Louis Tapardjuk: Born in the Igloolik region, Louis Tapardjuk has been the manager of the Igloolik Co-operative as well as the mayor of Igloolik. He was active as a negotiator of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, and also has been President of the Baffin Inuit Association (now known as QIA – Qikiqtani Inuit Association). He is currently the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Amittuq as well as the Minister of Culture, Languages, Elders and Youth in the Government of Nunavut (see: www.gov.nu.ca/Nunavut/English/cabinet/lt.shtml).

10. Levinia Brown is the current Member of the Legislative Assembly for Rankin Inlet South/Whale Cove, as well as the Minister of Community and Government Services of the Government of Nunavut.
11. Turquetil Hall was the residence of the Sir Joseph Bernier School in Chesterfield Inlet. Bishop Arsène Turquetil OMI was the founder of the Roman Catholic mission in Chesterfield Inlet in 1912.

CHAPTER 2

Becoming an Adult and a Local Politician

I went to the Churchill Vocational Centre in 1968. When I was at school in Chesterfield Inlet, I had heard that Churchill was kind of rough and that there was no discipline. Then 1968 came around, and I was scared to go to Churchill. I was only about sixteen or seventeen. I told my father, because I knew they were going to ask him, to just say no, not to let me go.

Naturally, he said yes, and I ended up going to Churchill. I only stayed there for a year when I was sixteen or seventeen years old. It was still almost the same routine, it was a residential school situation, but we had more freedom. Churchill was not operated by the Catholic Church. It was based more on government and it focused more on *qallunaat*. They didn't speak French. Everything went on in English.

There were some Dene, some *qallunaat*, and some Inuit students. They were not just Catholics and Anglicans; people came from everywhere. There were students from Baffin Island, the Keewatin and Northern Quebec. Churchill was still an army base. It was like living in an army camp. Everything was organized again. We had to make our beds in a certain way, an army way. Do you remember hospital corners? The food was quite different, more *qallunaat* style. When we were in Chesterfield, at the school, our hair

would be cut in a brush cut. At Churchill, we could start growing our hair, and at the time hippies, rock and roll music and bellbottoms were getting popular.

Every Sunday at the Churchill residential school, everybody had to go to their own church, but it was a little more flexible than what we experienced at Turquetil Hall. We all went to the Catholic Church because the service was a little shorter than the other one. The girls had their own dorms, but there was a little more mingling.

There are lots of polar bears in Churchill. That year one of our classmates was mauled by a polar bear. I remember that clearly. I think it was Paul Meeko from Sanikiluaq. The polar bears were dangerous. There was Camp 20[1] where we could go for weekends outside the school. There were lots of polar bears there.

We started learning about trades; about mechanics, carpentry, and drafting. We took many courses, like typing and other activities. Some of us went to regular high school and some of us went to vocational school. There were students in Churchill who are very well-known today like Sheila Watt-Cloutier and Charlie Watt.[2] I remember Sheila Watt was the homecoming queen that year, too.

There were no Inuktitut classes, but we had more freedom. We could speak in Inuktitut. We could go downtown. That year we played a lot of sports. I was into basketball then. I remember our basketball team played against Thompson, Flin Flon, The Pas, Lynn Lake, and Gillam. We were very short as Inuit, and the *qallunaat* were very tall! We beat them all. They were so tall. Here we were playing under them!

The first time I ever travelled on a train was in Churchill. We went down to Thompson to play basketball.

It was so much more open than the Chesterfield Inlet school. You had more opportunities to express your own views. In Chesterfield Inlet it was always their way and what they wanted. In Churchill, I became more independent. I think that's where a lot of us started developing a rebellious

way of thinking. Probably we were old enough to stand up to *qallunaat*. People started to play their own types of music, and expressing their own thoughts more. From 1968 to 1971, that's the era when Tagak Curley started thinking of this whole concept of Inuit rights.[3]

Peter Irniq was also there. And so was Peter Mansbridge.[4] They used to work at CBC radio then. James Arvaluk was also there.[5]

At that time, we were seventeen or eighteen years old with a good grasp of the English language, and we started picking up ideas. We started hearing about land claims in Alaska. From what we started hearing, we thought that we should be able to get something, too. At that time, I wasn't really involved in this. I was still quite young. At least that's what I thought. We were learning more about elections and government and institutions. When we came back to our home communities they started to form committees and boards in the 1960s.[6]

The Chesterfield Inlet school had closed. Also back then, perhaps in 1969, television was introduced. Igloolik was starting to get television but there were no television programs. You could watch movies by video-feed. Around 1973, the community of Igloolik was asked by the government if they wanted television, but they were opposed to it because the programming was all in English. They didn't want their children to start speaking English all the time. The other communities had television already, but it was in the 1970s, that they started to get television programs in Inuktitut. I was really proud of the Igloolik community opposing the introduction of television.[7]

Perhaps I was reluctant to go to Churchill for I only stayed there for one year. In 1970, in Igloolik, a Frontier College program was introduced.[8] It was like adult education. I started attending the College in 1970. My teachers were Fred Hunt and Hugh Lloyd. That's when we became active in our community, when people started attending Frontier College. We started to write newsletters. We would inform

the community through these newsletters. We started to play loud music. I attended that college for one year. They were teaching us about good things. In 1971, I went to Ottawa to attend Algonquin College.

Around 1968, when I was in Churchill, my parents moved from Maniittuq to Igloolik. They finally moved. It was around that time. Inuit still had their own dogteams. There were dogs all over the place. That's when the dogs were being slaughtered. I remember my mother talking about my dad's dogs being shot, but I was not in Igloolik then. The police were saying the dogs were sick, but a lot of Inuit didn't believe that. The poor dogs were trying to run away and the RCMP followed them. If a dog went under the house, they would start shooting at it right underneath the house. There were dead dogs all over. Our dads who were the dog owners couldn't do anything. At that time the *qallunaat* and the RCMP were still very intimidating. Certainly our parents just accepted that, even though inside they didn't. They would hurt deeply inside, but they weren't talking about it. They weren't speaking out. They would talk to their spouses. They went through a difficult time.

From what I heard, basically from my mother, when the dogs were slaughtered the men started walking out hunting on the sea ice. They had no choice but to walk. When they had their dogteams they pulled everybody out with their dogs, but having to walk all the time was like turning the clock backwards. I was at school when that happened.

The RCMP said that the dogs had distemper or rabies or some kind of sickness, but they weren't sick at all. The community was growing but the dogs weren't everywhere. The dogs were in one place. Perhaps the RCMP constables were scared of them and they slaughtered them. Sometimes they didn't even tell the owners. I've heard that people would come in from the camps with their dogs to buy some supplies and while they were still in the store their dogs

were killed. When they went out they learned that they had no more dogs. That's how they were slaughtered.

I've heard of an owner being mauled by his own dogs but I haven't witnessed this. John Illupalik is the person I remember being mauled by some dogs. We heard about some people being mauled by their dogs within small communities. Perhaps when Inuit started to gather in one community the dogs didn't recognize the people who weren't their owners. Perhaps that's when they started to maul people. Dogs can recognise their master's voice. They know their master very well.

Some of them were taken down to the beach and they would drown when the ice melted. You could see them on the beach when the tide came in. They would just leave them there before they started to build dumps. Now we have dumps which make a big mess around the community. I remember myself, before by-laws were created, when anything was going to be thrown away, people would just bring it down to the sea ice.

We know that dogs are very smart. During the time when I would be part of the hunt, I saw that even in blizzards, they knew where their homes were. They would know where to go even when there was nothing visible. We would just sit on the *qamutiik* and the dogs would bring us home. They would even know what area of the ice was thin. As children we would be given a puppy. I still remember my puppy. His name was Tiikaq. I don't know why. I had a dog named Tiikaq and another one named Uanaajuq. The dogs had different names. Our fathers would give us a dog to raise and take care of. We would learn how to harness it and take care of it. We were given the responsibility to take care of that dog.

When we used to go to Igloolik there was a church there and a store, the Hudson's Bay Store. All the outpost camps formed a community. The people were unilingual but the priest, Father Fournier, could communicate with them. They would understand him. When the Co-op was

established there around 1962, they started to buy heavy equipment like bulldozers. One was transported from Rowley Island overland to Igloolik. That's how they got it to Igloolik. Our leader in Igloolik was Pacome Qulaut. He was one of the people who created the Co-op. I think he was the only one who was able to drive the heavy equipment. He went to Rowley Island and on the way back, his machine went through the ice and Qulaut drowned. He was able to speak English and he would interpret for others, for the elders.

If you have ever been to Igloolik, there used to be an old stone church there.[9] It was huge. Around the time it was built, there were still dogteams. They would transport rocks to that area by dogteam to build that big church. It was Father Fournier who started that construction. It took about two or three years to build. Around that time Igloolik was divided; there were the Catholics on one side and the Anglicans on the other. In the mid to late sixties they were totally against each other. The differences between their religious faiths was the reason why this tension occurred.

Rowley Island had been a DEW Line site; Hall Beach, which was called Fox Main, was a big site. Hall Beach used to get jets flying in from Churchill, Manitoba, when jets first started coming up. Transair was the airline.

After the 70s, the Catholics and Anglicans started to work together. Probably it started with us because we were beginning to be rebellious. I had an Anglican girlfriend and I was a Catholic. Even though that really wasn't acceptable we started to communicate. I went with her to a dance at the community hall. While we were sitting there, her mother came in and walked straight over to us. Even though there were many people around, she scolded me. "Do not be with her or try to make her your wife", she said. It was very scary! After that I didn't go out with her because I was afraid and I respected her family. At that time, Catholics and Anglicans were beginning to converse.

My older brother had a marriage arranged by our parents. Even though my brother didn't want to marry this woman, he had no choice. We all went to the church. When they were going to perform the marriage ceremony, he didn't want to go. He didn't want to marry her. I told him that he could just say no, but he said yes anyway. There were a lot of arranged marriages then. I also had an arranged marriage but I was lucky! Parents used to do this while the child was still in the womb. They would say, "He's going to be your husband, or she's going to be your wife." After we were born that's what they would say. The marriage was already organised for us at the time of birth. That was the plan for me, too. My parents had already agreed with the other family involved. When the mother was pregnant that baby would be my wife. It turned out that the baby was a male. I was lucky I didn't have to marry that child! They had arranged that we should be spouses if that child had been born a girl. That's how it used to be. Around the 1970s, they stopped doing that. Us younger people, in that age group, we started to have more freedom, more choices. That's what was intended for me, but it never happened.

In those days, our parents had more control over us. When I was seventeen or eighteen years old, when I would come home from school, my mother would say, "Why don't you marry her?" I would keep saying no. I was opposed to that. That went on for about five years. My mother would ask me to marry a different female each time. It was hard to say no to our parents then. Whatever they wanted us to do, we would have to say yes.

As I mentioned earlier, we were not allowed to say people's names out loud. That was one of the rules we followed. Nowadays it's not like that. Even very young children call people by their names. Our lifestyle is changing all the time.

Naming was very important then, and it is still important even today. If a male was named after a woman

they would make him have long hair, or maybe they would dress him in female clothing. It could be the other way around too; a female wearing male clothing who had the attitudes of a male. This wasn't very visible in my family, but in some cases you were really aware if a female was named after a male. They would be treated as a male and vice versa. If people were going on a hunting trip, they would take her with them even though she was a female. If she was named after a male, that's what our custom was.

Inuit customs were probably stronger then. I was aware of the difference between Anglicans and Catholics. Catholics were allowed to do drum dancing, but the Anglicans were forbidden from doing this. This was something that we were aware of. One denomination was allowed to do this but the other denomination was forbidden. In the 60s and 70s people started to play games in Igloolik, but only the Catholics would sing the *aijaaja* songs and do drum dancing. The Anglicans knew how to do it, but because they were forbidden from showing their talents, they couldn't. Today you can see they are able to do this because it's starting to re-surface again. They are once more able to practise these things.

In the 1960s, we began to hear about other denominations arriving, people with great faith, like evangelicals. They cried and did other things like that. When something new was starting to happen in small communities, people would hear about it right away. Even our church leaders would talk about this.

Not too many of us went to school at that time. Those of us who did had to go through many hardships, like dealing with the missionaries who were so tough. You don't see that any more today. We went through it then.

It was only when I was older that I heard about *angakkuit*. When I was young, people didn't talk about shamans. Perhaps within our family there were no shamans. There were no visible signs of shamans doing their rituals. The Anglicans and even the Catholics forbade

Inuit customs. They were intimidating and they didn't want them performed. That is why we didn't hear about shamans. Later on, I started to hear about shamans and that there were shamans in our own community. They would tell stories about them. We didn't know they existed then, but they did.

Some of the things I heard about were like not saying people's names. You felt something hard and you had this feeling if you said someone's name that something was going to happen. It's difficult to talk about people who were shamans.

A person by the name of Amarualik was a shaman.[10] We heard that he was a shaman, but we never saw him perform. It was not visible that he was a shaman at that time. At times he would see a sign, see something, when he was drum dancing. When you saw shamans drum dance, the way they moved, they had totally different movements because they were totally into it. That's how you knew that person was a shaman; that's how they were. It was not talked about, even though you wanted to hear about it. I asked my mother about that, but she didn't want to talk about it. It's something people didn't want to talk about. It's much more open today. There were always shamans that existed.

The Netsilik people were stronger and they held on to their customs more. We know that they have more shamans there. The people from Igloolik, the Amittuq and Netsilik areas competed with one another through drum dancing and hitting each other on the head or on the shoulder. The Netsilik and Amittuq people were really competitive. One time when there was a drum dance, they tried to find out who could drum dance the longest. The Netsilik drum was longer than the Igloolik drum so the people from the Igloolik area drum danced using their wrists more. When they were competing the people from the Netsilik area lost because they had to move their whole arm. Because the Amittuq people drum dance used only the movement of

the wrist, they won the competition! This goes way back to the time when these Amittuq and Netsilik people were competing against each other.

There is also a story about my grandmother. Her name was Uviluq. She was from the Netsilik area. My grandfather went over there and took Uviluq home and married her. After my grandfather came back to his camp, her people tried to kill him using shamanic power. They were opposed to this, probably because the Netsilik people didn't have many women there, and they didn't want her to leave. I heard about this. They tried to kill him.

Our Inuit ancestors would go from one place to another, travelling long distances. My father travelled from Churchill, Manitoba, to Igloolik by dogteam to find a wife. That's a long distance to go by dogteam, but that's how they lived. That's how they used to live. Perhaps it was an arranged marriage. Maybe that's who they wanted my father to marry.

Perhaps some of us are envious of the shamans. Those shamans were powerful and I wish we had that same power. Having heard about them, they were strong; they could do anything.

I came back to Igloolik and studied at Frontier College around 1970. That's when I first started working and making money at summer jobs. I remember pouring the concrete floor at the research centre in Igloolik. It was one of the first buildings. That was my first job, pouring concrete. There was a lot of labour work at that time. We were building the adult education centre. It was around that time that we started earning money at an hourly rate.

Before that time, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Co-op were the only employers if you were looking for a place to work. We had a settlement area manager with the government. When Igloolik became a settlement in '67 or '68, the council was formed. Naturally, we had the priest and the Anglican minister on the council. Again, they were

in control of the community. They were some of the very first council members, Louis Fournier and Noah Nasuk. Paul Idlout was an RCMP special constable then. He came in afterwards. The first special constable we had in Igloolik was Benjamin Arreak. He was our first special constable. All his family was there, the Arreak family.

The first house we lived in in Igloolik was what they called a matchbox. It was a square box; there was one room. There were maybe seven of us in that matchbox. I remember when the matchboxes were first built in our community that they had a bathtub. Inuit had never used washrooms or had anything similar. A lot of people didn't really know what a bathtub was so they used the bathtub to store their meat. This was when houses were first being built.

We had water delivery but we only had open tanks. That was your water. In the old days there was nothing but 'honey buckets'. This was when we had matchboxes. Even in later years when we got the three bedroom houses they were still using the 'honey buckets'. There were no flush toilets. We male students were given tasks. We had to take out the 'honey bucket'. We had to tie it and take it out, even in cold winter. Sometimes the plastic bag would break, and if it exploded it was gross! That's how things used to be.

My parents moved after they had already started building houses in Igloolik. They just moved into one. They had never been in a building before. It was a huge building for them. Everything was so brand-new.

They had furniture and other things that were provided. I didn't really know about it, but I heard when they were given a house their monthly rent was one or two dollars. That's what they were told. Perhaps because the government wanted them to move into houses, the Inuit were told that the rent would be low all the time. Inuit believed every word the *qallunaat* said. They believed them because they didn't think they lied. They believed

everything the *qallunaat* said, but it turns out that now the rent is very high. The councils were beginning to form then and laws were being introduced.

I remember around 1970, when I returned to my community after coming back from down South, they were holding hamlet council elections. People who were running would say, "If I'm voted in, I'm voted in, and if I'm not, I'm not!" That's the way they thought. When I went back to Igloolik, I was thinking like a *qallunaat*. I decided to campaign and I said, "I want you to vote for me. This is what I'm going to do. I'm going to try to help". I wanted to find out myself if that system worked. I had the goal to be voted in, and I was elected. About six months later, when I was walking down the street, an elderly woman came up to me and asked, "Where are the things you said you were going to do when you were elected?" That elderly woman was right! She scolded me. No wonder! I had tried to act like a *qallunaaq.*

There was no sense of real leadership in the community because there were people from different camps that had come in. When we were living in a camp we had one leader. My uncle was the leader of our clan, I guess we can call it. Each family had their own leader, but when we came into the community, there was no real sense of that leadership anymore. That's when the council was created. That was around 1969 or 1970. Then I left for Ottawa

When I returned home after being at school in Chesterfield Inlet, I would remember the food I ate at school and was homesick for Chesterfield Inlet. It was like it was the other way around for me when I returned home. When I was home, I was homesick for the place I had left, and when I was there I was homesick for my home. Perhaps it was because we were travelling so much we were homesick for Chesterfield Inlet or Churchill or Ottawa, thinking that we were going to get new clothing and things like that. Being in Churchill and Ottawa was more about getting away from my mother asking me to

get married! I was trying to get away from that. I didn't want to get married at that age. But as I said, we started to become more rebellious. Saying no to our parents was something new.

Frontier College prepared me to further my education. They told me if I wanted to, I could go and study in Ottawa. I stayed at Algonquin College for three years.[11] I went there with a good friend of mine who has since passed away, Andy Awa. William Tagoona was there with me. James Arvaluk was living in Ottawa then.[12] There were crazy people from Northern Quebec; there were people from all over. Rassi Nashalik was there, too.[13] We went there around the same time. I was in adult education at Algonquin College. I did from grade eight to grade ten. I finished my grade eleven in '72. I really wanted to become a cop at that time!

After wanting to become a priest, my life changed again. In fact, I was living with a cop who had been stationed in Pond Inlet some years back. I was completing my grade eleven. This was in '71. You had to have grade eleven and you had to be over five-foot eight to become a cop. I was trying to complete my grade eleven. I'm a little over five-foot eight. In 1972 I graduated with my grade eleven. I went back home to work for the summer in Igloolik. As I told you earlier, I was pouring concrete at the Igloolik research centre. I got a letter from the RCMP. When I opened the letter I almost cried. The letter said, "You failed the test by five points." That's the letter I received. I went back to school, and I graduated from grade twelve in 1973, I believe.

NOTES

1. Camp 20 was located about twenty miles or so from the army base. The students could spend their free time on weekends there. At that time, there were a lot of polar bears there. That was the same year that one of the students was mauled by one. (Personal communication with Paul Quassa)
2. Sheila Watt-Cloutier was born in Kuujjuaq in 1953. She became the corporate secretary of Makivik from 1995 to 1998 and during that same time was elected president of the Canadian section of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. During her term she took tough stand against the use of persistent organic pollutants which contaminate the food chain in the Arctic. She continued advocating for a cleaner environment as the Chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference from 2002 to 2006. She was a leading contender with former United States vice president Al Gore for the Nobel Peace prize in 2007 for her international campaign on climate change. Sheila Watt-Cloutier now lives in Iqaluit, Nunavut.
   Charlie Watt: 'A hunter and businessman by profession, Watt has served as Northern officer with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs from 1969 to 1979 and founded the *Northern Quebec Inuit Association* (now the Makivik Corporation) in the 1970s. He has also been active with a number of aboriginal businesses including the Makivik Corporation, Air Inuit, Seaku Fisheries, Uttuulik Leasing, and Kigaq Travel. Watt served as co-chair of the Inuit Committee on National Issues from 1979 to 1984 and has also served with the Nunavik Constitutional Committee and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Watt was appointed to the Senate in 1984 by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.' From: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charlie_Watt
3. In 1969, Tagak Curley was asked to represent Inuit as a member of the Indian and Eskimo Association (IEA), an organization created to conduct research on aboriginal issues, and "*to assist newly formed aboriginal organizations across Canada in becoming involved in the political process concerning the recognition of aboriginal rights especially as these rights applied to our territory and resources*". This association made Tagak Curley realize the importance of having an Inuit run organization "*that would be responsible for both coordinating and supporting regional Inuit concerns and interests at the national level*". He thus participated in the creation of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (then known as Inuit Tapirisat of Canada), a national organization whose aims are to represent all Canadian Inuit, protect their rights, ensure that Inuit participate in the development of northern resources, establish appropriate mechanisms to ensure Inuit participation and consultation, and making powers, as well as formulating policies, programs and research for dealing with rights to territory and resources and concerns about

the right to maintain traditional land use and harvesting practices. Indeed, Tagak Curley was one of the first advocates of Inuit rights. As early as 1971, he said that: "*The Inuit at this moment are split into five regions - the Mackenzie Delta, Keewatin, Baffin Island, Labrador and Arctic Quebec - and have never attempted to unite with each other. We should no longer let this lack of unity among Inuit continue; we must now unite and support each other as Inuit. Just because Quebec is not a part of the Northwest Territories, we should not overlook the Inuit there. We must all become one group; the Inuit. ..... We should not let any problems or anything interfere with our future. If we are to only concern ourselves with our own regions, we will never grow or become self-supporting people. The Inuit first of all must join together".* He is now the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Rankin Inlet North at the Nunavut Legislative Assembly (from: www.itk.ca/corporate/history-origin.php).

4. Peter Mansbridge is the Chief Correspondent for CBC Television News. He anchors CBC's nightly news program, *The National*, and all CBC News specials. In the late 1960s, he was working as an airport announcer in Churchill, Manitoba. While there, he was recruited to work for a local radio station, and then by the CBC to work for CBC Radio's northern service. He moved away from Churchill in 1971 and has held several positions as a journalist for the CBC since then.
5. James Arvaluk is a former politician from Coral Harbour. He served as a member of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories from 1991 to 1995, and as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut from 1999 to 2003. He served as Nunavut's first Minister of Education. He was re-elected to the Legislative Assembly in 2004 as the member for Tunnuniq.
6. The creation of local administrations sprang from two distinct events that both occurred at the end of the 1960s. (1) In 1969, the territorial administration passed the Hamlet Ordinance. This ordinance brought "*local autonomy to small and predominantly native communities*" (Duffy 1988: 230). That meant that for the first time, local inhabitants were brought together to discuss local problems and find local solutions. That gave communities more say in the running of their own affairs, which in turn, helped develop the political consciousness of many Inuit. (2) At the same time, young Inuit who had met in boarding schools in Churchill and Yellowknife were coming back to their home communities. "*Regardless of what the academic and vocational objectives were for these schools, they provided an opportunity for young Inuit men and women from different regions to start discussing the types of problems all Inuit were facing. From these gatherings and discussions sprang a commitment to the politics of change*" (www.itk.ca/corporate/history-origin.php). Many of those young Inuit played important political roles at the local level when they came back to their home communities. They were conscious that their own communities were not alone in facing

problems many other Inuit were also facing. Because of this, but also because they already knew each other, they soon joined the *Indian and Eskimo Association*, from which sprang the *Inuit Tapirisat of Canada*, a nation-wide Inuit run organization.

7. In 1973, CBC started broadcasting across the Canadian North through the Anik-1 satellite, and, in 1975, implemented the *Accelerated Coverage Plan* to provide reception and transmission equipment to any community in Canada with more than five hundred people. In the Northwest Territories, the territorial government provided the same equipment to all communities with less than five hundred individuals.

   All of a sudden, telephone, radio and live television became available to all Inuit communities. (See: Roth and Valaskakis: 1989). The introduction of television had a big impact on aboriginal communities as it increased the southern influence on local cultures and most especially on aboriginal and Inuit languages. Inuit and aboriginal peoples also had no say in the decision making processes concerning television and radio programming. Therefore for many communities, the introduction of television was perceived as a cultural invasion. Igloolik refused to retransmit the available CBC television feed from 1973 to 1983. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation was created in 1981, following the recommendations to the federal government of the Therrien Commission to fund aboriginal and Inuit media. IBC aired its first program in January 1982. When the community of Igloolik allowed the retransmission of the television signal in 1983, some IBC Inuktitut programming was already available. See: http://www.inuitbroadcasting.ca/english/history.html
8. Frontier College is a national organization and a network of volunteer teachers whose principal aim is to teach literacy to all Canadians. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the College developed community projects in northern settlements and volunteer teachers were sent to teach Inuit (see: www.frontiercollege.ca).
9. The old stone church in Igloolik was pulled down in August of 2006.
10. Amarualik was well respected in Igloolik, and one of the best drum dancers in the Amitturmiut area. He passed away in the 90s. (Personal communication with Paul Quassa)
11. Algonquin College is a college of applied arts and technology whose mission is "to provide high quality, career-oriented education and training, which respond to the needs of learners, to the community, and to society" (www.algonquincollege.com). Students enrolled in the Nunavut Sivuniksavut training program (eight-month college program based in Ottawa to train young Inuit to work for the government of Nunavut) are now taking second-year courses at Algonquin College (www.nstraining.ca).

12. Andy Awa: Paul Quassa states, "Andy was about my age. He was the grandson of Aua, who worked with Knud Rasmussen, around Repulse Bay and the Igloolik area in the early 1920s. Andy and I went to Ottawa in 1970 to attend Algonquin College and were there for four years, before we headed back to Igloolik. His father, Ujaraq was a well respected elder when the community of Igloolik was just starting and forming its first local government." (Personal communication with Paul Quassa)
William Tagoona: William Tagoona is the current host of Tuttavik on CBC Radio One. He is also the Kuujjuaq correspondent for the CBC.
13. Rassi Nashalik: Rassi Nashalik has been the host of CBC News *Igalaaq*, an Inuktitut language news and current event program ever since it started in 1995. She is a champion for issues and events surrounding Inuit culture. Rassi was born in Pangnirtung and served as the Manager of Language Services for the Government of the Northwest Territories. She also worked as an interpreter/translator for the Government of the Northwest Territories prior to the creation of Nunavut. From CBC web site at: http://origin.www.cbc.ca/programguide/personality/index.jsp?personality=Nashalik%2C+Rassi&program=Igalaaq

CHAPTER 3

Choosing a Profession: From Auto Mechanics to Politics and Media

After studying in Ottawa, I came to work in Iqaluit as an apprentice mechanic. I think it was in '74. At that time, when we were young, the only jobs available for Inuit were as mechanics, or heavy equipment operators. That's what we were steered towards as young people. We had this to look forward to but not other things. We were steered into jobs as heavy equipment operators, carpenters, or anything that was manual work. Not too many of us were doing office work or striving towards it. We looked more at hands-on types of work, and I ended up working as an apprentice mechanic for six months. But I don't think I was a very good mechanic because whatever I repaired would be returned the next day!

Here in Iqaluit, when the Oqota and Paton Company was in existence, I used to work there. Jack Paton was the manager of the business in the early 1970s, and I worked with Ross McKinnon when the gas station used to be where Baffin Gas Bar is now located.[1] I didn't know then that he would be a negotiator for the opposing side later on. One day while I was in the garage I was told I had a long distance call. I went to the little office. When I got there I found out it was William Tagoona at the other end, calling from Ottawa. Apparently he was working for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). He asked me if I wanted

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada land claims personnel, 1976. From left to right: William Tagoona, Puju (Carl Christian Olsen), David Tagoona, Ian Creery, and Paul Quassa
Credit: Paul Quassa

Paul Quassa boating on Frobisher Bay, near Iqaluit, c.1979
Credit: Paul Quassa

to move to Ottawa. I asked him, "Why", and he said, "So you can be an interpreter for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada." This was in 1974. I had been in Ottawa before, pursuing my education, so I was sure I wanted to go back. I wanted to go because I wanted to get away from the garage. I was then making twelve thousand dollars a year. That was a good salary. I asked William, "I'm making twelve thousand dollars a year. Will I be making the same amount of money?" He said I would, so I said okay. Somehow I got back to Ottawa, and at that time I started working for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.

I became an interpreter-translator in the land claims department. ITC was publishing a magazine in 1974 which I was translating at the same time as John Amagoalik was there.[2] He became the director of land claims while I was still an interpreter-translator. After I was an interpreter-translator for six months, I became the information officer in the land claims department, in 1975. After that, I became special assistant to the land claims director, John Amagoalik. At that time there were still no negotiations for land claims in place. ITC came up with a Nunavut land claims proposal. We all knew that ITC was representing all Inuit in Canada, but they focused their attention more on the Nunavut region which was still in the Northwest Territories. That is when the first draft of the Nunavut proposal was written. It was not a very thick document. The Inuvialuit from the Western Arctic were still part of ITC then and were included in our Nunavut proposal.[3] In that first proposal, Nunavut would have been much larger, including part of the Yukon. In 1976, when I was still there, the Nunavut proposal was submitted to the federal government. That was the very first proposal. James Arvaluk, Tagak Curley, and John Amagoalik were all working at ITC then. When Pierre Trudeau was still Prime Minister we went up to Parliament Hill to submit our Nunavut proposal. Afterwards, they returned it to our organization because they didn't think there was any

strength to it. It wasn't strong enough. That Nunavut proposal was put together by a lawyer, Peter Cummings, and Inuit were not really involved in its development.[4] For that reason it didn't really have the power to be accepted. It was taken more as an advisory document.

I remember working with Simon Awa and Ian Creery.[5] Around that time we were moved to Igloolik. We were recognized as negotiators but we didn't do any negotiating because there were no negotiations going on until later.

When I went to ITC in Ottawa I didn't know John Amagoalik. I met him and got to know him and other people when I started working there. Michael Amarook, who has now passed away, was the ITC president when I was there.[6] We published *Inuktitut* magazine and I would translate it. It was distributed to Inuit. At that time the total population of Inuit that ITC was representing was around sixteen or seventeen thousand people. I would wonder why we would only send out five hundred copies when I knew there were around sixteen thousand people who knew how to read. I wrote a letter to Michael Amarook and I asked him why we were only sending out five hundred copies when we knew there were around sixteen thousand people. I wrote to him even though he was my boss and his office was close to my office. I received a letter back which said, "Don't question that or you will be fired." That's when I started wondering how we could better serve our people. Even though we were representing Inuit, I wondered why we were distributing so few magazines. I started thinking that one day I would want to represent the people. It was in 1977, around that time that I remember thinking that. Eventually, that's what I would end up doing. That was my goal when I was still at ITC, that one day I would become an Inuit leader and represent our people.

In 1976, when I got back to Igloolik, I quit working with ITC. Indian and Northern Affairs were just getting a new office here in Iqaluit, and I went to work for them. My boss at the time was Andy Theriault.[7] He was the very

first employee of the federal government here and it was his first time in Iqaluit. I recall having an office in the high rise. We had office space there and I had an apartment in the eight-story high rise, a couple of doors down the hallway from my office. It was the closest office to home I ever had! Even as close as it was, I used to be late at times. I recall being one of the first employees of Indian and Northern Affairs for the federal government here. We used to deal with land use planning at the Indian and Northern Affairs office. They were doing exploration in the Lancaster Sound area. That's what we were dealing with mostly here in the Eastern Arctic. There was gas exploration going on, but apparently they didn't find much. We were issuing permits to exploration companies and whatnot. I really enjoyed working there.

I worked at Indian and Northern Affairs during the day, and at night and on weekends I worked as a waiter at the bar. At the time I was a non-drinker, but I started drinking then because if we made five thousand dollars of sales in a night we would get one free beer. In the seventies, five thousand dollars was a lot of money. One weekend that I was working there, I served someone who was working at CBC. She asked me if I would rather work at CBC than the bar. I said, "Sure, okay!" So I started to work at CBC on weekends. I worked for six months starting at six in the morning. When I was still there in 1978 or 1979, I got transferred to Rankin Inlet when CBC Kivalliq was just being started.

When I was at CBC I started learning more about politics. When you are working for CBC you get to know a lot about things you didn't know about before. I learned a lot working for CBC here. Then I got transferred to CBC in Rankin for around a year and from there I moved over to the hamlet and became the settlement manager. Louis Pilakapsi, who was well-known in the Keewatin, was the mayor at the time. He has since passed away. It was my first time working in an office setting at that level, as settlement manager.

When I was born my parents were Catholic. In 1978 or '79 I met my wife, Elisapee Attagoyuk. I'm going to go back a bit. Just before going to Rankin Inlet, after my transfer, I went to Igloolik. I was going out with Elisapee. She was just my girlfriend then. I took her along to Igloolik. We were in Igloolik for a couple of weeks on our way to Rankin Inlet. I had to follow what my parents told me. When we were in Igloolik my parents suggested that we get married. At the time I hadn't thought of getting married at all. As I told you earlier, I told my brother not to say yes because he didn't want to get married. Even though I didn't want to get married I had to agree to what was proposed. Even though I had told my older brother he didn't need to get married if he didn't want to, here I was doing exactly what he did. At that time it was great anyway because my father was a lay person in the church and he married us. I ended up going to Rankin Inlet with my new wife.

She was originally from Pangnirtung. She was adopted by David Attagoyuk and his family. Her biological parents were from Qikiqtarjuaq. Joanasi Kakka was her biological father, so I had two fathers in-law. Anyway, when I was in Rankin Inlet as settlement manager, my wife was Anglican and I was Catholic. It always came back to religion somehow. I realized that my wife would go to the Anglican church and I would go to the Catholic church every Sunday. When I was in the Catholic church one Sunday and the priest was doing his sermon, I felt angry inside and I didn't know why. When I felt that anger inside, I left the church and went back home. Maybe it was because I recalled what had happened to me in Chesterfield Inlet.

After that, I started following my wife to the Anglican church. I would even do readings from the Bible. I wanted to become an Anglican so I was confirmed. I talked to my mother and father about changing denominations. I asked them if it was okay with them. My father didn't mind. He told me we all prayed to the same God. My mother wasn't very happy about it. I had both my parents then. It was an

unusual thing to ask their permission for. We always asked our parents for permission first before we did anything, so that's what I did. I settled into the Anglican religion. I was happy with it. I would read the Bible every Sunday. While I was the settlement manager I started thinking that maybe I should become a minister. As I said earlier, when I was small I used to want to become a priest. I was told there was training for preachers and anyone could apply. I filled out the application and sent it to Bishop Sperry.[8] I was interviewed by Chris Williams and the other bishop whose name I can't remember.[9] I was interviewed at my place. A month later I received a letter saying that I had been accepted. As I was accepted, I would be able to go at the Arthur Turner Training Centre in Pangnirtung in September with my family to take this program to become a minister.[10]After I was accepted I didn't know what I should do.

I mentioned this to Louis Pilakapsi, who was the mayor. September 6 was the departure date if I wanted to go on that course. My meals and accommodations would be paid for, and I would get six thousand dollars a year. That had been noted in the letter. I was confused as to what I should do. I wanted to speak to Louis Pilakapsi. I was very proud of him as an Inuk. I tried to go and talk to him, but as it was summer, he was taking off in his canoe. I started shouting to him, "Louis, come back!" He was on his way out but he came back. I told him I was very confused and that I wanted to become a minister but I was unsure as to what to do. He said he would be gone for a week, and that he would respond to me when he got back. I had to wait for him to come back. I was anxiously awaiting Louis Pilakapsi to return, and he finally arrived.

I went to him right away. Before he answered me, he asked, "Do you think you will get closer to God being a preacher?" He said right away, "You can be a janitor, or a mechanic, or whatever, or a minister and be close to God. A minister is not necessarily closer to God than any other

person. God looks at everybody at the same level, whether it's a mechanic, a janitor or anything else." After he told me this I had a clearer understanding. Maybe it was the lack of money that was provided that changed my mind. Maybe I was not made out to be a minister in my life. My urge to become a minister stopped there. I would have been taking that course at the same time as Joshua Arreak and others who are now Anglican ministers.[11]

I got to know Armand Tagoona very well when I was living in the Keewatin. I developed a great respect for him. Armand Tagoona would go to Rankin Inlet because he was an Anglican minister at the time. I would go to him when he was there. I was very proud of Armand Tagoona. I had converted from being a Catholic to being an Anglican. I went to Igloolik. Apparently the people of Igloolik already knew I was an Anglican. My father was a lay person in the Catholic Church. I went to the Anglican church one Sunday when Caleb Apak and Noah Nasuk were still alive. They asked me if I wanted to become a lay person at the church. They gave me a robe to wear. Josiah Kadlutsiak, Mark Evaluarjuk, and Noah Nasuk were the leaders of the Anglican Church.[12] I was up there at the altar and Noah Nasuk asked me if I wanted to talk. I said, "Yes, I would, for a little while." I remembered since it was Sunday, that my father was probably doing the sermon at the other church. I said that my father was preaching at the Catholic church and here I was in the Anglican church. I used that as an example. We all pray to the same God. I wasn't doing a sermon, but I was talking to the congregation. When I was young we were so driven by the Roman Catholics. Because of that, I got away from them. Nowadays this doesn't worry me as much because you can be of any religion today.

One of the differences I noticed was in the creed. Both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican creeds state that they believe in the Almighty, the Creator. It is the same in both denominations. In the Roman Catholic Church they focus more on themselves, but the Anglican Church

is more open to other churches. The Anglicans look at all the Christian fellowship. That's how I see it. The Catholics look at their own religion, while the Anglicans are more inclusive of Lutherans and Baptists and other churches. That's why I became Anglican.

My dad accepted me changing denominations much better than my mother. I remember very clearly him saying, "As long as you don't switch to a different religion, that's fine." My mother wanted me to stay with the Catholic Church. I don't know if there has been a lot of converting in the North, but I did. I did what I believed. I don't know why. I have six children right now. My oldest one, Christine, was born in '79. Another daughter was born in 1980. My third daughter was born in '85. I also have three sons. Interestingly, even when I was an Anglican, out of respect to my father while he was alive, all my children but one were baptized in the Catholic Church even though I was an Anglican. I brought my daughters to the Catholic church to be baptized by my father. Only one of my sons was baptized in the Anglican Church. I don't think there was much concern about different denominations at the time, but in earlier days there were confrontations between the two. I was older then so I had my kids baptized in the Catholic Church.

In Igloolik, for example, Father Fournier started the Co-op. I believe the co-ops in other communities were started mostly by Roman Catholics. I don't know about Northern Quebec. When the Co-op first started in Igloolik there were mostly Roman Catholic members. But it is interesting to note that Mark Evaluarjuk always worked for the Hudson's Bay Company but somehow he got involved with the Co-op. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Co-ops were two completely separate things. In Igloolik, I don't think that religion was the main factor in the Co-op even if most of the first members were Catholic.

I can tell you the story about how I wanted to become an RCMP officer. I remember going to the police station

after I graduated from grade eleven with this guy, Abraham Tungaluk. It was raining like hell. We went there by bus. This was in the hippie days and my friend's hair was just about down to his knees. He was a lot shorter than me. As I said, to get into the RCMP regular force you had to be five-foot eight and have good eyesight. I was over five foot eight, but my friend was a lot shorter. He was going there to become a special constable because he was too short. He had long hair! Because it had been pouring rain, his hair was dripping wet when we got there. I didn't want to be too close to him because the cops had short, short hair and this guy had long hair. Mine was only up to my shoulders. I remember that so clearly. He was never accepted as a special constable. He now works for Maliiganik Tukisiiniakvik as a court-worker. [13] A lot of young people at the time, especially guys, had long hair. My hair was just shoulder length.

At the time they were trying to transform us into *qallunaat*, and we started thinking like them. When we were attending school that's how it was. We didn't use much alcohol or drugs. We didn't even think about it when we were down there. I don't really remember experimenting with drugs during my school days at Algonquin College. In later years when I was there, Algonquin College had pub nights on Fridays. I remember the pub nights. This much beer would cost forty cents. The same size glass of hard liquor would cost sixty cents.

We played a few sports at Algonquin College. For some reason I never even though of driving. There were quite a few Inuit there too, from Northern Quebec, Baffin and Keewatin. We were pretty innocent then. I remember going to a concert. This was when heavy metal was just starting. I went to an Alice Cooper concert. It was the first concert I had ever been to. I found the music too loud! I never liked it. Having a religious background, I wasn't used to that.

In 1997 in Iqaluit, I took a six-week crash-course in legal studies, criminal and contract law. I took it through

Nunavut Arctic College, Nunatta Campus. There were quite a few of us. Some of us like Sandra Inutiq have completed their courses in the law program and are now lawyers. This was before the Akitsiraq Law program started.[14]

Later on, I went down to Carleton University to take the law program, but I never completed it. When I used to work as a legal negotiator, everything was in legal terms. If you look at the Final Agreement it's all in legal terms. By the time we finished negotiating most of us were talking like lawyers. You used words like 'esteemed' and all these other words. I took legal studies here. In my younger years I wanted to be so many things! I was always interested in theology with my father being a lay person and me growing up in religious surroundings. I always had an interest in this.

In fact, last summer, there was this guy from Saudi Arabia who was in Igloolik. I became interested in Islam and he sent me a whole bunch of books on this to show what their beliefs are. It is very interesting to read about it. As Christians we believe that Jesus was crucified on the cross. In Islam, they claim that people in those days crucified the wrong man. They claim they got the wrong man on the cross. It is most interesting to see what other religions believe. Anyway, I don't think I was much into religion when I went to school in Ottawa. You know, sometimes you get away from religion, but it always comes back.

NOTES

1. Ross McKinnon was the Senior Negotiator for the Government of the Northwest Territories during the negotiations that led to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Although he was a member of the federal government negotiating team, he was the representative for the Northwest Territories.
2. Often recognized as one of the fathers of Nunavut, John Amagoalik was at the heart of the negotiations that lead to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1993. He was, among other things, vice president and then president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and co-chair of the Inuit Committee on National Issues (first with Charlie Watt, then with Zebedee Nungak). He also was the Chief Commissioner of the Nunavut Implementation Commission (NIC) (see: Amagoalik, 2007).
3. The Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) was created in 1970 by Inuvik residents to represent Mackenzie Delta people in negotiations with the federal and territorial governments as well as the oil industry, since oil had been discovered in the region. For three years after its creation, COPE recruited members, consulted heavily with peoples in many communities, and initiated protests against the federal government. In 1972, COPE became affiliated with the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) because up to then the federal government did not officially recognize the organization. ITC supported the efforts of COPE to get funding and recognition. Until 1976, COPE was expecting ITC to conduct negotiations with the federal government over land claims. COPE defended the interests of the Mackenzie Delta residents and protected the integrity of their land threatened by oil and gas activities (McPherson, 2003: p. 64-66). In 1976, COPE, under the pressure of imminent gas development in the Beaufort Sea, decided to represent only their Inuvialuit members and to negotiate the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, Inuvialuit Nunangat, directly with the federal government.
4. Peter Cummings was a lawyer working for the Indian Eskimo Association who strongly advocated for aboriginal rights in Canada. He was directly instrumental in the founding of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) and in the writing up of the first Nunavut proposal. ITC presented its first Nunavut proposal to the Canadian government on February 17, 1976. This proposition, entitled "Agreement-in-Principle as to the Settlement of Inuit Land Claims in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory between the Government of Canada and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada", was calling for the creation of an Inuit territory that would comprise the whole Canadian Arctic, including the Mackenzie Delta which has since been the object of the Inuvialuit Land Claims Agreement. The two main

objectives of this first Nunavut proposal were to preserve the Inuit identity and traditional way of life as well as ensuring an equal and meaningful participation of Inuit in the changing North. Although this proposal was later put aside in favour of other proposals that were not ethnically based, ITC had made an important first step for the creation of Nunavut and the settlements of other Inuit land claims in Labrador and in the Mackenzie Delta with this proposal. In 1977, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada presented a new proposal to the Government of Canada called "Speaking for the First Citizens of the Canadian North". It took elements from the first proposal but was also more radical in the sense that although the first proposal wanted to preserve Inuit identity and traditional way of life as well as ensuring an equal and meaningful participation of Inuit in the changing North, this second proposal demanded the creation of an ethnic territory where only Inuit would be allowed to vote. In this territory, Inuit would own all the lands and waters, for a total of 750,000 square kilometers. This proposal also called for the creation of subsidies for Inuit hunters and trappers. Finally, it also proposed to entrench into the Constitution Act of Canada the right for Inuit to have and to be regarded as a distinct society inside Canada. The federal government, which had rejected the first proposal on the grounds that it would not negotiate a land claim and a political agreement at the same time, also rejected this second proposal. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada actually had to get rid of its more radical negotiators to get the negotiations back on track with the Canadian government (see: Duffy, 1988: p. 235-243 and Légaré, 1993: p. 38-42).

5. Simon Awa is now the Deputy Minister of the new Department of Environment. Before that, he held several positions in the Nunavut government and Inuit organizations. For example, he was the Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of Sustainable Development with the Nunavut Government and the executive director of the Nunavut Implementation Commission. While working for the Nunavut Department of Justice, he was appointed as co-chair (with Louis Tapardjuk) of the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Task Force* in 2001 to help find solutions on how to incorporate Inuit traditional knowledge into the programs and institutions of the Government of Nunavut.
   Ian Creery was hired by ITC as one of the regional negotiators in 1976, for his ability to speak Inuktitut fluently and his knowledge of the Eastern Arctic. He worked with Paul Quassa, Simon Awa, William Tagoona, Nellie Cournoyea, and Walter Audla as regional negotiators. At that time ITC wasn't really involved in actual negotiations, but this was around the time when Milton Freeman did the *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study*. Ian's father, Ray Creery, worked for the Government of the Northwest Territories in a senior position. (Personal communication with Paul Quassa)

6. Michael Amarook (b.1941 – d.1998) was a leader and artist from Baker Lake. He was the first president of the Sanavik Co-operative in Baker Lake. Between 1977 and 1978, 1979 and 1981, he was president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. In 1979, he was also named for a three-year term at the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council.
7. Andy Theriault came up North working for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. He was the mayor of Iqaluit in the late 1980s as well as a member of the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board in the mid-1990s.
8. Born in Great Britain, Bishop John Sperry was an Anglican missionary in Kugaaruk from 1950 to 1970. During those years, he was also archdeacon and third Bishop of the Arctic. In 1973, he was made diocesan Bishop of the Arctic, which he remained until 1990. In 2001, he published *Igloo Dwellers were My Church*, a book about his years in Kugaaruk. He received the Order of Canada in 2002 (Baker 2001).
9. Chris Williams was diocesan Bishop of the Arctic from 1991 to 2002. He was born in Great Britain and was ordained in Salluit, Nunavik, in 1962. As of 2002, he had served as a minister in Salluit, Cape Dorset, Baker Lake and Yellowknife. He also was canon of St. Judes Cathedral in Iqaluit (de Santis 2002).
10. The Arthur Turner Training School (named after Arthur Turner, missionary in Pangnirtung from 1928 until his death in 1953) was established in 1970. The school was created to formalize the training of ordinands in the Arctic Diocese. Ordinands go to Pangnirtung with their family to follow a three-year course. There, under the direction of the principal with assistance from university professors, seminaries and churches in Canada and around the world, they receive training and education to become ministers. Half of the ministers of the Arctic diocese were trained in the Arthur Turner Training School (www.arcticnet.org).
11. Joshua Arreak is the rector of St. Timothy's Anglican Church in Pond Inlet.
12. The people from Igloolik first heard about Christian ideas in the first half of the 1920s through Umik, an *angakkuq*-turned-Anglican from North Baffin. He had accompanied his son Nuqallaq to Igloolik (see: Grant 2002). Quickly, Umik started preaching Christian ideas and thirty-five families from three different camps followed him. The first Catholic Inuit from Igloolik were baptized in Pond Inlet, where Father Bazin had established a mission in 1929. Twenty-two of them had travelled from Igloolik to Pond Inlet where they were baptized. The following year, more Inuit from Igloolik came to Pond Inlet to be baptized by the Catholics. In 1931, two Igloolik leaders, Augustin Ittuksaarjuat and his wife Monique Ataguttaaluk were baptized by the Catholics as well. Father Bazin finally opened the first Catholic

mission in Igloolik in 1933. By the early 1930s, seventy-four Inuit were Catholics and around seventy Inuit were Anglicans, even though the first Anglican mission in Igloolik didn't open until 1959. Today this figure (50%-50%) has not changed and most people have been loyal to the faith chosen by their ancestors (Laugrand 2002: 239-243; 375-378).

13. Maliiganik Tukisiiniakvik is a legal aid clinic providing legal services to the thirteen communities in the Baffin region with its head office in Iqaluit. Abraham Tungaluk is employed as a court worker for this organization.
14. The Akitsiraq Law School was created from a partnership between the Akitsiraq Law School Society, the University of Victoria (Faculty of Law) and the Nunavut Arctic College. Its main objective is to provide Inuit with the possibility of receiving a legal education in Nunavut. Students involved in the school can earn a Bachelor's degree from the University of Victoria while taking their classes at the Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit. The first class of students was admitted in September of 2001 and graduated in June of 2005. There has been no further intake of students to date.

CHAPTER 4

Labourious Negotiations with the Federal Government

I came back to Iqaluit in 1983 to work for IBC (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation). After being a news editor, I was hired in 1984 as the director of current affairs in Iqaluit.[1] Communication journalism was what I was taught when I was down South; how to make news stories. I was pretty well a journalist at the time. When IBC still had an abundance of funding we would broadcast live shows. Nowadays they just tape what's going to be shown. We used to be shown live in Nunavut and elsewhere. After being with IBC, I went to work in '85 for the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN).

When you interview people on television, sometimes people start sweating and getting really hot. I was always the one who was interviewing people. In 1985, it was the first time I was interviewed for a job, by TFN. I noticed myself sweating like hell that time. I thought, "Here I made people sweat when I was doing interviews as a journalist. Now I know what it's like to be on the other side." I found this out in 1985 when I started working with TFN as a regional negotiator. Apparently, Paul Okalik and I were hired at the same time.[2] He came from Nanisivik. I was then residing in Iqaluit. He was the regional land claims negotiator for North Baffin and I was the land claims negotiator for South Baffin. It was kind of a reverse

situation because I am originally from North Baffin and Paul Okalik is originally from South Baffin.

I started working for TFN in 1985 after negotiations had already started. When I joined, some articles had been already negotiated. Other articles were close to completion. There was me, Paul, and Simon Taipana who has since passed away. He was from Kugluktuk. Alan Maksagak was from Cambridge Bay. At that time Bob Kadlun was the chief negotiator and there was David Aglukark.[3] We were all Inuit. The others were lawyers. There were three or four lawyers that we worked with.[4] They had specialties in different fields, like the environment. So, we would have a lawyer who knew about environmental concerns. We would hire lawyers in different fields who had different areas of expertise. Tom Molloy was the chief negotiator for the federal government, and Ross McKinnon, who was my boss while I was an apprentice mechanic, was representing the Government of the Northwest Territories as a negotiator. I learned it was difficult to do negotiations. It took Paul Okalik and me six to seven months before we knew what we were talking about. It was so complicated! We were sitting on one side and the federal government negotiators were sitting across from us. We were really against each other. In the evenings, after negotiating all day, we just treated each other as friends, but during the day we acted like enemies.

Some of the provisions of the land claim were already negotiated but there was a particular one, wildlife management, which was one of the toughest and most comprehensive issues, and we dealt with that. There would be various representatives from the federal government coming to the table; let's say from the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (D.F.O.) or the Department of Environment. They were the hardest people to deal with. The D.F.O. and the Department of Environment didn't want to give us any authority. They were very difficult to discuss with. They didn't want to share any of their mandates. Sometimes

we would stop the negotiations so we didn't actually fight. One time our chief negotiator, Bob Kadlun, got so angry he kicked Norman Williams, the federal assistant negotiator on land selection. Sometimes it almost became physical when we were negotiating. That's how hard it was! We would ask for something and they wouldn't give it to us.

For example, we would give them something on paper, and they would come back in maybe a couple of weeks or a month. Then, we would go over the position paper and they would have changed everything! We had to rearrange everything and resubmit it. We were not always in meeting surroundings. A lot of times we would give them our position paper and that paper would go back and forth until we came to a conclusion, when we could come to an agreement. There was a lot of give and take. Sometimes we lost and sometimes they lost.

We were from Nunavut. The federal government had a policy that no land claim could negotiate off-shore rights.[5] All our communities are in coastal areas because we are a marine people, with the exception of Baker Lake. All the other Inuit communities are on the coast. That was our argument. But the federal policy was not to allow off-shore rights. We kept fighting, and finally we got the federal government to change their policy. It was not just once that federal government policy had to change because of us. They didn't want to change, but we managed to get them to. That was the hardest thing, to get the federal government to change their policies to meet our needs. The Inuvialuit don't have off-shore rights in their agreement, and Makivik didn't have them either until they re-opened the negotiations. They got off-shore rights in 2006. We were the only ones at the time who successfully negotiated off-shore rights with the federal government.

The Nunavut government still has those rights. Even if they made new laws they would still have these rights. That was one of the hardest things to negotiate. If we look at the Nunavut settlement area it is almost the same as the

Nunavut Territory itself. We were very fortunate to have this jurisdiction. In some jurisdictions they can't go past twelve miles. We rely on the sea. Sometimes the floe edge goes beyond twelve miles, so we were able to negotiate and put our boundary beyond the twelve mile limit. That was something we were very successful with. We went beyond the federal government limits in a lot of cases.

For example, in the 1976 proposal, we only had an advisory role; but we started considering the Inuit organization as a decision-making group; that's how different it was. In the 1993 agreement that we signed, that was one of the big differences from the 1976 proposal.

At the time we were in negotiations, the Inuvialuit had already signed their land claims agreement. For that reason, our Nunavut Territory is smaller than it was in the original 1976 proposal.

That was around the time when Nunavik got their agreement. The Pond Inlet meeting was in 1975. That's when we had our first draft proposal approved by our membership. In 1976, it was taken out to the communities. At the Pond Inlet meeting people said that the proposal wasn't strong enough and that we needed to go further. The 1976 proposal was the first of three proposals that were presented to the federal government by ITC. [6]

Maybe we were trying to do things more in a *qallunaat* way then. Today we want to operate more as Inuit, and we are feeling the need to include elders more in the decision-making process. At the time, we were not relying on elders like we do nowadays. We were looking at the political leadership of that time more like elders even though they were not. That's how much we respected them, just like elders. Perhaps this was due to being forced to leave home as little kids to go to school. Maybe that was one of the reasons. The leadership, people like Louis Pilakapsi and Mark Evaluardjuk, never had any formal education. We saw them as our elders. At first, we were not as concerned about having things approved by elders as we are today.

The idea of Nunavut first came up in the early seventies. Even as early as 1969 we learned about Inuit rights and land claims in Alaska.[7] From then on people started thinking about that. It was not a new concept. When you read texts and books, you realize that people thought about this in the late sixties. In 1958 when John Diefenbaker was prime minister, the idea of dividing the territories came up.[8] It was so obvious because there were Indians on one side of the Arctic and Inuit on the other. The idea of dividing the territory was there right from the start of our organizations around 1969.

I was one of the later participants. The first one to have the vision of Nunavut was Tagak Curley. He was visiting communities in 1969 or 1970. They had a public meeting here in Iqaluit. The late Simonie Alainga was working with him.[9] They had that vision. Those of us who came later were following more what the vision was then. If they call anyone the Father of Nunavut, people nowadays say it's John Amagoalik. To me it's Tagak Curley. Tagak Curley started working on this way back when John Amagoalik was still attending high school in Iqaluit.

They invited people, not just from Iqaluit. Tagak Curley, Josiah Kadlutsiak from Igloolik, Meeka Kilabuk, Simonie Alainga and perhaps Simonie Michael were the first ones. I think Abe Okpik was there at the time, too. They were the very first ones holding meetings. Inuit were just finding out about meetings in the late sixties. That was when they started forming councils and learning about elections. Inuit were finally able to vote in the 1966 territorial election. We were recognized as being able to vote!

We were just finding out about elections. In the communities when people were allowed to vote I don't think they knew much about elections or how to vote. They were just starting to hold meetings. That's when they first started. We more or less followed after them. We were not as scared or intimidated by the federal government and

qallunaat. We were able to negotiate big time. We were no longer scared. As Inuit we used to say *qallunaaraaluit.* Now we are making them smaller *qallunaaruluit.* There was a big difference before. They used to be scary. They are just ordinary *qallunaat* now.

In the olden days, Inuit used to have one leader, and that leader was not necessarily an elder. An Inuit leader, of course, was very good at hunting and had a good knowledge of the land and knew what was needed. He was not necessarily an elder. Elders were there to give advice and their knowledge, but they weren't ever really considered as leaders, not necessarily anyway. The Inuit system is very different from the Indian one. Indians very much rely on their elders, so much more, I think, than Inuit. For me, Inuit elders are respected for their knowledge, not necessarily because they are leaders. They can be consulted. They are the people to take advice from and that is about it. Not to disrespect elders, but the Indian way of doing things and the Inuit way of doing things are sometimes confused. Sometimes people are mistaken that this is how we are. To me, following elders would be the Indian way, like all these Indian healers coming up North. A lot of non-Inuit seem to have a stereotypic way of thinking. They think Indians are like this, so Inuit must be like that too. They have that type of attitude. Inuit are not very talkative. The elders are not necessarily the real leaders. I think that point of view might be contested, but that's my way of thinking. That concept came from how Indians lived and what their beliefs were. These conceptions are mixed up a bit with how Inuit really are.

We have to respect elders because they are elders, but there is not a big difference between our old ways and our new ways according to my thinking. You notice that the elders seem to leave it more up to us to decide. For example, if I asked my father about something, he would tell me to do it the way I liked rather than say, "Do this and do that." With Indians the elders usually tell them to

Paul Quassa goose hunting between Rankin Inlet and Arviat, 1980.
Credit: Paul Quassa

Credit: Paul Quassa

do this and that. Our elders are more lax. It's up to you to decide what you think is best for yourself.

But nowadays, even though we are Inuit, we are handling things more like *qallunaat*. For example, we go along with the group's idea of how to go about things instead of depending on our elders as much. We leave it more to our Inuit political leaders to do the decision-making. But, there is also this elder concept.

This concept of IQ, I don't really think it has anything to do with elders. Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* or Inuit *qaujimajangit* can be seen as two. It doesn't mean elders' knowledge. It is the Inuit traditional way, our language. It just means that. It doesn't indicate elders. Of course, elders have more knowledge. For example we rely on them to get a lot of information on Inuit knowledge from way back, but it doesn't necessarily mean that you have to be obedient to them.

Inuit qaujimajatuqangit and *Inuit qaujimajangit* might very well be the same. When we say *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit*, everybody tends to think about way back, but it does not mean that *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit* are actually policies. It doesn't state that. It is just the knowledge of the Inuit. I hope I made myself clear. This is sometimes very hard to explain. This is a very touchy issue for some people and for some it is not. It is very hard for us sometimes to say something that might be disrespectful.

While we were negotiating, our elected Inuit leaders were more or less independent of the elders. We respected the elders, but as I already stated, we were more or less operating in a *qallunaat* way when we did the negotiations. We depended on the Inuit leaders much more than the elders in the communities. When we were doing the negotiations, maybe ninety percent of it was negotiated down South.

The Nunavut Territory and the Nunavut government was what we wanted. Our vision was to get our own territory and government. That was our goal. Even after

the negotiations were completed, the hardest part for our people to accept was still the extinguishment clause. We had to let go of some things. We weren't going to sign anything. As Inuit having to give up something, we weren't about to sign unless they gave us the Nunavut Territory and the Nunavut government, and we got it.

That was the trade-off. That was a difficult thing to negotiate right until the end. The Inuit leaders prior to us were pushing a lot for that. They said, "Don't sign unless you are going to get a Nunavut government." Article 4 was the provision for that. The federal government knew that we were pushing to get our own government. It was kind of unthinkable for the federal government to create a government that was protected under the constitution. It was unthinkable until the eleventh hour. For example, near midnight we were at Parliament Hill, and they did not want to include Article 4 in the final agreement. They wanted to keep it outside the agreement. We kept saying we weren't going to sign anything unless it was included. It was very difficult. It was hard work until the eleventh hour! Nunavut is the only government protected under a land claims agreement. It's the only one, protected by Article 4. That was our vision. For that reason we couldn't just stop or give up. We signed the final agreement in 1993, so we could get our Nunavut government in 1999. It was already planned for later on.[10]

Some Inuit wanted to refuse the proposed agreement because of that extinguishment clause. A lot of Inuit didn't like it. We didn't like it either. The lawyers negotiated, but it was the best deal we could get. Some said the amount of land we were claiming was too small, and the money we would get was not enough. Those were the reasons why a lot of people didn't like it at first. Seventy percent of the people agreed to it, so it was ratified. We did community visits on the ratification tour. Before we signed the final agreement we went to all the communities. I recall when we were doing the community visits while I was the President

of Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, that there were people who talked to us very strongly who opposed it. They called me a communist, a dictator, Kadafi, all these dictators' names. They called me a lot names. I was trying to get them to agree, so they would call me names.

At that time I learned that if there was a confrontation, I had to restrain myself from talking back. I had to learn that. When I did community visits, even if people were against me, I would just look at the positive side and see what would happen. That is how I was during that time, when I was talking to people who were opposed. We were not against these people who were opposed to the proposal. That extinguishment clause was not liked by anyone, including me. I don't think I said anything positive about that extinguishment clause.

We also had to negotiate the boundaries between Manitoba, Nunavut, and the Western Arctic with the Indians. I noticed that they were a lot more dependant on their elders than us. When we were negotiating with them, for example, it would seem like we had come to an agreement; but then they would turn around and say they had to touch base with their elders first, and then let us know their decision. We would come to a certain agreement, and then they would go back to their elders. After about a month they would come back with a completely different story. They were the hardest group to negotiate with. The federal government was pretty hard, too. I felt the Indians were much, much harder to negotiate with because there was never any real consistency. They all had separate thoughts; Indians have different tribes. Instead of one negotiation, because of so many different tribes, there were so many different opinions compared to us. As Inuit we were all united. That's why we were a lot stronger. Whether we were from Kitikmeot, Kivalliq or Baffin we were all Inuit. On top of that, the Indians had the Dene, the Métis, and all kinds of different groups. That's why it was very difficult to negotiate with them.

Because we couldn't get an agreement on the western boundary, we had to make a corridor. I don't know how many miles it was. The Indians wanted it to be way over there, and we wanted it to be further, so we made a corridor. That was the first type of boundary that was made dividing the territories. Eventually we had to get a conciliator. Both groups voted to have John Parker, a former Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, to decide where the boundary would be within that corridor. [11] We had respect for him. He made a very good decision on the western border.

Contwoyto Lake was heavily used by both parties. We made a deal. "We'll give you that corner there but we have to select Inuit lands outside the Nunavut Territory." So we have lands outside the Nunavut Territory for the same amount.[12]

At that time we didn't really think about diamonds for some reason. When we were selecting lands we were thinking mostly about base metals, such as gold, iron ore, lead and zinc. We even had our own geologist to identify what mineral potential was there in the new territory. [13]

In 1993, the Nunavut Implementation Commission was created. John Amagoalik was appointed president. The commissioners were laying out the plans for the future government. The agreement signed in 1993 was already in effect, and after that people started working on getting a Nunavut government with John Amagoalik who was the leader at that time.

Since Nunavut was created, Inuit are getting more involved. We have our own government now, which is something to be very proud of. If you look at the world, many people are not able to make important political changes, but we were able to do that even though we are not a large population. We were a minority group but we were able to make some big changes, even though few Inuit had access to political power. Being united is the thing that gave us more power compared to the Indians. They tried

to be united, but during negotiations, they started to go their own ways. Their own tribes have come up with their own land claims, different land claims.[14] As Inuit, we were united as one, and that's what gave us more. We have talked about Indians having Métis. Inuit have their own Métis, too. There are Inuit who are Métis and Inuit who are true Inuit. There used to be conflicts, but not big ones like the Indians had. When we were considering who could be included for enrollment we relied on our Inuit tradition. Even if a person had one parent who was a *qallunaaq*, that person was still considered as being an Inuk, instead of that person being part *qallunaaq*. For example, if I adopted a *qallunaaq* or a black person, or a person from any race, according to our final agreement they can be treated as an Inuk. It was only recently that they wanted to change that, because non-Inuit don't have to extinguish anything, but as Inuit we had to extinguish our rights. If a person is a *qallunaaq*, he doesn't need to extinguish his rights, even if I had him recognized as an Inuk. They were looking at making that change at the ITC level, to recognize Inuit as Inuit. At the time we included anyone as long as they were recognized as Inuit. Even though this final agreement has been signed, there can still be changes made. For example, if any of the articles or provisions is no longer needed, it can be changed. It's not written in stone. It can still be changed.

In 1975, there was a plane crash.[15] I was not with the group at that time when people such as Peter Cummings, our lawyer, and the first Inuit leaders had their plane crash. Fortunately, I was not in that plane. Peter Cummings was on board and John Amagoalik and all those other Inuit leaders such as Meeka Kilabuk, Josiah Kadlutsiak, and others. Some of us were still attending school.

The first draft of our land claims proposal was largely put together by lawyers and Peter Cummings was one of them. I think that was the reason why it was eventually rejected by the leadership. They send it back in 1976, but not because the plane went down![16]

We Inuit got much more involved with the second proposal. We would make our suggestions, but we always had to work with lawyers. The first agreement was done up only by lawyers.

Sometimes you tend to think, "Maybe I'm thinking too much like a *qallunaaq*", because I was always taught by *qallunaat* about *qallunaat* ways. We were colonized. It is true that they were trying to do that to us. That's how I feel nowadays. Maybe I'm thinking too much like a *qallunaaq*, especially when I would like to rely on our traditional knowledge and live like a true Inuk. That was one of our goals when we were doing the negotiations. Since land claims negotiations were started, that's what we wanted. The Inuit culture had to be brought back and practised, using our land claims agreement. That's the vision we had. But some of us tend to think in a *qallunaat* way too often, and we don't seem to know any other way. If I never had left home, if I had grown up around my parents in my community where I would have been able to think more as an Inuk, the content of the agreement would have been difficult to agree with, even though it was created for Inuit.

Even today, sometimes I realize I might say things wrong in Inuktitut. Sometimes I even ask my wife Elisapee about some words, even though she is younger than me. I sometimes touch base with her, to know how to say some words properly in Inuktitut.

I notice the peers I went to school with, either in Chesterfield or Churchill, have difficulty speaking properly in Inuktitut. My peers who never left their communities for education or other reasons seem to speak more correct Inuktitut than we do. Even younger people know a lot more about hunting and the environment and the areas that were named in our language. Even though I might have spoken better English and done things more in the *qallunaat* way than they did, they knew more about their environment and language than I did, even if I was older than them.

While I was living in Rankin Inlet in the eighties, I remember asking an elder which would be better for me, growing up with my father around or growing up amongst different elders. I asked Sateana that question. He said that we all have different ways of living. If I had grown up around my dad, I would have grown up following his ways more. If I grew up around different elders, then I would follow their way of life. That was the only thing he told me. I learned more from others than I did from my parents.

A lot of our customs needed to be changed because we are governed by the Canadian government. Sometimes, I am really happy about the results of the agreement, but I still want to go back to it and think that this or that should have been included; but we know that changes can still be made.

I will give you an example. At that time we didn't know anything about global warming and it is a big issue nowadays, the greenhouse effect. We never really thought about that. As I stated, the majority of Inuit lands are on the coast. Nowadays you hear, because of global warming, that the glaciers of Greenland are melting. When that happens, the water levels will be rising. So I'm thinking a lot of the land that we identified as Inuit land will be flooded, because they expect that the ocean will rise seven metres.[17] Thinking of that, we will be losing a lot of Inuit land along the coastline. Because there is a provision in the land claims agreement we can do exchanges of land. That's a change that could happen. That's what I'd like to see happening, keeping in mind that the water levels are going to go up. A lot of the communities on our lands would be flooded. The lands that we negotiated for would be a lot smaller in size, or slide into the sea the way others have.

When we found out that we were going to get what we were asking for, it was exciting! I don't know if there is a word to describe it. We felt relief, rebirth. We could call it something different, but it was something huge! Our

expectations then were greater than what they are today. For example, we thought that once we got the Nunavut government we would be able to use the Inuktitut language in the Legislative Assembly. A lot of us expected things that haven't happened yet. Some things were a let down. People are saying today when I go to government offices, "People are still speaking English." Things that were expected to happen right away haven't happened yet. There were some disappointments with the land claims. A lot of Inuit were expecting to see things happening as soon as we signed the agreement; for example, some benefits. But a lot of things people were expecting have not materialized. Sometimes planning for the future is good, but sometimes it is not for the best, because there are a lot more expectations from Inuit today than there were before.

For example, we just had federal elections (In January, 2006). I was wondering if we would still have a minority Liberal government, but the Conservatives won. Things like that happen all the time and policies change. The Inuit lifestyle is to live day-to-day. But nowadays the usual practice is to look way ahead, just like the government. It's like everything is geared to what is going to happen tomorrow, and in the future.

Changes made along the way prevent goals from being reached at times. Even though there were plans put in place, when you get there, things don't happen in the expected ways. Whatever the goal was back then, it might no longer be the goal today. If things were consistent things would be better. How could I say it? It's a million dollar question. Peter Ittinuar was a member of the New Democratic Party when he went to Ottawa, but he crossed the floor.[18] We used to vote without really thinking about party politics. It was mostly the person running that people would look at. He was the first Inuk Member of Parliament. I don't think people saw him as representing the New Democratic Party when they elected him. The Liberals started saying they would negotiate land claims.

I think people were still looking at Peter Ittinuar as an individual rather than representing party politics. It was good. It didn't really matter what party he was in or what party he switched over to. I don't think we ever thought, "He's going to be Liberal now."

The younger generation nowadays is more verbal than we were. They seem to be getting more involved with the councils and other organizations. In my younger days we were not really involved with such organizations. We were all more concerned about getting an education. When I was young there were no organizations such as QIA (Qikiqtani Inuit Association) or KIA (Kivalliq Inuit Association). Nowadays young people are more visible.

Also, when I was young, elders didn't want to include young people in their conversations. In our younger days we weren't allowed to listen to elders talking. It's different today. Young people today seem to know a lot more about things relating to elders, because they are allowed to listen to them now, or sit in while they are talking. We were not allowed to be around at all. We weren't even allowed to listen because we were not adults. That's how we were treated. Young people today seem to be more aware of what elders say, and about what elders think about, because they are able to be involved more. Maybe this is for the better.

Elders say more often now that the young people are our future generation, but in my younger days they didn't really think of that or say it. They thought that the future was eventually going to come in the old way. People thought today is today, and if tomorrow comes it will be tomorrow's concern. It was a day-to-day kind of living. Today we tend to talk more about the future; that in 2007, 2010, or 2020 the Inuktitut language will be used. That's how far they think ahead nowadays. In my younger years it was more day-to-day concerns that were dealt with. That's a big difference between then and now.

There are more disappointments and more stress, I think, if what you are striving for doesn't happen. I think

some people think too much. For example, they think, "There is a plane coming in today. My cheque is coming in today." They are all excited. Then they think in a couple more days the plane will be arriving. If it doesn't arrive, they become depressed. That's a big difference between then and now. In the old days a hunter would wait at a seal hole all night. It was not like a nine-to-five thing to do.

NOTES

1. Following the Therrien Committee Report (The 1980s: A Decade of Diversity, Report of the Committee on Extension of Service to Northern and Remote Communities) in July 1980, IBC was created when Inuit Tapirisat of Canada obtained a broadcasting license from the Canadian Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) and accessed funding from the federal government. IBC started broadcasting from Frobisher Bay in 1982 (Roth, Valaskakis: 1989, p. 227.) Also see: www.inuitbroadcasting.ca/english/history.html.
2. Paul Okalik was the first Premier of Nunavut. He was elected for the first time in 1999 and then re-elected in 2004. In the 1980s, he worked for the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut as a negotiator for the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. He also was the first Eastern Arctic Inuk to become a lawyer.
3. The late Bob Kadlun was one of the chief Inuit negotiators for the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the vice president of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), the organization mandated by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to negotiate the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.
   David Aglukark was one of the main negotiators for the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut during the land claims negotiations in the 1980s. Before that, he had been elected three times at the head of the Kivalliq Inuit Association in the 1970s. Since then, he has been the chief negotiator for the Ukkusiksalik National Park. He also was the candidate for the Conservative Party during the 2006 federal elections.
4. John Merritt might be one of these lawyers Quassa is referring to. John Merritt is an Ottawa-based consultant who for many years advised Inuit organizations on political and constitutional issues. He was a core member of the Nunavut negotiating team and became a legal counsel to the Nunavut Implementation Commission. He is the co-author of *Nunavut: political choices and manifest destiny* (Merritt, Ames, Fenge and Jull 1989).
5. Before 1986, the federal comprehensive claims policy did now allow the negotiation of off-shore rights by any aboriginal people in Canada. However, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut wanted to negotiate off-shore rights for Inuit, who are mainly a coastal people. The federal government would not hear of any discussion about off-shore rights. The federal government backed off at the beginning of the 1980s, no doubt because the Inuit insisted they wanted off-shore rights, and decided to allow negotiations of off-shore rights. Although the Inuit were never able to get off-shore titles (they did not get to *own* the waters), they obtained, in the Nunavut Final Agreement, harvesting

rights as well as responsibilities and jurisdictions over the Nunavut waters and fauna (Gillies 1995). By 1986, significant amendments to the federal comprehensive claims policy were announced. Among those amendments was a provision for the inclusion in settlement agreements of off-shore wildlife harvesting rights (www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/info/trty_e.html). Makivik Corporation started to negotiate off-shore rights for Nunavik Inuit in 1994. Nunavik Inuit had not negotiated off-shore rights in their own land claim, the James Bay Agreement. The federal negotiator during these negotiations between the Government of Canada and Makivik Corporation was Tom Molloy, the very same man who had also been chief negotiator for the Canadian government for the Nunavut Land Claims negotiations in the 1980s. The agreement-in-principle between the Canadian government and Makivik Corporation (on behalf of the Nunavik Inuit) was reached in 2002 and the Final Agreement was signed in 2006 (www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/agr/nunavik/mareg/index_e.html).

6. There were three different land claim proposals presented to the federal government by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) from 1976 to 1979. The 1976 one, "Nunavut: a Proposal for the Settlement of Inuit Lands in the Northwest Territories" (ITC, 1976), debated at the Pond Inlet meeting in the fall of 1975, was withdrawn by the ITC leadership mainly because of a lack of consultation with the communities. The second proposal, "Speaking for the First Citizens of the Canadian Arctic" (ITC, 1977) was rejected by the federal government in 1977, mainly because it linked the land claims negotiations with self-government. The third ITC proposal, "Political Development in Nunavut" (ITC, 1979), became the framework of negotiations with the federal government. In this last proposal, the negotiations on self-government and the creation of Nunavut would be postponed until after an agreement-in-principle on the land claims issues would be signed by the parties.
7. In December 18, 1971, the Inupiat and all other natives of Alaska signed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) with the United States government, under the Richard M. Nixon Republican administration. Native claims of almost all of Alaska were extinguished in exchange for approximately one ninth of the Alaska land area (40 million acres) and $962.5 million in compensation, of which $462.5 million was to come from the State treasury and the rest from oil revenue-sharing. The settlement was to be administered by twelve regional corporations that would manage the compensation and the land obtained in the settlement. In 1974, a delegation from Inuit Tapirisat of Canada led by Jose Kusugak went to Alaska to study the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and its implementation.
8. In 1960, K.H. Lang, councillor for the Mackenzie Delta, proposed the creation of two distinct political territories. The idea behind

this proposal was that the Eastern Arctic was a burden for the development of the western part of the Northwest Territories. It was hoped that if the Eastern Arctic could be made into an autonomous territory, the western part of the Northwest Territories would be better able to develop and take care of itself. Soon Gordon Robertson, Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, said that the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was considering the idea. In July 1962, Diefenbaker said in a speech to the Northwest Territories Council that "*When you mentioned that you hoped there would be, not too far away, a division of this vast northern area into two districts, I think that, too, is something that deserves the most sympathetic consideration on the part of the federal government*" (in Duffy 1988: 247-248). In September 1962, Diefenbaker included in his Speech from the Throne his government's intention to create two territories. However, he lost to Lester Pearson's Liberals in 1963. In May 1963, Arthur Laing, Pearson's Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, introduced bills C-83 and C-84, "*which would amend the Northwest Territories Act and create two separate territories, one named Mackenzie, the other Nunassiaq*" (Duffy 1988: 248). The hope was that Mackenzie would soon be able to take care of itself, but Nunassiaq would still be administered from Ottawa. However, "*the proposed division never became law. On 15 November, 1963, the House* [of Commons] *agreed to refer the bills to the Standing Committee on Mines, Waters and Forests for consideration. They never came back*". There was instead an administrative restructuring of the administration of the Northwest Territories (Duffy 1988: 249). According to the Inuit Committee on National Issues, the proposal was dropped "because of misgivings about the lack of elected aboriginal representation [...] and the absence of any regional political organization (Inuit Committee on National Issues: 1987: 30).

9. The late Simonie Alainga was a leading figure in the developing Inuit community of Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit). He was one of the founders of the Toonik Tyme festival that is still held in springtime in Iqaluit. Simonie Alainga passed away in the tragic shipwreck of his boat, the *Qasaoq*, in October of 1994, returning from a walrus hunting trip with nine other Iqalummiut. Only two of the hunters survived the shipwreck.
10. The Inuit encountered several difficulties during their long negotiation for the creation of Nunavut and the elaboration of their land claims agreement. In their first two proposals, the Inuit were asking for the creation of a Nunavut Territory along with a land claims agreement. The federal government refused because although it wanted to negotiate a land claims agreement, it did not want to negotiate the creation of a political territory. In fact, the Conservative government of the time had many problems with the

idea of Nunavut itself and thought that the devolution of powers from Ottawa to Yellowknife was a better solution than the creation of Nunavut for Inuit self-determination (See Merritt et al: 1989). The idea of creating a territory was problematic for the Canadian government because it did not want to create a precedent that would force it to negotiate other political territories with other aboriginal peoples. However, when the Inuit decided that Nunavut should be a civil territory – that is, a territory governed by all its citizens, not only by Inuit – the Canadian government started to accept the idea of creating a new territory in the Canadian Arctic.

In April of 1990, the Government of Canada and the Inuit of the Nunavut Land Settlement Agreement (represented by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut) reached an agreement-in-principle over the land claims of the Inuit. Article 4 of this agreement-in-principle mentions that "*Consistent with their long-standing positions, the Government of Canada, the Territorial Government and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) support in principle the creation of a Nunavut Territory, and the financing of a Nunavut Government, outside of the claims agreement, as soon as possible*" (editor's emphasis). This meant that the Canadian government was ready to negotiate the creation of Nunavut, but that it was not ready to include it in the land claims negotiation. For the Canadian government, the Land Claim and Nunavut were two different issues to be addressed at two different negotiating tables (see Molloy 1993). Despite their desire to have Nunavut included in the Land Claims Agreement, the Inuit decided at the beginning of the 1980s that Nunavut should not "draw life through the provision of a land claims settlement act" (Merritt et al: 1989: 42). This was intended as a negotiating strategy designed to ensure that they would come to an agreement-in-principle with the federal government. That done, they again pushed the idea that Nunavut should be part of the Land Claims Agreement (see Amagoalik 1992), which the government almost refused (the government changed it's mind after the Oka crisis – see note 5, Chapter 5).

In December of 1991, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut and the Canadian government reached a final agreement which stated that "*The Government of Canada will recommend to Parliament, as a government measure, legislation to establish, within a defined time period, a new Nunavut Territory, with its own Legislative Assembly and public government, separate from the Government of the remainder of the Northwest Territories* [and that] *Therefore, Canada and the Territorial Government and Tungavik Federation of Nunavut shall negotiate a political accord to deal with the establishment of Nunavut*" (Article 4 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA)).

After more than fifteen years of hard negotiating, the Inuit were finally able to convince the federal government to include the obligation to

negotiate a political accord that would lead to the creation of Nunavut into the Land Claims Agreement. Because the bill that sanctioned the NLCA (Bill-133) was put under the protection of the *Constitutional Act of 1982*, like all other land claims (*The Constitutional Act of 1982* guarantees that aboriginal rights be protected by the Constitution) this means that the obligation to negotiate a political accord over Nunavut is protected by the Constitution (However, the political accord itself (Bill-132) remains a law and is not protected under the *Constitution Act of 1982*, which means that the Canadian Parliament could unilaterally change it).

11. In order to achieve an agreement with the federal government, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut had to negotiate the western boundary of Nunavut with the Dene and Métis of the Northwest Territories. The Dene and Métis proposed a boundary which would not include most of the Keewatin inland areas, and the Inuit were proposing a boundary that would include the Mackenzie Delta as well as a big part of inland Keewatin. In 1986, both parties came to an agreement that the boundary would run straight down the middle of both proposals. However, the Dene and Métis backed off and negotiations ceased. In 1991, with the final agreement between the Canadian government and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut getting closer, Tom Siddon, then Minister of Aboriginal Affairs under the Mulroney government, named John Parker, former Commissioner of the Northwest Territories from 1979 to 1989, to mediate negotiations. In April of 1991, Parker recommended adopting the boundary that was first agreed upon in 1986, which was a compromise boundary running between the boundaries proposed by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut and the Dene and Métis (Bell 1991; Légaré 1993: 44-46). John Parker received the Order of Canada in 1986.
12. The western border of the Nunavut Territory is diverted westward in the Contwoyto Lake area, making a curve on a rather strait line. Many kimberlitic pipes have been identified in the area and three major diamond mines are now in operation on the western side of this boundary: Ekati, Diavik and the latest, the Snap Lake mine. The Jericho diamond mine is located on the Nunavut side of the boundary and is the smallest of the Canadian diamond mines. The first kimberlitic pipe was discovered in 1991 in the Northwest Territories at Point Lake, in the Lac de Gras area. That discovery was followed by a fever of exploration for diamonds in the region. The Nunavut boundaries, as proposed by John Parker, were accepted by plebiscite in the Nunavut area in 1992.
13. Robert McPherson is a geologist who was hired by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut as a mineral advisor at the end of the 1980s. At the time, Inuit were starting to select surface and subsurface land and they wanted someone with a good knowledge of the

region to advise them which subsurface areas to select. McPherson prepared mineral inventories, but he also briefed the communities land selection committees, as well as participating in step-by-step negotiations with government representatives at the land claims table. (McPherson: 2003)

14. In 1974, the Dene and Métis people started negotiating a single claim for Denendeh, consisting of approximately what is now the Northwest Territories (excluding the Mackenzie Delta). From 1984 to 1990, the Dene and Métis conducted land claim negotiations with the Canadian government. In 1990, a final agreement was reached. However, the Dene and Métis people rejected the final agreement that very same year, because "*The two groups had reservations about the agreement, including its requirement that outstanding Aboriginal rights be extinguished, its failure to deal adequately with treaty provisions, and its lack of an explicit provision for self-government, among other problems. Dene and Métis people anticipated that these matters would be addressed in subsequent negotiations, but the federal government was unwilling to continue Denendeh-wide negotiations*" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996, chapter 6, section 5.2). Because of this, the various Dene and Métis populations have gone their own ways and have started negotiating separate land claims. "*Since 1990 two regional claims agreements have been concluded in Denendeh: one between the federal government and the Gwich'in of the Mackenzie Delta, the other between the federal government and the Sahtu Dene and Métis. The Gwich'in negotiated title to 22,332 square kilometres of land, subsurface rights to 93 square kilometres, compensation of $75 million, and a share of resource royalties. The Sahtu Dene and Métis secured title to 41,437 square kilometres of land, subsurface rights to 1,813 square kilometres, compensation of $75 million, and a share of resource royalties. Provision was also made for joint management of wildlife and land-use planning. Dogrib are currently negotiating their own regional claim. Dene in the rest of Denendeh want to pursue land and government issues in relation to implementation of the treaties*" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996, Chapter 6, section 5.2).
15. See Amagoalik 2007, pp. 94 to 98.
16. See note 4, Chapter 3 for more information on the first Nunavut Proposal.
17. According to the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment published in 2004 (Joy Hassol et al.: 2004), "The total volume of land-based ice in the Arctic has been estimated to be about 3,100,000 cubic meters, which corresponds to a sea-level equivalent of about 8 meters". However, the Arctic land ice should not all melt, and oceans should rise, in the next one hundred years, between 10 and 90 centimeters. This is still enough to create numerous problems on all coastlines, including the ones in the Eastern Canadian Arctic.

18. On November 26, 1982, Nunatsiaq's Member of Parliament Peter Ittinuar left the New Democratic Party (NDP) and joined the Liberal Party of Pierre Trudeau (Ittinuar 2008). In exchange, Trudeau agreed to support the division of the Northwest Territories and the creation of Nunavut. Indeed, John Munro, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, made the announcement that his government was supporting the division of the Northwest Territories the very same day Ittinuar crossed the floor. Although this initiative was not resented by Inuit (like Quassa, Ittinuar says that Inuit did not care much about political parties at the time) and ultimately helped the negotiating process and made Nunavut a viable idea (he also says he convinced Trudeau to nominate Charlie Watt to the Senate), it totally compromised his own political career. His former NDP friends rejected him and the Liberal Association of Nunatsiaq (the federal riding that included what is now Nunavut as well as the Mackenzie District) never accepted him. By the next election, the Liberal Association rejected his candidacy. He still presented himself as an independent in the 1984 election but finished fourth. In 1993, he was chosen by the NDP to represent the Nunatsiaq riding, but Audrey McLaughlin, the NDP leader, refused to sign his nomination papers, and Mike Illnik was chosen to replace him (Bell 2005).

CHAPTER 5

Using Patience and Determination to Reach the Vision of Nunavut

I wasn't really involved with the creation of regional Inuit organizations. I know that QIA (Qikiqtani Inuit Association) just celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in 2005, so that means it was created in 1975. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, which is now known as Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, was there before TFN (Tungavik Federation of Nunavut). Its board now consists of regional Inuit association representatives. Before TFN was created, they already had BRIA (Baffin Region Inuit Association-now QIA), and the Kivalliq and Kitikmeot Inuit Associations. COPE (Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement) had already been created. All these were created before TFN, I would say.[1]

The Baffin Region Council was a separate thing. It consisted of all the mayors of Baffin Island.[2] There were the Baffin Regional Council and the Baffin Regional Inuit Association, which represented Inuit. At that time there were a lot of regional bodies; there were the divisional boards of education and other bodies but they have all been dissolved. There were so many other bodies then, and therefore ITC had board members from many different bodies. For example, Pauktuutit was on the board.[3] There were all kinds of organizations when ITC first started. Over the years the structure of ITC changed. It became much smaller. Now there are just the presidents of NTI (Nunavut

Tunngavik Incorporated), the Inuvialuit, Makivik and Labrador associations. In the past there used to be around thirteen ITC board members.

I'll go back to when I was still the hamlet SAO (Senior Administrative Officer) in 1981 or '82 in Rankin Inlet. I'm not too sure of the year. Louis Pilakapsi and I were invited by ITC to attend a meeting in Nain, Labrador. I was the settlement manager then. CBC asked me if I wanted a one-week contract to report on what ITC was doing, even though I was the settlement manager at that time. One of the conditions of the contract was that I was not allowed to be a candidate. I said okay. So when I was involved with the meeting I would report for CBC, and I would be there to help Louis.

I knew Joanasie Salamonie at that time. He has since passed away. He asked me if I would be willing to be one of the candidates. I said, "No. I can't. I have a contract with CBC." All these other people were present and I declined. I couldn't. I went to do my report for CBC regarding the meeting, and when I got back in the room, apparently they had elected me! After I had left, Joanasie Salamonie had nominated me and I was elected. That was the first time I got involved in meetings with ITC and other organizations. I hadn't gone down there to be a candidate, but I went back home having been elected. I think of Joanasie Salamonie quite often. When I was back in Rankin Inlet as the settlement manager, I realized that politics and administration can't mix. I was thinking a lot about that, so I resigned as the secretary-manager there after two years of service. I felt that I was more of a politician.

After Rankin Inlet, I moved back to Iqaluit. From 1985 to 1989 I was appointed as chief negotiator for TFN. Paul Okalik became my deputy chief negotiator. We were hired at the same time in 1985.

After I came back, a week after we got hired, we were sent to Chesterfield Inlet. Paul Sammurtok was our boss.[4]

Land selection negotiations with the Netsilimiut in the Kitikmeot region, 1990. Paul Quassa in the centre with Guy Kakkiarniut on his right and Steve Alookie on his right. Left back row, Marion Aglukark; right back row, Paul Okalik.
Credit: Paul Quassa

Federal negotiating team, 1990. From left to right: Ross McKennon, territorial government negotiator; Barry Dewar, senior federal negotiator; Tom Molloy, federal government chief negotiator; George Trognitz, federal government analyst; and Scott Mitchell from the Indian and Northern Affairs Yellowknife office.
Credit: Paul Quassa

That night we had a party there. Paul Okalik and I had just recently been hired and we got fired, maybe due to the fact that we were partying a bit too much. A week after we were hired, we were fired! After we got fired we got re-hired the next day! We were hired, fired and re-hired all in one week.

It was kind of funny to us. Back then, we used to party a lot. It was like that. Paul Sammurtok himself got fired later on because he fired us too fast! I remember that. Then we travelled to Sanikiluaq sometime later; we were very young at that time. He and I were just getting to know each other. We hadn't met before we started working together. Just before we went to Sanikiluaq, we had to overnight in Great Whale River and we were partying again. Paul and I got into a fist fight, but we just kept going. In 1989, I became chief land claims negotiator and I was also elected as the president of TFN. We signed the agreement-in-principle in 1990. Because I am from Igloolik we went to Igloolik to sign it.

Around 1990 we were trying to make deals with the federal government and we were having a hard time. We weren't close to an agreement-in-principle. We weren't at that stage. We were holding the position that we had to get that Nunavut Territory and government in Article 4 of our final agreement. The federal government kept on saying, "No way. You can't." This was around the time the Oka crisis was going on. The Oka crisis was when the Canadian army was sent into the Kanesatake reservation, and there was a stand off. The federal government was looking pretty bad. Aboriginal affairs in Canada were looking pretty bad.[5]

It looked like the federal government was treating the aboriginal people really badly. We said, "Listen, if you really want to look good, give us that agreement-in-principle and we'll make you look good. The Indians are making you look bad, but we'll make you look good." I think the Oka crisis really helped us. We took advantage

of that. We went ahead and said, "We'll make you look good. Just put Article 4 in our final agreement and we'll initial it." And they did that. That really helped us at the time.That's exactly what I said, "If you want to look good, give us the agreement-in-principle."

We helped to improve the image of the Conservative government then. They were still the government of the day, right up to '93. It was the government we negotiated most of the provisions in our final agreement with. When they were the government, they kept changing their land claims policy to meet our demands. The Progressive Conservatives did quite a bit during our negotiations. They were the government of the day.

During negotiations, we got the federal government to change a lot of their thinking on aboriginal land claims. That also showed up in the Coolican report.[6] I don't know how many times we got the federal government to change their land claims policies, because for us they weren't leading toward what we needed. For example, off-shore rights, and decision-making powers. If you look at all the other land claims agreements, they mostly have advisory powers. In our case we were able to negotiate decision-making powers. The federal government had to keep changing their land claims policies. It was TFN that got them to change.

We also used the Oka crisis to our advantage. We never got involved with Oka. We didn't give the Warriors our support, or anything whatsoever. What we did see was that we were not fighters. We know that Indians are more fighters than Inuit are. We didn't really want to get involved. It wasn't our way of doing things. But it helped. It helped us a lot. That's what I remember. In 1990 we signed the final agreement-in-principle, but there was a lot more work after that.

After that we finally got the communities involved with the negotiations. Afterwards we started to go to the communities. We had negotiations in Pangnirtung, Iqaluit,

Taloyoak, and Igloolik. We went right to the communities. Before that, we only negotiated in cities down South in Edmonton, Ottawa and Winnipeg, without even going up North. We went to Iqaluit two or three times or Rankin Inlet or Yellowknife. We were mostly negotiating outside of Nunavut. After 1990, we tried to ensure we were in the Inuit communities more, especially concerning things that had more impact on the Inuit, like the land. The people in the communities also had more knowledge of what areas they wanted as Inuit land. They were more aware of their environment than we were as negotiators. We were more familiar with technical things.

While we were trying to select lands, there were always five or six federal negotiators, but we tried to ensure we had a larger number. When we were South we always had fewer negotiators than the federal government. When we were up North we made sure we had more on our side. When they were dealing with maps, the Inuit themselves would identify what areas they wanted. We would try to go to Inuit communities in the spring time. We would have to look for ways to make the federal negotiators agree with us. We would spend three or four days in one community. We wouldn't leave the community until we completed what we went there for. Some communities had twenty-four hours of sunlight. Sometimes we would negotiate for a straight thirty-six hours. In Pangnirtung I remember a straight forty hours of negotiations. If the federal government negotiators got tired we might win. We knew the sun would be shining twenty-four hours a day and we were used to that. We were trying to tire them out. It was a lot easier to negotiate with them when they got tired!

Since 1982, Tom Molloy had been the chief negotiator for the federal government.[7] We would try to get him angry. His whole face up to his neck would get red. We would make him angry on purpose. We tried all kinds of things. We would have been better off if we had shamans with us

but we didn't. That's what we did to Tom Malloy. Later on, they started understanding us a bit more because we were negotiating with them for a few years. They had a lot more understanding of our issues than in 1980, '81, '82.

As Inuit, we had to keep telling them over and over, "This is what the Inuit have to get." We had to keep striving for our goal. Inuit weren't dependant until *qallunaat* came around. They were able to do things on their own. In our land claims we made sure we got our autonomy without anybody's help. That is what we were trying to get from this land claims agreement, because in the past we were very independent, and we could still be. But the federal government kept saying, "No. These powers belong to the government. As the government we own this land." That's what they were saying for a long time. It was very difficult for us to get them to understand. For example, with wildlife provisions, Article 5 I think it is, it took us five years of negotiations. Sometimes we would come to an agreement quickly, but we negotiated that for about five years. That's why it took us so many years to negotiate and to initial an agreement-in- principle. While we were negotiating we identified important areas, not just because we wanted them; it was what we needed. There is a difference between want and need. We were trying to get them to see that it was a need.

We were good friends with each other after our negotiations but the next day we would be against each other again. I guess it's like the politicians at Parliament Hill. They really seem to be against each other, but they are able to get along afterwards. We were like that. We would be against each other and after that we would be okay with each other.

We didn't want to be forgiven. I think that would be a give-in kind of thing, so we tried avoiding that.

After the signing of the final agreement, we were shaking hands. We weren't hugging each other, but we were shaking hands. Later on, in our final stages, we did

visits to all the communities. Inuit were involved then. It became obvious at that time, when we were selecting lands, that the government would need corridors. For example, if the land we selected was large they would have to have a corridor somewhere in between, even though it was obvious that they would never use it. So, we would give them a corridor. We would tell them, "I don't think you'll ever go through that corridor." In the end we had to give them a corridor. If we selected certain parts of the land, they would ask for corridors. You've probably noticed that there are areas where there should not be any separations; it is because of those corridors. The Inuit negotiators would be meeting on our own and we would say, "This part is a very rough area, so we'll give them that area for their corridor." That's what we used to do. We would give them the rough areas of the land. That's how it is on some of the maps. We would say, "Yes. You can use this as a corridor," because they didn't know it was a rough part of land!

When we were negotiating we also noticed that they didn't know anything about our land. That was part of our strength because they didn't know a lot about our environment or our land. I think we had an advantage over them on this.

The leadership of the day, leaders prior to me, would listen to Tagak Curley. We knew that Inuit were so controlled. There was the dog slaughter and all these events that had taken place. Now we were educated. Educated meaning we could speak *Qallunaatitut*. There was a sense of wanting to get revenge, but not in a warrior-like way. We had to get something back. Looking back at the history of how Inuit were treated at that time, even from when I was a child, and a priest forced my parents to have their children taken away from them, and other things that were done, the main purpose of the land claim was to get us back to being independent, to get us back to being self-reliant.

People used to come and talk to us, the Maoris from New Zealand, from South Africa, from all over the world,

to see how we did things. I remember one person from South Africa meeting with us and talking to us. I think Paul Okalik and I were chief negotiators then. He said, "Well, why don't you guys try to do it the way we did it in South Africa? We started from the inside out rather than from the outside in." In South Africa the majority of people were aboriginal people. Once they were larger in number they were able to start from the inside. As Inuit, we were given the advice to work from the inside first, but we didn't have that many people. We were given all kinds of advice from people all over the world. They were very proud of us. They knew there were not that many Inuit. People from outside Canada were very supportive while our federal government was not very supportive of our goal. That was obvious; we used to think they should talk to our federal government more.

With the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), it was different. Most of the time we were negotiating with them. We were having such a hard a time with Northern Manitoba or with the Dene in the West. AFN represented all the Indians in Canada. Sometimes we would go to AFN and say, "Look, your guys are giving us a hard time." That's how we were connected. Most of the time we weren't too connected because they were doing their own stuff. Sometimes they helped us. For example, we were having a hard time trying to get that boundary with the Tadoule people in Northern Manitoba. The Indians in Northern Manitoba wanted the boundary to be right next door to Arviat. We got AFN to support our position that it should be on the Manitoba boundary. We got them to sign. Like I said before, for us, Indians were some of the hardest people to negotiate with. They would have an agreement with us one morning, and then the next day they would change completely and we'd start all over again.

Every time they would say, "We agree with you on this, but we have to go back to our elders." Then after meeting with the elders they would come back and tell us

that this was not what they wanted. You were never too sure if an agreement was an agreement. That's what I mean when I said they were much harder people to negotiate with than the federal government. That's the way they are. I have respect for what they do. They always want to go back. At the same time we would tell them, "Aren't you guys elected? When you are elected you are to represent your people." But it wasn't that way. When we were negotiating we would call them names. They would call us names. I don't want to offend them. We are not like that now. We used to call them feather heads. We were really against them then. We were even name-calling. They would call us tundra monkeys! We would do anything to distract them or to get them mad.

The Department of Fisheries and Oceans was the most difficult to come to an agreement with. They didn't want to give away any part of their authority at all. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs was less difficult as was Justice, but the Department of Environment, and Fisheries and Oceans especially, because they were responsible for marine mammals, didn't want to give away any of their authority. The federal government didn't have any policies on off-shore rights. When we were trying to negotiate that, they kept saying it was impossible because there were no policies in place. The federal government said they wouldn't make a policy on it just for Inuit. Makivik didn't have off-shore rights for a long time.[8] It was only after we were able to get them that they were able to, as well. Even though Makivik had signed their final agreement they were finally able to get off-shore rights.

The federal government changed their policy rather than going through the courts. The final agreement was reached just through negotiating without ever having to go through the courts. Around 1990, '91, and '92 we had to make community visits. We had to visit all the communities and come to an agreement with them. Sometimes it was difficult. Sometimes we had a lot of

support. One of the things that was difficult to explain was ownership of lands. After we selected Inuit lands we had to make the people understand in the Inuktitut language about Inuit-owned land. People said they thought the land was already theirs. They'd say, "How are we going to get land, when we already have our land?" It was very difficult to get them to understand what land ownership was because there were no words to use. There was nobody actually who owned land. It was most difficult to get people to understand Inuit-owned land. The younger generation understood what was going on, but for adults and more elderly people it was difficult to get them to understand because they had been living on the land all their lives. The extinguishment clause and Inuit-owned land were the most difficult to explain or get Inuit to understand.

What we did was to tell them that we had selected particular lands and there would be policies so our land would not get contaminated or destroyed. There would be policies put in place so national parks would be protected. There would be bird sanctuaries where birds would be protected. For example, if I had private land no one would be able to touch it unless they got permission first. That's what we used to get people to understand.

Inuit had a very good understanding that they were Canadians, but they did learn so much more. Even when we were negotiating we used to tell them, "Inuit are paying taxes. We are so much more Canadian that other aboriginal peoples in Canada." The elders had a sense of being Canadian. I don't think it was ever really an issue. Interestingly though in Igloolik, we live on a small little island. The mainland is a few miles out, the Melville Peninsula. When we leave we say, "We're going to Canada." The Melville Peninsula is on that side, so we say we are going to Canada. We are in between Baffin and the mainland. Whenever we are going to the mainland we say we are going to Canada. Not that we are not Canadians! I think there was always that understanding. It was never

an issue. There were other things people were thinking about. When ICC, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, was established we even thought that maybe we should separate from Canada and have our own country and our own government.[9] When we were negotiating, we thought perhaps we should make a country with Greenland, Siberia, Alaska and Canada. These four states had been separated and maybe we should form our own country; this idea was thought of.

Perhaps if we had our mineral resources developed, we in Nunavut could have our own land. It is the biggest claim in North America. Inuit are the largest land holders of private lands in North America. The objective of the land claim was not for individuals, it was for Inuit collectively. The rights are owned by all Inuit, not individuals. We have collective ownership and rights. That's how it is. It is for all Inuit. This was difficult to understand for some. "By who? How?" were the questions that used to be asked. It was even difficult to understand that the land was Inuit-owned collectively.

NOTES

1. 1957: Indian and Eskimo Association (IEA): The Indian and Eskimo Association was founded in 1957. It was not an 'aboriginal' organization proper, because the membership was open to all who cared about Indians and Inuit. It promoted research concerning aboriginals and assisted newly created aboriginal organizations across Canada. It was while meeting during IEA meetings, first in Coppermine in 1970 and then in Toronto in 1971, that Inuit delegates, amongst whom was Tagak Curley, decided to create an Inuit-run organization, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (see note 3, Chapter 2).
   1970: Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE): The Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) was created in 1970 by Inuvik residents to represent native peoples in the area in meetings with the federal and territorial governments as well as the oil industry, since oil had been discovered in the region. COPE's aim was to represent all aboriginal peoples of the Northwest Territories and give them a united voice at the national level. (See note 3, Chapter 3)
   1971: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC): Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami or ITK) was founded in 1971 in Ottawa to unify the voice of all Canadian Inuit, and to represent their rights and aspirations on the national level.
   1970s: Labrador Inuit Association: The Labrador Inuit Association was founded in 1973 and is responsible for advancing the aboriginal, constitutional, democratic, social and human rights of Labrador Inuit.
   – The Northern Quebec Inuit Association: The Northern Quebec Inuit Association (now Makivik Corporation) was created on behalf of Inuit in 1972 to negotiate the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement.
   – Baffin Region Inuit Association (BRIA) / Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA): The Baffin Region Inuit Association (now Qikiqtani Inuit Association or QIA) was formed in 1975 to represent the interests of the Inuit of the Baffin region.
   – Kitikmeot and Keewatin Inuit Associations / Kivalliq Inuit Association (KIA): The Keewatin Inuit Association (now Kivalliq Inuit Association) and the Kitikmeot Inuit Association were also created in the mid-1970s to unite the voice of the Central Arctic Inuit.
   – The Baffin Regional Council was a body made up of all mayors and MLAs in the Baffin Region.
   1981: Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN): After complaints from Inuit outside of the future Nunavut settlement area in May of

1981, ITC decided to create the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) whose sole goal was to focus on the creation of Nunavut.
1993: Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI): NTI was created in 1993. It replaced the TFN. If TFN's goal was to negotiate the creation of Nunavut, the goal of NTI is to implement the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

2. See Baffin Regional Council, preceding note.
3. Pauktuutit is the association of Inuit Women of Canada (see: www.pauktuutit.ca).
4. Paul Sammurtok was the senior administrative officer and manager of Chesterfield Inlet at the end of the 1990s. In 2003, he was working for the Arctic Co-operative Ltd. In Winnipeg.
5. For two hundred and sixty years, the Mohawks of Kanesatake near Oka in the province of Quebec tried to reach a land claim that would enable them to finally own one of their most important burial grounds. In 1990, after the mayor of Oka decided to allow the construction of the final nine holes of a golf course on these burial grounds, the Mohawks decided to erect a barricade and block the entrance to the area. On July 11, the mayor asked the Sûreté du Québec (SQ) to intervene. The SWAT team of the police attacked the barricade and a policeman, Corporal Marcel Lemay, was killed. In solidarity with the Mohawks in Kanesatake, other Mohawks also erected barricades, even blocking the Mercier Bridge between Montreal and its south shore, creating major traffic problems. The RCMP was sent to replace the SQ but was soon overwhelmed. Robert Bourrasa, then Premier of Quebec, requisitioned the assistance of the Canadian Forces. 2500 soldiers were sent to the barricade. At the end of August, the Mohawks of Kahnawake located on the south shore of Saint-Louis Lake, who were blocking the Mercier bridge negotiated the end of the siege with Lieutenant Colonel Robin Gagnon. The barricade in Oka however remained in place until the end of September 1990.
Many Inuit (Paul Quassa here, but also John Amagoalik and Jose Kusugak) think that the crisis helped them make the federal government accept the idea of including Article 4, which called for the creation of Nunavut, into the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, something the federal government had always refused to do prior to the crisis. According to Hicks and White, "*The Conservative government of the day* [1990-1991]*, under the increasingly unpopular Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, was badly in need of a 'good news' story about its relationship with aboriginal peoples. The armed stand-off with the Mohawks at Oka, Québec, had made headlines and television newscasts around the world, and the country's political elites seemed unable to amend the Constitution to include (among other things) stronger guarantees of aboriginal peoples' self-government rights. In this context, even some politicians regarded it as a positive, progressive initiative that the Canadian state could – and should – embrace*"

(Hicks and White, 2000: p. 55-56). According to John Merritt, a "*significant development was the stand-off between the Oka Mohawks and the police and armed forces of Quebec and Canada. The stand-off persuaded many Canadians that relations between aboriginal peoples and other Canadians were in a state of deepening crisis. A federal government desperate for a good news story of significant magnitude somewhere on the aboriginal horizon, "got religion" on Nunavut. The outburst of favourable international publicity that attended the December 1991 announcement of the conclusion of the TFN Final Agreement provided telling testimony of the good judgment of Tom Siddon, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and senior departmental officials in promoting Nunavut as a good news story in a season of stormy weather*" (John Merritt 1993). Jose Kusugak, a former NTI president mentions that the Inuit negotiators seized the day by "*making the best of opportunities that presented themselves. Some might call this good luck or good fortune. Whatever you choose to call it, there can be no doubt that negotiations over details of the Nunavut Agreement were coming to a peak – the early 1990s just a time when the Government of Canada was very anxious to demonstrate a breakthrough on aboriginal issues in one major region of the country. The breakdown in a single comprehensive land claims agreement in the Mackenzie Valley and the tragic events at Oka in Quebec fed this anxiety, as did the reality that the federal government of the day knew it would be facing the voters in the middle of 1993. These outside events helped to push Nunavut over the top*" (Kusugak, 2000: p. 25).

6. Paul Quassa is referring here to a new land claim policy established at the end of 1986. This policy was based on the recommendations of the Task Force to Review the Comprehensive Claims Policy presided over by Murray Coolican. These recommendations were published in a report entitled *Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements, Report of the Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy (*Indian Affairs and Northern Development: 1986)). This task force was "created for the purpose of assessing the existing land claims policy, and providing recommendations for change. The task force was also to consider the potential for the inclusion in negotiations of issues which Aboriginal people wished to address, the role of provincial and territorial governments in negotiations, and the operation of the negotiation process itself". The recommendations of the task force included "the recognition and affirmation of Aboriginal rights; the negotiation of Aboriginal self-government arrangements; the sharing of responsibility for land and resource management between government and Aboriginal people; and the recognition that the interests of third parties be treated fairly." (See: http://www.carc.org/pubs/v15no1/1.htm)

   The Penner Report (House of Commons, Special Task Force on Indian Self-Governement: 1983) produced in 1983 under the Trudeau Liberal government also needs to be mentioned here, as it

already recommended the recognition of aboriginal self-government to the Government of Canada and the elimination of the blanket extinguishment clause from the land claims negotiations. (See: www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg27_e.html) Trudeau resigned a few months later.

7. Born in 1940, Tom Molloy is a lawyer from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, who was the Chief Negotiator for the Government of Canada with the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area (1982 to 1993). Since then he has been, among other things, Chief Negotiator for the Government of Canada in British Columbia Land Claims (1993 to present). He was the Chief Negotiator on the Nisga'a Treaty which was concluded in 2000. From 1994, he was the Chief Negotiator for the Government of Canada with the Inuit of Northern Quebec Off-shore Claim which was concluded in 2006. He was also the Chief Negotiator for the Government of Canada with the Grand Council of The Cree of Quebec Off-shore Claim until 2007. Tom Molloy was also Chief Negotiator for Canada in the Atlantic and Gaspe Regions (2001-2007) and helped to establish the "Made in Nova Scotia Treaty Process".
8. See note 5, Chapter 4.
9. The Inuit Circumpolar Conference was created in 1977 by Eben Hopson of Barrow, Alaska. Its goals are to strengthen unity among Inuit of the circumpolar region; promote Inuit rights and interests on an international level; develop and encourage long-term policies that safeguard the Arctic environment; and seek full and active partnership in the political, economic, and social development of circumpolar regions. ICC holds a conference every four years.

CHAPTER 6

One Step Backward and Two Steps Forward

As negotiators, there were lots of people behind us. We went to communities and we urged the people to attend. So, there were more people attending the meetings. We were trying to intimidate the federal government negotiators and it worked. They were fewer in number than we were. Inuit men, women and children would come to observe. It was very helpful to our side. We wanted them there to be our support, and we had good interpreters. Having more people was a big support. When we were down South we were negotiating with hardly anyone to support us. So, once we got up North to negotiate, we wanted them to feel the same way that we had.

In the communities, we would announce the sessions on the local radio, urging people to attend, and people came on their own. We wanted Inuit to see people negotiating because they had never seen that before! When we went into the communities, we had negotiators, representatives from the HTOs, (Hunters and Trappers Organizations), hamlet councils and other organizations.[1] Most community leaders were involved. We didn't give time to speak to the people who were there, because they were just observers. They were mostly there to listen.

We knew that the land was very important to the people, and that they were very familiar with their

environment. This was a less technical issue. It was easier to understand. What we wanted to make sure was that Inuit understood what was going on. Even when we were negotiating, we had to brainstorm as to how to have it understood in Inuktitut. We didn't have the same problem in English. Some of the legal wording is understandable if you have a legal background. We knew that people in the communities had knowledge of their land and surroundings. That's why we wanted to do some of our negotiations in the North, around 1991, 1992.[2] Because we had to visit all the communities, we had to divide up as negotiators. For the Baffin region, I was included. I was the speaker. Because Nunavut is so vast, we had negotiations happening in the Baffin, Keewatin and Kitikmeot regions at the same time. That's how we did it, all at once. It would have taken two or three years if we only had one team going, so we had to divide into three groups. We did the same thing when we were doing the ratification tour in 1993.

In 1981, TFN, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, was established. It was created for the purpose of the negotiations. They had a board of directors and we were negotiators. In 1993, after we signed the final agreement, we had to create a new organization. Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated is a body which ensures that the content of the agreement goes ahead. TFN was the negotiator and NTI was the implementer. That year, there was an election and I was re-elected. I was the first president of Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated. It was more like switching over. We were mainly the same people, but with a new name for our organization. NTI was a body to make sure that the federal government did what they had agreed to. The TFN mandate was completed when, in Iqaluit in 1993, we signed the final agreement. The next day NTI took over from TFN.

There are a lot of things I haven't mentioned. I probably have to talk about this. I had to resign as the president of NTI. I had to give up my seat before my term was up

Signing of the Nunavut Political Accord in Iqaluit, October 30, 1992. Front row, left to right: James Eetoolook, acting president of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut; Tom Siddon, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Stephen Kakfwi, Intergovernmental Affairs Minister of the Northwest Territories; Titus Alloloo, Associate Minister of Aboriginal Rights and Constitutional Development of the Northwest Territories. Back row: Dan Norris, Northwest Territories Commissioner and Dennis G. Patterson, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Iqaluit.
Credit: Paul Quassa

Signing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in Iqaluit, May 25, 1993. Standing, left to right: John Amagoalik; unidentified; Tom Siddon, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Paul Quassa, President of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut; The Right Honorable Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada.
Credit: Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.

The signing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in Iqaluit, May 25, 1993.
From left to right: the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Tom Siddon, the President of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, Paul Quassa, The Prime Minister of Canada, Brian Mulroney.
Credit: Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.

because I had to appear in court. I have to talk about this, too. November 1993 was the time I wrote my notes about this event. Here's what happened. I can clearly say it was due to alcohol abuse that I had to give up my seat. It was due to alcohol. If there was no alcohol, it probably never would have happened the way it did. Because alcohol was available, it happened. After I had to give up my position, I was mentally and physically destroyed. When NTI had their meeting in Rankin Inlet I had to go there to report why I had to resign. I even felt like I had crutches. I felt very broken at the time and I will always remember it. That's how I felt. I knew it was my fault. Even though I went through all of that, I was able to keep going. James Eetoolook was always there, too.[3] I remember him being there right from the start. He was the vice president when I was president of NTI. When I was re-elected he was still vice president and he is still vice president today. I'm very proud of these people who are able to continue their work which started way back then.

In 1994 and 1995, I went back to Igloolik. We knew that my father was not going to live much longer. At that time too, *Isuma* was making a film in Igloolik and I got involved, in '94, '95 and '96.[4] After a while, I went back to CBC. I believe I started there in 1998. I have always enjoyed communicating with people through the media. When I was with CBC North, Marie Wilson was the manager at the time. I had to make a commitment that for at least two years I wouldn't run as a candidate in any election. Maybe they were worried I might quit and run as a candidate. That was one condition I had to agree to. In 1999 I kept getting approached to be one of the candidates for NTI. I kept refusing. I had been told I couldn't become a candidate. But at the last minute I decided to run for NTI president. I went back in 1999.

We got our government on April 1, 1999 and December was when NTI had their election. When the Nunavut government was established and we were celebrating, I

thought, "What we negotiated for has become a reality now," even though I was in the background then. The main workers were really celebrating. I really felt it. I was silently crying and lowering my eyes. I felt I should have also been in the front row. At that time Jose Kusugak was the president of NTI. It really touched me. When it came time for the election, I was again elected as president. I also used to be told by elders to run again. I kept telling them that in 1993 they had asked me to resign and that people would remember that. People would tell me, "That's not how Inuit are." They said that I would be forgiven, even though I was still concerned about my last resignation. I thought what I had been dismissed for was too great, and that people wouldn't forgive me. That's what I told the elders. They kept saying, "No, people have forgiven you a long time ago. They won't even think about that." So, I ran again and I was very proud when I was re-elected. I thought Jose Kusugak or Cathy Towtongie, the other candidates, would win. Apparently I was to get a very large number of votes and I was very proud of that, even though in 2001 I again had to resign my position. When I was very young I used to say, "Someday I will be a leader." I reached my goal. Even after I had to resign I said, "At least I reached the goal I strived for, to become a leader." I was very happy about that. I had been dismissed before and it was due to alcohol abuse. I know that is why. I had problems with it. People say if you have not healed over something that happened to you as a child, you tend to turn to abusive practices, you turn to alcohol and you are controlled by it. I was aware I was a leader but because of alcohol abuse, I got myself into trouble.

I do think about it, even today. Sometimes I thought I was born for a purpose. That's what I would think. At one point I thought the path I was supposed to take had already been laid out for me. At other times I would think that I had to make my own path in life. If I go back a bit to 1993 and 1994, after my first resignation, I didn't work

that year. I would mostly go hunting with my father-in-law. We were out of Iqaluit throughout the year. I'm sure I had a purpose in life, so that's why I'm still here.

In the winter, around February 12, we were down at the floe edge. It used to be around sixty miles out. That's where we were camping. It was kind of windy in the morning when we left. We went to the left and then we were travelling towards the right side. It became very windy on our way back. We were being blown away on the ice. The ice we were on was being blown away from the land. We speeded up and made it across from the ice to the mainland, even though I almost fell on my side. Then we started travelling back to the other side, but it was really windy at the time. We were back where we had come from. We were on the other side of the floe edge. There was a bearded seal and my father-in-law shot it. I went out to get it. We were floating away on the pack of ice that we were on. I was rolling the seal coming back, but because it was so windy I had difficulty. I couldn't see my father-in-law because of the mist around the floe edge. The ice was forming and I couldn't get back. I was worried about my father-in-law because he wasn't aware of what I was doing. For some reason I wasn't nervous at all. It was dark, too, by that time. I thought I would never get back home. I was thinking that by 7:00 the next day, I would be able to get back on the ice that was forming. That's what I was thinking, so I was just staying put. I was blown away along with the ice in our little small boat. While I was sleeping, I was dreaming that somebody would come and we would talk, and then they would go away. I don't know how many times, but in my dream somebody would come and we would be sitting down talking, and after that they would take off again. I kept wondering why they kept leaving me behind, even though they knew I was stranded where I was. That's what I was thinking, and then I thought maybe I was just dreaming. In my dream, it seemed like I saw a wolf's face right in front of me, just like when you

see pictures, you see their eyes and they stare right at you. I dreamed about that, at the time.

Tagak Curley was telling me that a wolf would look after him. Sure enough, while I was sleeping and waking up and going back to sleep, I heard a knock from underneath the ice. It was 7:00. It was weird! Right away, I went to see if the ice conditions were good. I checked the ice with a paddle and it was good enough, so I was able to walk on the ice that had formed. I walked for about one hour. The ice that had formed overnight was very flexible. I don't know how I didn't fall in. It was even moving because it was so thin. It had a dark colour. It was still so thin because it was the ice that had formed overnight. I walked for around an hour, not in a straight line, but going side-to-side until I got to the safe ice. I don't know how I survived. Around 10:00 that morning I heard a helicopter and I saw it coming in my direction. The area where I was was not very big, but the helicopter came and took me away. So, I must have a purpose in life. I was okay. I had other things that happened to me before that, but that time I was proud I was able to survive. That was around 1994 here in Iqaluit that it happened.

Back to 1999 and the celebrations. It was great. I was very proud. I was happy that Paul Okalik was elected Premier of Nunavut, this person I used to work with, who was also a negotiator for the land claim. I thought they had elected the right person at the right time.

I did get asked quite a few times to run in the territorial election but I kept refusing. Certainly a lot of people wanted me to run. Maybe when I get a little bit older, I might give it a second thought!

The leaders that came before me really helped me, Louis Pilakapsi, and Mark Evaluardjuk, They were always leaders. They were people I really looked up to because I was proud of them. They really started things going in the communities. Mark Evaluarjuk first started the Co-op in Igloolik. He was the first one to be a clerk with the

Hudson's Bay Company even though he didn't have any formal education. He was able to work with numbers and he added things right in his head. That's why I was very proud of him.

Also, I was proud of Bob Kadlun from the Kitikmeot who was our chief negotiator for quite a while, from 1989. I saw the hard work he did during our negotiations. When he started swearing, I thought he had gone a bit too far, but I noted that he was really trying to get what was right. He tried to commit suicide at one point and he started going down. I thought he should have been recognized for his contributions and all the hard work he did at the most difficult times of the negotiations. Tagak Curley and Michael Amarook were the leaders at the very start of our land claims. They were the ones who made the people aware. They were the fore-runners. Because of that, I was proud of them.

It was kind of a hard job at times, because you were always fighting with words. You were trying to create something that was never there, that had never been done before. It was something very new. It came out of nowhere. That was very stressful. I've talked about this, too; we did party a lot. That made it a little bit harder. We certainly did party at night. That was the way it was in those days.

I was tempted to tell you more, but now I'm scared! We had many slow starts! It certainly had an effect on us. There were negotiators like Bob Kadlun and others who committed suicide. I remember one of them was Solomon Tugak, originally from Arviat.[5] He was a negotiator. It was very hard, but a lot of us survived. David Aglukark was there for a good many years.[6] With his belief in religion, I think that made him so much stronger. It was very hard, I guess, because we were always on the road. We'd be in the cities for two weeks at a time, and most of us had families. We were on the road all the time. Most of us Inuit, like Paul Okalik and I, were talking like lawyers by

the end of the negotiations. We started understanding all the legal terms.

I even took legal studies here in 1997. It was a six-week intensive program. It was called the Jump Start program. I took that. I went to the law school at Carleton University right after the Jump Start program. I found it very hard as a single parent. My wife and I were separated. I had my son and I had taken him down to Ottawa. As a single parent it was very hard for me to continue with my legal studies to become a lawyer. Paul Okalik made it, even at that time. I could have stayed, but I didn't.

There were never many women involved in our negotiations. The only person I can think of was Meeka Kilabuk. For some reason it was never an issue at all. As you recall, after 1993 and before 1999, the Nunavut Implementation Commission did a tour and asked about this question of gender equality in the Legislative Assembly of the Government of Nunavut. I, for one, said no to that possibility.

The role of the Nunavut Implementation Commission was to come up with what kind of government we were going to have, and to make sure it had a distinct Nunavut style. That was the reason why the Nunavut Implementation Commission was established. The members came from different communities. John Amagoalik was chairing the Commission. We assigned John Amagoalik to governmental affairs when we were at TFN. They brainstormed about different things so our new territorial government would be unique. They discussed gender parity during their visits to the communities. They proposed that both genders should have equal opportunities to be elected.[7] To my way of thinking, we already had a Charter of Rights in Canada, which recognizes, whether you are a male or a female, that we have equal rights. In Canada, every person has the right to run for Parliament, or for the Legislative Assembly, or for Council or anywhere. Nowadays, women are not excluded anywhere. It would be the same thing with our

Nunavut government. Everyone would have equal rights. So, why give a group of people extra rights just to make sure they would have a seat? And that was for the women only? Women would then have an extra right to a seat in the Nunavut Legislative Assembly. I thought, "Why should we do that when they already have that right?" They have the right to run for the legislature. They can run for any political party, so why give them an extra right. It would seem to suggest that they were not able enough. The way I saw it, it seemed to mean that they were not as able as men, and that's not the case. If we gave them an extra right, it would seem that we would be telling other Canadians that Inuit women are less able than men. That's the way I thought about it, and I guess the majority of Inuit that voted on this felt the same way. They said they didn't want this.

My argument has always been that when we look at the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, when it says Inuit, it includes everybody, whether male or female or child or elder; everybody. Everybody is already covered by the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. If you are an Inuk, you are included. It's not that some people or groups have pushed to have more Inuit representatives in the organizations or whatever. But there is evidence: there are hardly any elected women on our boards. I don't know why. But that doesn't mean that they don't have that opportunity. This is part of having a democratic country, being able to vote for who is able.

As leaders, we had to leave our wives behind. Well, I guess it is pretty well the same today, but it was worse then. I didn't rear my children at all. It was my wife who took care of my children as they were growing up. Because when they were growing up I was always travelling and away from home.

Our wives had a lot of patience. We were lucky not to be divorced by our wives. It was because they were strong. This is not new. Way back, before *qallunaat* came, the men

would be away from home for a month or two months. They had to travel long distances and the women always stayed at home bringing up the children. Even though I was a different case, because I didn't go out hunting, I went travelling for my work. Even if women were not as visible, they were always the foundation of our involvement. For example in the ancient times, if a man left, if what he left couldn't survive, he would also be destroyed. If a male was out, he always had his foundation to get back to.

I wouldn't be where I am today, what I am, if I didn't get support from my wife. Not just me, but that is the case for all political leaders. If their spouses couldn't back them, then that person in the political field wouldn't be able to make it. That's for sure. I have gone through so many problems. My spouse still keeps supporting me. I probably would not be around today if I hadn't been given support all these times. When you really think about it, that's how it is. It probably could happen the other way around, where the female is the politician while the male stays home. It would be so different, because men are not really geared to bringing up children.

It's a complicated issue. There are things from our ancestral way of life that we don't practice anymore. Men were told they could do anything to the female if she wasn't listening. It was up to the male to discipline the females any way they saw fit. Nowadays it's not like that, and it shouldn't be like that. Sometimes we get confused about things we heard from the past and things we hear now. Unfortunately, that's how they were, maybe because they had to survive.

On political matters, at the time we worked more on our own. We reasoned that the work we were doing was a new thing and it was difficult to make an ordinary Inuk understand the concept. I don't even think our parents saw the whole picture. What we were trying to make sure was that they knew we were trying to get back our independence. That is what we were striving for. They had

been independent before the new culture arrived. It could never have been understood if we had tried to explain detail-by-detail at that time.

Our previous leaders were the ones we met with more often; Mark Evaluardjuk, Louis Pilakapsi, Michael Amarook. We were more dependent on the support of our leaders than that of the community, because we knew our communities had more knowledge of things like hunting and the environment.

These political developments were hard to imagine in the old days. When the missionaries started arriving, Inuit heard there would be other *qallunaat* arriving after them. That's what Inuit were aware of. Even before the *qallunaat* came, when the shamans who were practising with their *tuurngait* would travel, they saw big buildings, high buildings. They were aware of *qallunaat* long before their arrival through shamanism. I always had an interest in shamans because I've heard about them since I was young. Sometimes I even envied them. As an Inuk, sometimes you envied them and sometimes you didn't. We were also told by Inuit who have since passed away that if you are trying to practise shamanism, it is very difficult. You have to be pure, inside and out, and have no sins whatsoever in order to be eligible to become a shaman. Before a shaman was going to heal someone, the person who was sick or disabled had to talk about any wrongdoings they had committed. If they didn't talk about them, then the shaman would not be able to help that person. That's how it was.

They had to confess all the wrongdoings they committed first before they could be helped. There was a person who was becoming a shaman who was being taught by five others. One had travelled to the moon. He told me, "After you go to the moon and are coming back you can drop your mitt and follow your mitt back to the earth." This is kind of hard to believe, but these are the stories we heard in regards to shamanism. Even in my community, one time I found something very old. I was touching it

and I was wondering how I could become a shaman, but it wasn't possible.

Qallunaat were very scary for us. We were intimidated at the time. We were easily scared. Maybe because we couldn't speak English. I didn't know anything about the language when I was small. It was scary to think more *qallunaat* would be arriving in the future. Even though we didn't know what it would be like, we were already intimidated when they would talk about things we had never seen before. For example, although we have never seen any *qallupilluit*, we were always scared of them.[8] Just having heard about them made us scared of them without ever seeing them. I was told they would catch me if I spent too much time along the shoreline. For that reason we didn't spend that much time down at the shore. We were not allowed to play with things around our mother's area in our homes because an *aggatuinnaaluk*, in the shape of a hand, would appear out of nowhere and grab us.[9] Those were the things we were scared of even though we had never seen them ourselves. Our parents used these to discipline us.

We were also to respect the environment and wildlife. They told us never to step on a spider on purpose, because if we did it would rain. What did that have anything to do with the weather, if you really think about it? Those were the things that we were told about.

I finally understood that we had the ability to approach the *qallunaat*. We could confront them. It was not impossible. As children we saw them as huge people, *qallunaaraaluk.* When we were children we were told, "A big white man is going to grab you if you do that!" They would try to intimidate us like that. That's why we were so scared of them because of what our parents told us. As we grew up we found out they were not that scary. We said, "We're not going to do whatever you want us to do anymore." I think that helped us, not being afraid to come up with new ideas, not being afraid of the federal government.

That gave us more strength in the negotiations. At the time when we were small we thought they were huge, but now we see them as ordinary people. The *qallunaat* back then were probably the same as the *qallunaat* that we see today. When you are not against them, you can use the skills that they possess.

Traditional knowledge needs to be used along with scientific knowledge. They need to be integrated. It is even written in our agreement that both types of knowledge depend on each other. We found in one situation in the Keewatin that the scientists were saying the caribou herds were depleting, but the elders said otherwise, and sure enough, the elders were right. At that time it became obvious that they needed to use traditional knowledge along with scientific knowledge and integrate them together. Inuit were ignored before and their knowledge was not used at all. The *qallunaat* thought that Inuit didn't know anything for the longest time, even though we have lived here all the time. It's not like that anymore.

NOTES

1. The Hunters and Trappers Organizations (HTO) were created under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (Article 5, part 7) but were already part of the Agreement-In-Principle signed during the spring of 1990 (Article 5, part 32). According to the NLCA, "*Each community, and each outpost camp that prefers a separate organization, shall have an HTO*". The HTOs have certain powers: "*(a) the regulation of harvesting practices and techniques among members; (b) the allocation and enforcement of community quotas among members; (c) the assignment to non-members, with or without valuable consideration and conditions, of any portion of community quotas; and (d) generally, the management of harvesting among members*". (Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, Article 5, part 7). As Paul Quassa said, the HTOs had no negotiating powers and could only attend the negotiations as observers.
2. After the Agreement-in-Principle was signed by TFN and the Canadian government during the spring of 1990, some of the larger tasks remained to be completed. Among them was identifying which lands were going to be selected for the title, developing an implementation plan, discussing the political development (the creation of Nunavut itself) and compiling the list of Inuit beneficiaries of the claim (Moss 1990).
3. James Eetoolook has been vice president of Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI) since its creation in 1993. He also served as vice president of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) prior to 1993. He was acting president of TFN when the Nunavut Accord was ratified in Iqaluit in 1992. He also was acting president of NTI between July and December 2001 (between Paul Quassa's second resignation as president of NTI and Cathy Towtongie's election). He is now the vice president of finance for NTI.
4. Igloolik Isuma Production is a Nunavut community based video production company. They develop Inuktitut speaking productions using local stories, actors and film crew. They have produced a fascinating series of documentaries covering many aspects of Inuit traditional life. In 2001, their first feature film, and first Canadian movie using an aboriginal language, *Atanarjuat The Fast Runner,* won the Caméra d'Or for Best First Feature Film at the 2001 Cannes International Film Festival . See: www.isuma.ca
5. Solomon Tugak, was one of the regional negotiators from the Keewatin region from around the mid 80s to about the mid 90s. He was in his thirties and was from Arviat. He committed suicide shortly after the Final Agreement was signed. He was a good friend of Paul Quassa. (Personal communication with Paul Quassa)
6. See Note 3, Chapter 4.

7. The Nunavut Implementation Commission was created to facilitate the creation of Nunavut (NIC). The NIC's mandate "*was to advise the three signatories* [of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement – namely the Canadian government, the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut and the Northwest Territories] *on the political and administrative design of the Government of Nunavut, including such diverse matters as the location of the capital, the development of human resources training programs, the organisational structure of the new government, the timetable for the assumption for the Government of Nunavut (GN)'s responsibilities for the delivery of programs and services, and the division of assets and liabilities between Nunavut and the western territory*" (Hicks and White 2000: 63). In short, one of NIC's mandates was to design the GN. In Appendix A-5 in its first report *Footprints in New Snow* (1995), the NIC recommended "*that the Nunavut Legislative Assembly should consist of equal numbers of men and women, using a system of ten or eleven two-member constituencies each electing one male Member of the Legislative Assembly and one female Member of the Legislative Assembly*" (Hicks and White 2000: 70). If the idea was endorsed by the Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. and by Ron Irwin, Minister of Indian Affairs, it was not by many people, including Paul Quassa, but mostly by Manitok Thompson, the only female member of the Nunavut caucus of the NWT Legislative Assembly. A public vote was held on the question and on May 27, 1997, the proposal was rejected by Nunavummiut by a margin of 57% to 43% (see: Hicks and White 2000: 69-75 and in Gombay 2000).
8. *Qallupilluk* (pl. *qallupilluit*): In North Baffin, a *qallupilluk* is a human-like creature that lives in the sea under the ice and takes children away by carrying them on its back. In South Baffin, the same creature is called a *qalupalik*.
9. An a*ggatuinnaaluk* is a being with the shape of a hand that would grab children if they touched something they weren't supposed to.

CHAPTER 7

Where Did the Shamans Go?

We believed in a lot of things that our young people don't believe in anymore. For example, I was telling you about all these little apparitions that we see outside like *ijirait, tarriassuit, inukpasugjuit, inugarulligait.* They are all little beings that we call mythical now.[1] When we were children and I was living in Maniittuq, those are the things we were taught to believe in a hundred percent, and we believed in them.

I still do, I suppose. In those days, when I was a child and we were still living at Maniittuq, in our camp, people used to see *tarriassuit* very often, when they were out on dogteams especially. Sometimes nowadays people travelling by skidoo still see them. In those days people travelled only by dogteam and *tarriassuit* were often seen. I recall playing near the shoreline. Our parents used to tell us that the *qallupilluit* knock on the ice from underneath and that's what we used to hear. It sounded like knocking. Even so, we never saw one. They are probably still there, but nobody talks about them anymore.

We used to hear that daily. Just before a *qallupilluk* put a person in their *amauti*, it would grab him. They explained to us that a *qallupilluk* had an *amauti* and whoever was put in it would be taken under the sea. When we were children we were told not to play hide-and-seek when it was dark. Otherwise we would be taken away by *ijirait*. Whoever was

taken by the *ijirait* would be fed too much and they would get stuffed. That's what we were told as children.

But nowadays they aren't using the *qallupilluit* or the *aggatuinnaaluit*, as part of disciplining children. That was what our parents believed in. They would see *ijirait*. Apparently they could change into different types of animals such as caribou. That was the type of story we were told all the time as children. *Ijirait* are not scary, but *qallupilluit* tend to put children in their *amautiit*.

I hear there are still *tarriassuit* around. I hear they live just like us but they are invisible to us. They have skidoos, they have televisions; they have everything. When you heard these stories you believed in them from the time you were a child. They live somewhere underground. I have even heard of a person, Tapaattiaq, who originally was from Igloolik. Tapaattiaq was his name. People from Igloolik knew him very well. He used to be a catechist in the church. He gave sermons in church. When he came down to Iqaluit he didn't do any drinking because he worked with the church. Just before he passed away he stated that he had an agreement with some *tarriassuit*, and that he had to go back to them after he passed away. His spirit had to go back to the *tarriassuit* and it had to remain there until the world ends. That's what he stated right before he passed away. He was one of the prominent people working as a catechist in the church. I guess that's how he really was. It wasn't that he wasn't religious. Even though he was a Christian, his spirit had to go back to the *tarriassuit*!

You have probably heard elders talking about people who married into *tarriassuk* or *ijiraq* families. Even today people still talk about it. That's evidence they exist, even though we can't see them. When I was a child that's what people believed in, even after Christianity arrived. Belief in those beings was still there. That's what our parents used to tell us about when we were children. There were also *inugarulliit*, little people. We also heard about them, even though I've never seen them myself. Apparently when you

see *inugarulliit*, even though they are small people, when you look at their feet and then look up they would become big. I still believe in them.

We heard about *tuniit*, about what they looked like and how strong they were. We also heard that the last *tuniq* lived in Salliq, Coral Harbour. That's what people in the Amitturmiut area believe. The last *tuniq* lived in Salliq even after people had Peterhead boats. The last *tuniq* in Salliq was so strong, that he landed his boat by pulling the boat in. That's what we heard about them, even though we, ourselves, have never seen them.

There is a woman who lives in the sea who we call Takannaaluk in the Amitturmiut area. There are different names for her in different dialects such as Nuliajuk, and Takannaaluk. I've heard about this more through *unikkaaqtuat*. She lives in a gorge under the sea, and she has a watchdog. I try to believe in these, but they are becoming more and more like legends now. Now we are Christians, and Christianity also makes us believe in things we have neither witnessed nor seen. It is similar to faith. As a Christian, you have to have faith and believe in things you've never even seen. That's how Inuit are with the *unikkaaqtuat*. Many of us have never seen these things, but we still believe in them. It is similar in that way. But many Inuit have seen those.

I also believe that if an earth egg has been broken the weather will turn bad. [2] In Igloolik we suspected that happened not once but twice, where an earth egg had been broken. Our community was foggy for a long time. The elders automatically knew that an earth egg had been broken. We also heard if the egg wasn't broken it could become an animal, a caribou or something else. They would multiply. Even now people still talk about them. They are very real. I've been very unlucky in seeing any of those things.

The *qallupilluit* were used to make children take caution. If you're playing on the shore where there is

broken ice you could very well fall in and drown. It was a caution. It is like telling your children not to do certain things. Inuit tend to use stories to tell their children what not to do, to make them more careful. They have a useful purpose in some cases. I think they pretty well all do.

We were not allowed to play hide-and-seek in the dark when we were young. Otherwise we could easily disappear. Legends were used by adults to make children take caution. They just wanted them to behave.

We are talking to our children more directly now. This old priest, Father Fournier, used to talk about this. He came up North in the 1950s when the communities were just forming. In the past, people wouldn't say things directly; they would use a roundabout way. Father Fournier also told me one time there were different names for Igloolik Island. There used to be people living at Qikiqtaarjuk. He used to live there. He built a small church there before he moved to Igloolik. Once, there was a dogteam coming; Qulittalik was the one coming in with the dogteam. He had gone to pick up supplies. He was coming from Baffin Island. He had a sleep over at that little island, Qikiqtaarjuk. He was going to leave the next day. Father Fournier noticed that he had brand new clothes because he had just come from the store. All day Saturday there was a blizzard so he couldn't leave. Sunday morning people went to church. Father Fournier was the priest then. Qulittalik, who didn't leave the day before, attended the church. In those days the priest had his back to the congregation. The priest noticed this man was now wearing old clothes, so after the service he went over and said, "I thought you had brand new clothes yesterday?" Ataguarjugusik now had the brand new clothes instead. He said, "Didn't you know there was a blizzard", instead of saying, "We were playing cards." Apparently he lost and gave all his clothes to this other man. That's what he meant by people in the past not saying things directly. They just said things in a roundabout way. I don't know why. I think it is a part of Inuit culture that is disappearing.

Naming a child after someone is still practised today, but the practice doesn't seem to be as strong as it was. For example, if a child is named after a person, that child will tend to have the same ways as the person they were named after. That's how strong this practice is. I'm named after Aarulaaq, and I was just like him at times when I was a child. I was named Aarulaaq and was called that growing up. I used to get teased about my name. There are some words that sound like Aarulaaq in a French song, *En Roulant Ma Boule En Roulant.* I used to hate it. I didn't even want to be called Aarulaaq because I was teased so much. When records first started arriving, we had a record player we had to crank. Apparently Aarulaaq, the man I was named after, didn't like the song that sounded like Aarulaaq either. He even pretended to accidentally break the record, but he broke it because he didn't like the song that he heard.

As I grew older I became more proud of my name, but when I was younger I didn't want to be called by that name. Being named after someone is still very important. A lot of times when you name a child after someone they tend to be like the person they are named after. It is something like reincarnation. We believe in it too. When you give a name to a child, you tend to keep using the name that you first called them when they were born. Later on, it continues. Naming a child after somebody is a unique part of our heritage.

It is not practised as much nowadays as it was in the past. Younger Inuit are just using their names nowadays to identify themselves rather than using kinship terms like we used to. In Maniittuq, my uncle had a wife who was a close relative. I noticed my mother would call my uncle's wife cousin and our uncle was her brother. Nattiq was called her cousin. I thought they were just calling each other by kinship terms but this was their actual relationship. Maybe that happened when they were living in smaller camps. I talked about my father going all the way to Netsilik to

marry. Maybe everyone else was too closely related to him in the camp, so he had to travel far to find a wife.

Nowadays, we are giving English names to our children too much. This is not really relevant to our culture. That's part of losing our culture. One of my daughters named my grandsons, Terrence and Neil, both English names.

The majority of us have Christian names, Paul, Peter, Mary, Martha, names that we were given through baptism. The priests would urge parents to give children Christian names. Bart is a short form for Bartholomew. Later on I thought I should be called Aarulaaq Quassa, taking Paul out. I thought perhaps all Inuit should do that, take their English names out and use their Inuktitut names and their surnames.

I finally became Quassa when Abe Okpik was doing the Project Surname. I used to be called Pauli Aarulaaq. Later on it became Paul Aarulaaq. When I was born I was named Pauli. Even when I went to school in Chesterfield Inlet, I was called Pauli. When I went to Churchill it was more modern so I switched it to Paul Quassa. In the years we were growing up my name was Paul Aarulaaq Quassa. I don't know how many times my name has actually changed since I was born. That's how it is. When I go to Igloolik, older people will call me Aarulaaq. If I go somewhere else then I'm known as Paul Quassa. In some Keewatin communities, I am also known as Aarulaaq. That's what I'm called too, in the Keewatin area.

We never knew our parents' names. My mother's name was Clara but I didn't know this until I was older. Nowadays even grandchildren will call us by name, like Paul Quassa! I went downtown and there was this little child who recognized me and called out, "Paul Quassa!"

In the past if a child called an adult by name, they would be slapped or disciplined. It used to be like that in earlier times. Nowadays kids aren't afraid of anybody. They even talk back. When we were young we didn't talk back at all to our parents. When adults were conversing

we weren't ever allowed to listen. In those earlier days they saw you as a child up until you were thirteen or fourteen or even older. With the system of education and all that going on, the children are taught things that should only be known by adults. Even right out of school they think like adults now. You would expect them to be still children, but they know a lot more things that before only adults would know. I think it started with us who were the first ones to attend school. In our age group and a little older, that's when it started.

An animal protector is not visible, like a lot of other things. We don't think of it day-to-day but we know about it. That time I was down in that little boat, it had no leaks whatsoever. It was nice and dry. I was lying down. I must have been sleeping at the time, but I saw a wolf's face in front of me. At that time I really didn't think about it, but later on I did. Tagak Curley was in Coral Harbour when he heard about us. He said I would be guarded by a wolf, but I only heard about this later on. I remember seeing a wolf. I don't think it came from me. I think it came from Tagak. In the days of shamanism, a lot of shamans did not identify themselves as shamans even if they might use their shamanism.

The story about the whole topic of shamanism was dormant for fifty years because of the missionaries. A few years ago that statement was so true, it was dormant. I think it very well could come back. Scientists today say we only use ten percent of our brain's ability. There is television and radio now, and so many things to do which are constantly going through your brain. You use your brain for all these other things. In the past there weren't distractions like television. Shamans at that time were able to use their brains a lot more than people today. There are people who can move spoons just by using their brains. You've probably seen *Mind Freak*.[3] Shamans had that type of ability. These are my thoughts. They were able to manipulate other people because they knew how to use

their brains. By manipulating a person they would make them believe things. For example, even if a shaman stabbed himself he would not have a wound or would not bleed.

I've heard this story about a shaman and I believe it. I don't know if he was from Igloolik but he was from that area.

From what I have heard, we were made aware of Nazis and of Hitler when he was still alive. Inuit knew about this. There were priests and Christianity around Inuit then, during World War Two. Even though they couldn't speak English they knew how to say Germans. They learned about this one particular German named Hitler. One person who heard about him was a shaman. Other people would tell him, because he was known to be a shaman, to go and kill Hitler. In those days shamans were tied up and covered with something like a caribou skin, and while they were covered with the skin they would be put on the edge of the sleeping platform in the *iglu* and their spirits were able to travel anywhere.[4] You could hear the spirit taking off. It sounded like wind passing by. The spirit was trying to find out where Hitler was. When the spirit re-entered the shaman's body he said he couldn't find the person he was looking for. He was told to try again. So he did the same thing again. He found Hitler then and wanted to kill him. After he found him, Hitler committed suicide, but apparently it was the shaman's doings. The spirit went back to the shaman's body and said he had found the person he was looking for and that's how World War Two ended. It's hard to believe, but that's the story we used to hear. That's the story that was passed on to us from the 1940s during World War Two.

It was similar in the sixties when the Americans went to the moon. Naturally the Inuit said, "We've already been up there." They weren't surprised that the Americans went to the moon. That's how it was. I don't know if they were telling a fib or not, but I believed them, even though I didn't actually see them. That's how Inuit were. Hitler was killed by Inuit!

Inuit have lived up North and never gone anywhere else for thousands and thousands of years, but they knew a lot about things going on around the world. That's how other aboriginal people are too, in Africa, in the Amazon, the Maoris in New Zealand, the Aborigines in Australia. The aboriginal peoples of these countries had similar experiences. As Inuit in Canada we don't know much about shamanism anymore, but if we go further to Siberia or parts of Alaska there are still shamans that are not shy or hiding themselves. We are not like that in Canada. I don't know how Greenlanders are. We've heard there are shamans over there, too.

That's how we lived in those days before Christianity was introduced. We have spiritual leaders today who believe in Christianity. The shamans were our only spiritual leaders at that time. When you read about Qimuksiraaq you notice that he talked like a missionary. He talked about being a shaman and how we should live life. It sounds like a missionary wrote down these things. Qimuksiraaq was a shaman. He was interviewed in the 1950s by a man who understood the Greenlandic dialect.[5] All the things he said in Inuktitut were transcribed. When you read it, it sounds like the book was written by a missionary. Apparently the shamans lived and acted like the missionaries did. There were no others to go to for help. They knew where you would go after death depending on what type of person you were. It was like what religion today is. Sometimes I wonder what it would have been like if non-Christians had come to our communities first such as Hindus or Muslims or Buddhists. I wonder what Inuit would be like today. It is interesting to think about it. Christianity came up here first, and that's why most of us were born and raised as Christians. But if you look at the world, it is not one hundred percent Christian. There are Muslims and Hindus and all different types of religions. They all believe in something different. I always wonder if some other religion came before Christianity what things would have been like for us.

Shamanism and drum dancing have been dormant for the last fifty years because of the missionaries. Our youth have a renewed interest in it. We talked about why we wanted land claims and the Nunavut government. The reason was because we wanted to be proud of our culture, be proud of our language, and be proud of who we are. That's why land claims were there. That's why the Nunavut government came about, to get back that pride in who we are, what our culture is and what our traditions are after fifty years of being dormant. We need to know who we are. I'm not against Christianity, but I think we are just acknowledging the fact that we had shamans. Maybe there are still some in existence. They were our spiritual leaders. Shamanism could still exist. We are now acknowledging that more openly. We are more interested in hearing about it, whereas our parents are still in that state where they were told not to think about it or talk about it by our spiritual leaders who were missionaries. From my age group down we are trying to acknowledge this much more openly, and say yes this existed, and it might still today. We are thinking about it more.

The religion of today and the religion of the past, when you really look at them, they are very similar. Christianity talks about how you should live and shamanism does also. They talk about the same things, how you should live a good life. If a shaman was going to help a person, that person in need had to repent in order to be helped, and that's how Christianity is, too. You have to repent and lead a good life if you are going to go to heaven. When you compare them, you see a lot of similarities.

The only time I ever got a hundred percent at school was in religion. I've always had that interest in theology or in the spiritual, in shamanism. That's what I have been interested in.

When we find something difficult we tend to not like it. That's how I was with science. Science used to be a subject I didn't enjoy at all. Sometimes science and

traditional knowledge can be partners, or at times enemies, and yet they can mingle together.

In those days when we went to school, nothing was up to us. We had to learn what we were told to learn. If we didn't listen we were hit or disciplined. It was scary if we didn't do what we were asked to do in school. It was not up to us. It is different nowadays. Students are given a lot more freedom. Nowadays they say there can be no abuse. You cannot hit anyone or discipline children. In Igloolik, the word scolding means to slap children physically; here they say it is a verbal discipline.

Nowadays, due to the fact children are given more freedom, students are not striving as much as they did to get an education. It is different for some. When I was in grade five or grade six I learned certain things. But once I started having children I noticed that when they said they were taking grade five it seemed like grade three or four to me. That's what I noticed. Education today seems a lot weaker than before, but I think it's getting stronger again. The curriculum that we had in Chesterfield Inlet was very different from the current curriculum that is used today. Today's curriculum doesn't seem as strong. The system then was quite different. It was so much more intensive.

We were dealt with immediately through punishment. No problem. Punishment right away; no two ways about it. We didn't have anyone to complain to. It was always just the superior or the teacher and the student, there was nobody in between.

In Churchill Residential School, we had student counsellors. It was a lot better when there were student counsellors because if you were having difficulty with anything, you had someone to talk to. It was a lot less stressful. You seemed to be included more. It seemed that there were other places you could go to for help.

NOTES

1. Bernard Saladin d'Anglure (2001: glossary)
   Ijirait (ijiraq sg.): Human-like beings who show themselves as caribou. They are considered to be people who have died.
   Tarriassuit (*tarriassuk* sg.): Invisible human-like beings that sometimes make themselves visible to people. Also known as the shadow people.
   Inukpasugjuit (inukpasuqjuk sg.): A race of giant beings.
   Inugarulligait (*inugarulligaq* sg.): Small human-like beings said to have lived near the shore. If you looked at them from their feet up they would look very large. They were very strong. They suffocated people with their groins.
   Aggatuinnaaluit (sg. aggatuinnaluk): See note 9, chapter 6.
   Qallupilluit (sg. Qallupilluk): See note 8, chapter 6.
   Takannaaluk: Female spiritual being who lives in the sea. Also known as Nuliajuk and Sanna.
   Tuniit (sg. Tuniq) One of the peoples who inhabited the Arctic before the Inuit who disappeared shortly after Inuit arrived.
2. Earth eggs are round rocks found lying on the ground but thought to be coming from the earth. They are of two kinds: *silaaksaq* and *pukiksaq*. A *silaaksaq* is an embryo of *Sila* (the atmosphere/the intelligence of the world). Fantastic animals called *silaat* are born from *silaksaaq*. *Silaat* are male animals that are usually white (like polar bear), although the biggest caribou that have the colour of lemmings are also believed to be *silaat* and to come from *silaaksaq*. A *pukiksaq* is smaller than a *silaksaq*, but bigger than a bird egg. White female animals, mainly caribou, are born from *pukiksaq*. They are called *pukiq*.
   Breaking a *silaaksaq* or a *pukiksaq* can have unfortunate consequences. In 1978, a dog broke a *silaaksaq* in a camp near Igloolik and the community was foggy for most of the summer, preventing many Inuit from hunting (Saladin d'Anglure 2006: 98-100).
3. *Criss Angel Mindfreak* is a show distributed by A&E Network which centers on unusual stunts and street magic acts by illusionist Criss Angel. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criss_Angel_Mindfreak
4. The *angakkuq* (shaman) that killed Hitler was named Qimuksiraaq. He was born on the west coast of Hudson Bay to Netsilik parents around 1876. In Igloolik, it is said that in 1945 Qimuksiraaq, although he had become a Christian in 1924, decided to request the help of his helping spirits (*tuurngait*) to kill Hitler. According to Saladin d'Anglure (1997: 51), he did not travel himself to find Hitler. He instead sent his *tuurngait*. The first time, they came back because they were unable to locate him. He sent them back and this time were able to find him and make him pay for his bad actions. Hitler killed

himself only weeks later. Qimuksiraaq was indeed considered one of the most important *angakkuq* of his time. According to Nangmalik, a female *angakkuq* met by Svend Frederiksen in 1960, Qimuksiraaq was so powerful that when he was in a trance, he could kill *tupilait* (evil spirits), give more life to people, give some luck to hunters and cure the sick. He was also able to visit people in other regions by flying into the air while in a trance (Saladin d'Anglure and Hansen 1997: 52). According to Saladin d'Anglure, only the greatest *angakkuit* can travel through the air. Those great *angakkuit "were the ones who could travel by flying through the air,* ilimmaqtuqtuq*, to get news from Inuit living far away*" (Saladin d'Anglure 2001: 74).

5. Svend Frederiksen: Between 1946 and 1967, Danish anthropologist Svend Frederiksen recorded many interviews with the last known shamans of the Keewatin region. When he first visited Igluligaarjuk (Chesterfield Inlet) in 1946, Svend Frederiksen was an accomplished linguist and anthropologist trained for ten years under the influence of William Thalbitzer at the University of Copenhagen and a skilled Inuktitut speaker. He had an opportunity to spend a few weeks with the best-known shaman of the area, Qimuksiraaq, who another famous Greenlander, Knud Rasmussen, had interviewed in 1922. (McComber: 1998) http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/nunavut981031/nvt81016_11.html

CHAPTER 8

2020 Is a Long Way Off

The land claims agreement signed in 1993 was geared towards Inuit only and people had high expectations from it. Some of the expectations have not yet been met. Some of them have been. We wanted to see economic opportunities for Inuit. We now have things like the Qikiqtaaluk Corporation and an Inuit owned airline, Canadian North. Inuit are also share-holders of ships, which have a lot of use in the North.[1] Before, there was nothing like this. Corporations have been established. Different organizations such as Kakivak are now in place which never existed before.[2] Inuit are able to participate now in various organizations such as the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board. All the organizations we wanted in the agreement are now in place; organizations to deal with wildlife, the environment and planning.[3] Inuit are all involved in those now. That's what we expected and wanted to see, starting in 1993 up to today. More Inuit are now employed, and more Inuit are also working in senior positions. Some of the provisions of the land claims agreement have been carried out. We also stated that Inuit needed to be in control at the government level. We see that happening now, too, where there are Inuit controlling government departments and this is something we didn't see much of earlier. Inuit are obviously more involved in decision-making.

Some of the provisions set out in 1993 have not been met yet. For example, we are the largest land-holders in North America but the land we selected has not been utilized much yet. On Inuit-owned lands, we have control over entry and access, but this doesn't seem to be enforced very much. We used to think that because it was Inuit-owned land, a *qallunaaq* would have to be accompanied by an Inuk because it was private land, but nobody follows that. Anybody can enter and access Inuit-owned land. We should be more protective of our land. In the South, if there is a private land owner, there are signs that say 'do not enter'. It is identified as private land. Inuit-owned lands are just the same, but Inuit organizations don't have enough concern over this. The Baffin, Kivalliq and Kitikmeot regions are the land-holders, but due to a lack of money they are not ensuring that Inuit-owned lands are being used properly. In the Kitikmeot area and in some areas in the Kivalliq, the lands are being used by people doing exploration. They are starting to get royalties from the land being used. But in our communities which are spread all over, if you look at a map people don't seem that concerned about our Inuit-owned land.

A lot of Inuit had high expectations for the land claims agreement, even me. For example, in the agreement, it states more than once that there would be benefits. Where are they? Up to now, we have not really seen any benefit. We have never really been given even a dollar. For elders there is a pension fund, and for hunters there is a hunters' support plan, but this only applies to some people. There are organizations such as Kakivak Association which subsidize the cost of sewing machines and other bigger tools. But benefits shouldn't just be for some people. We noticed that it provides benefits just for some. They also seem to select only particular people to be employed within those organizations. Sometimes I think, "Well, everything is so new still. Maybe we'll see more later on." This is still my expectation. At the same time I'm also thinking these

things should be in place by now. That's how a lot of Inuit think, too.

If I was to be a candidate again I'm sure I could easily get elected if I started talking about real benefits being put in place now. I remember when I was younger; people in Nunavik signed their land claims agreement in 1975. They did a ten year review of their land claim to see where they were at, and *Ten Years of Disagreements* was what they titled their book.[4] I think that's how we are too in Nunavut. The federal government signed an agreement stating in the contents what they planned to do. It was dealt with like a contract. It is an agreement. The federal government signed this agreement which states what they would do, but from what I have seen, they ignored what they promised to do. They are not even concerned. It is as if after they signed it, they forgot about it. While we were negotiating we used to tell the federal negotiators, "As soon as you sign this agreement, you'll go home and not be concerned at all. But for us, after the agreement is signed, we will still be here. We will have to make sure the agreement is carried out." Maybe, it is because a different political party took office in Ottawa. What I see is that they seem to want to forget about the agreement. They don't even want to remember it. This leads to difficulties. NTI would like to see the federal government and the Nunavut government follow what was agreed to under the land claims agreement. It makes you feel sorry about it when you know they are not following what they had agreed to.

For example, the federal government created a Firearms Act. It states in our agreement which they agreed to, and we believed them, that Inuit don't need licenses to hunt for domestic purposes. Even though the government negotiators agreed to that, they still came up with an act which said that Inuit do need licenses. What was agreed to is not being implemented. That's what we said. It's a living agreement. It is going to continue on and on. I recently read something that I once said, "We have the agreement

now but negotiations are not over." It's a continuing process. Makivik Corporation were the first to get a land claims agreement, and they also noticed that the federal government did not follow what it had agreed to, just as we found. We know that the government moves very slowly. That is recognized by us all. Even with the agreement, which the Prime Minister signed, the federal government still doesn't follow it. Even though it was enshrined in the Canadian Constitution, the federal government still doesn't follow what it had committed to and agreed to. That's one thing I can't understand. The federal government expects everyone to follow its regulations and acts, yet at the same time they are not following them themselves.

When Inuit were first provided housing, they only paid two dollars a month in rent, and they were told their rent would never increase. Obviously this was not true if we look at it then and look at it now. They signed a document stating what they would do, and yet they never seem to follow it. Perhaps that's the way government operates, not just in Canada but all over the world. We recognize that as a government they need money to operate. When we ask the government to do what we ask they tend not to do it, but if we aren't following what the government wants us to follow, it becomes a point of concern. For example, once I owed money to Revenue Canada and they kept bugging and bugging me, but if I invoice them for something, then they take forever to pay. That's just the way governments are. We had high expectations for the Nunavut government, too. We thought once we had our own government in Nunavut that things would change, but they haven't. I am proud that we do have a Nunavut government now and that most of the members are Inuit.[5] That is something to be proud of. That's what we worked for. That's how we planned it to be. We knew the Nunavut government would represent everybody, not just Inuit. It is just our land claims agreement that is for Inuit only. Before the agreement was in place, there was

discussion about whether the government would be an ethnic government. That's what we had originally thought about. But if it was to be a government, it couldn't just be for Inuit, it had to be a public government for everyone who lived in Nunavut. That was a question a lot of Inuit asked us, whether the government would only be for Inuit, or for everyone. I think at first that's what we thought, that it would be for Inuit only.

What we also expected, and we haven't seen much happening yet, is concerning the Inuktitut language. I thought it would be a lot stronger and would be used more. We thought that Inuit would be a majority in the Legislative Assembly so they would operate in the Inuktitut language, but it is really not like that. It is a government and it is operating under the Canadian law. We have to run the government under the laws of Canada. We would like to see our government operate the way Inuit want, but it is not happening like that. Perhaps this is impossible because of the rules of a democratic government.

Our ancestors, before they moved into communities, had their own little camps. The different levels of government that we see today are part of a democratic system. The way our ancestors lived was more of a Marxist, socialist system. When one Inuk said something there was no other way. Nowadays because it is a democratic system, if someone says something there are a lot of other opinions also that have to be considered as well. When we were only Inuit, it was operating more like a communist system run by one Inuk. They didn't have a democratic system. There were different systems for females and males. There were no other ways to follow. A lot of us Inuit thought that with Nunavut we would have a different system geared more towards Inuit. It would be a public government, but geared more towards Inuit and Inuit tradition. Even though our Legislative Assembly has more Inuit now, it is still operating in a *qallunaaq* way, perhaps because we still have to be part of that political system. That's what

I have thought about. A lot of Inuit expectations have still not been met and it's 2006. I don't know when these expectations will become reality, or if Inuit will continue to be the majority in Nunavut in the future.

We have had many governments who made life very difficult for Inuit. They killed our dogs and took our children away to get an education. We all know the government never wants to apologize for anything. They think that would make them look bad. They feel they have to always be above their citizens. That's what I think, anyway. It is quite rare for government to apologize for something.

A lot of Inuit were forced to go through a lot of hardship. They lost a lot, so people feel they need to be given an apology or given compensation. That's what a lot of Inuit are still thinking today.

For example, the Grinnell River used to have a lot of very big fish. The *qallunaat* had fisheries there and killed off all the large-sized fish. By the time I got here, we never caught any big fish in that river. It was in the 1950s that they killed all those bigger fish.

When we still had the Government of the Northwest Territories, the old acts were just transferred to the Nunavut government without any changes, the acts and legislation.[6] We expected to see changes, but apparently there wasn't going to be much change. I wonder if the system of government has to run a certain way for a certain number of years before it can finally be transformed.

When you are a Canadian, you have to follow Canadian acts and legislation. There are limits as to what you can do. The Nunavut government can't seem to move any further. For example, in the old days, we didn't just eat polar bear meat from the fall to the spring; we had it all year round. But because of hunting regulations and quotas we are now expected to eat certain meats at certain times of the year. Even if we have to follow the quota system, we should be able to have different types of meats all year

round. For example, eggs are for summer, obviously. But for whales, if you kill a certain number up to the quota then you can't kill anymore. There are even regulations relating to seagulls and ravens. Even though we can't eat them, if I killed a raven I would have to pay a fine. We used to kill seagulls throughout the year as we used their feathers to wipe things. Inuit were told not to kill anything unless they were going to eat it or use it. Of course Inuit also had pets. Even minor things like that, we thought we would be able to do them again once we got our own government.

You could also hunt polar bears with harpoons or knives. Recently those who requested to do that were refused. Noah Kadluk from Coral Harbour wanted to try using a harpoon to kill a polar bear, as was done traditionally, but he was not allowed to do so.[7] Our government should be protecting our traditions and allowing these customs because the majority of members in our Legislative Assembly are Inuit. They are still hesitant and unsure when making legislation. I told Noah Kaduk at that time that he should have just gone ahead and done what he wanted to do instead of trying to get permission.

I was very much involved with the killing of a whale in Igloolik in 1994.[8] Even after we signed the final agreement where it states very clearly under article 5 that Inuit can hunt up to one bowhead whale per year, we were still not allowed to hunt them legally. In 1994, I was living in Igloolik. It was perfect timing because I was so pro-land claims. Noah Piugattuk was one of the elders in the community. People from Igloolik and Naujaat had hunted bowhead illegally, but this was accepted in the past. But in 1994, in the Igloolik area, they caught a bowhead when it was still not permitted. One elder wanted to taste bowhead whale one more time before he died and his son killed one that Saturday. I was up there then and I could hear shooting. It was around midnight and it was pitch

black and we heard, "Someone got a bowhead whale!" So everybody ran to the beach. It was pitch black and all of us tried some bowhead whale meat.

Then we heard that the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board was going to charge Qaunaq for harvesting a bowhead illegally. I said, "No way" immediately. Under the land claims agreement we were given the right to hunt bowhead whales. I convinced Qikiqtani Inuit Association to become involved in the case. I said, "Why the hell does the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, the body that we created, say that this Inuk is going to be charged for hunting bowhead when they know very well that Inuit can now hunt them?" We were getting really uptight and excited over it, especially me, I guess. So, we got a lawyer and QIA helped out. They paid for the legal fees. Ben Kovic was the chair of the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board and I couldn't understand why they were so adamant in saying, "This guy has got to be charged." On top of that, under the land claims agreement every Inuk had the right to hunt, trap and fish anywhere, anytime in Nunavut.[9] Why did we put those words in the Final Agreement?

I couldn't understand why the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, of all organizations, wanted to charge him and take him to court. We said, "Okay, let's go to court because we are going to win anyway." So we did. We went to court. The court party came to Igloolik. We made a big, big show out of it. We got most of the people in Igloolik to go to the courthouse. I went on community radio and I said, "Look, this is going to be fun because they are playing with us. I know we are going to win, so let's have lots of fun", kind of thing. We all went to the courthouse. It was full. They had cameras there and everything. We made a show out of it, and at the end of the day, as you know, we won. The charges were dropped.

Shortly after that Noah Piugattuk died. He was an elder. He was in his nineties. It was his son who got that bowhead whale. For me it was fun. I loved it because it

was controversial and I knew we were going to win; so we just kind of played along.

We used Noah Piugattuk's knowledge because he was the elder who had asked to have the bowhead whale *maktak* before he passed on. His son was the one who got that bowhead whale. How could this happen the way it did? Inuit have this ability which doesn't show when you just look at a person. They have a special ability. Maybe some people still have shamanistic powers. We are always told, too, that we are to be proud of our elders because they are very powerful. Even after they have passed away, what they said eventually comes about. Even if what they said was said a long time ago, it comes true. Then you remember, that is what the person said would happen.

Qaunaq didn't know the court system because he had never been in court before. Because he was an elder he was scared of the federal government. Naturally we knew we were going to win, but it was very hard for Qaunaq, his son Levi and his brother-in-law Esa Kripanik. Those were the three who were charged. It was interesting when they were telling the story as to how they got it. The three hunters were on the ice and the bowhead whale seemed to give itself to them. When they were shooting, it should have tried to flee, to swim away. It seems like it gave itself to those hunters. These are the extraordinary things that happen at times. It was because of Noah Piugattuk's desire, that the whale gave itself up for him. As Inuit we believe that wildlife can give themselves to hunters. That's what happened. That's how we understand it. That whale should rightfully have swum away, but it stayed and gave itself to the hunters. That's Inuit belief.

That's the distinctiveness of Inuit belief, that animals will do certain things for you if you really put your mind to it, especially elders. Polar bears are a different story. Polar bears will know what kind of people we are. For some people, polar bears tend to want to attack. For other people, the polar bears will just ignore them. That's

how polar bears are. There were some hunters polar bear hunting. There was an older brother and a younger brother. Apparently the polar bear had this thing about this younger brother. Even when the younger brother was hiding behind his older brother, the polar bear would ignore the person in front. These are things we know as Inuit.

I also recall that when we were children we kept baby seagulls and baby owls as pets, even bear cubs and other wildlife babies. These were the things we were expecting to see happening again with the creation of the Nunavut government. It's obvious that our leaders, whether in the Nunavut government or at NTI, need to think about these things. They should know what is expected. I am sure they do because they are leaders. There are a lot of expectations out there. Some things are moving along slowly, but they aren't a reality at the community level. You can feel that the Government of Nunavut is trying to make progress.

Those who were really against what we were trying to do when we were holding the ratification vote are now running to be the leaders of NTI and the Nunavut government. Even though they were opposing what we wanted to do, now they are trying to get into the system. Maybe they changed their minds? I don't know. Things probably would have happened faster if the same people had been involved.

Look at Paul Okalik. He was deputy chief negotiator. Even though he is now the government leader, he doesn't seem to be progressing as fast as he should, maybe because there are so many obstacles; mostly funding. It seems like we need money all the time to do anything. Money, money, money! It seems to be the only thing that can make things move forward. I think they should have had a different name for money, instead of calling it *kiinaujaq*.

The Inuktitut language needs to be managed better in the education system. We used to think that once we had the Nunavut government, the education system would improve. We have lots of different plants in our

land and they have different names in our language, but my children don't know them. They don't even know the uses for different plants. Those types of things should be taught in school so that the Inuktitut language can survive. There are all different kinds of terms for wildlife. These should be taught at school also. Even place names known to Inuit should be taught on maps. We never saw these things taught under the government of the Northwest Territories. We expected to see this happen when we got the Nunavut government, but it hasn't happened yet.

Even for our own bodies, we have names for every part of the body, but in Inuktitut classes this is not being taught. It could be included in health or social studies. These things need to be added into the programs before they get forgotten and disappear. That's what we wanted to see with the land claims agreement and the creation of the Nunavut government. That's what we had expected, but now we are expecting this to happen some time in the future. There is always a 'but'.

Sometimes I wonder what dialect I am actually speaking because we all have our own little dialects. Should we keep it like that, or should we unify it. The dialect I am speaking is probably different; using part of Keewatin dialect, some of Amitturmiut dialect, and some of South Baffin dialect. Should we keep these different dialects going, or should we come up with a standardized dialect? Those are the things that are being discussed by our Nunavut government, but nothing is being done. Some of our members of the Legislative Assembly are talking about this, too, but I don't know what is stopping them. I don't know what position you need to be in to ensure these things become a reality. I stated earlier that there are a lot of obstacles.

It seems there is reluctance to have the Inuktitut language as strong as it could be. As I said earlier there were a lot of expectations for what we wanted to see happen when we created the Nunavut government, but

a lot of them never really materialized. If you go to a small community, that's exactly what they are going to say, that the Government of Nunavut is just a replica of the Government of the Northwest Territories.[10] Even though the majority of the ministers and members of the Legislative Assembly are Inuit, people still have that sense that it is not really their government.

We are so much into this Canadian political system. There are too many obstacles we have to go through. That's why it doesn't seem to be changing very much. We hear Inuktitut spoken, but when I am speaking in Inuktitut I am thinking in a *qallunaat* way. I can compare it to that. Even though our Nunavut government speaks Inuktitut they are still operating like *qallunaat*. Especially in the smaller communities, that's what they feel. It looks like our government operates within a *qallunaat* system. Unfortunately, that's how the Nunavut government is set up. I stated earlier that I am still expecting to see some things happen later on in the future. Maybe they will happen then. At the time of the negotiations, we were expecting them to happen right away. Unfortunately, it wasn't like that.

Some of us would like to deal with things in a traditional way but we always have to think about whether it will be accepted or if it will break some kind of law or policy or regulation. Will it be in violation of some act or regulation? As I said, there are so many obstacles. That's how I see it. Inuit had the ability to be independent without being intimidated by others, without being unsure. A lot of people feel unsure because they don't know enough about the Canadian legal system.

When I was younger I used to think, "I'm not from Canada." That's what I used to think, more than once. Before, Inuit did not know they were on Canadian land. It seems they just put us into Canada without even asking us if we wanted to be Canadian. When I was young, when I was more radical I used to say, "I'm not from Canada."

It was like we were in a cocoon and there was no way out. If we were going to operate as traditional Inuit, we would have to get out of the cocoon first. Maybe one day we'll be able to do that, but I don't know when. I think that's how Inuit are as Canadians.

Quebec is more out of the cocoon than we are. I'm even envious of them. They want to preserve their language so much that they have made strict laws to protect it. We could do that, too, in Nunavut. Our language could be as strong as it is in Quebec. They wanted to preserve their language and they passed Bill 101. I wonder why we didn't do that through creating our own Bill 101 or through the Education Act. If our language and culture aren't being taught in the school system, I know we will lose them; we are already losing part of our culture. Before the education system was put in place and we were still learning from our parents, we were being taught one hundred percent in Inuktitut. All kinds of names for plants and for wildlife are not being used at all anymore. It is because the Education Act in Nunavut is too weak that our children are losing our language.[11] We learned directly from our parents before schools were established. Since schools have been established, they should ensure in the Education Act that the teaching is done more like it would be between parent and child. The education system and the parents seem to be really far apart. The parents are expected to teach their children, but that seems impossible now because our children are in school. They should also include what the parents normally would have taught their children in the curriculum. Nowadays parents either go to work or attend classes, and we are not around our children as much. Those of us who went to residential school were educated and we learned a lot of things. We were taught to speak English. We were taught by the school, not by our parents. Whatever we were going to learn in our community, in those earlier days, if those things had been taught in the school, I would probably know more about

hunting and more about my Inuktitut language. If what I would have been taught by my parents was also included in the education system, I would have known much more. That's the way it should work today, too.

It would be different if we depended on our parents to be our teachers, especially for those of us who went to residential schools. Our language would have been much stronger as our knowledge of our traditional ways. Even though I could speak my language, I envied people in my age group who didn't have to leave for residential school because they seemed to know a lot more Inuktitut. They seemed to have very strong Inuktitut, even when they were younger than me. I envied them. I think the education system is weak even now. They only spend a small amount of money on Inuktitut but for the *qallunaatitut* side, they provide a lot more money. Once we had our land claim signed and the Nunavut government created, we thought it would be the other way around. In 2020 Inuktitut is supposed to be the working language of government, but 2020 is a long way off. That provision was made in 1999, but it wasn't to take effect for twenty years. It doesn't seem to make sense. I don't understand that. It is something to be concerned about.

They could have started way back. Even when we had the government of the Northwest Territories this was also an issue. We had Inuktitut teachers and Inuktitut was being taught even before we had the Nunavut government. It started way back. That's one thing I don't understand. Even in my school days I learned how to write syllabics in Inuktitut. That was in the 1960s. I don't know why it is taking forever for this to be implemented with the Nunavut government. I don't understand it. There are not that many books written in Inuktitut.

In Greenland they had *qallunaat* around from the 1700s. They had *qallunaat* there long before we did. It was only in the 1900s that the *qallunaat* were around here. We were way behind, by almost two hundred years, in

publishing books, but still there is not as much literature in Inuktitut as there should be. It might take two hundred years before we have enough books in Inuktitut and before then, maybe syllabics will die out. That's another issue, syllabics.

NOTES

1. Qikiqtaaluk Corporation: **Qikiqtaaluk Corporation** (QC) was established in 1983 to manage economic development on behalf of the Qikiqtani Inuit Association. QC is mandated to pursue and develop economic development and employment opportunities on behalf of the Inuit in the region. Qikiqtaaluk Corporation has established a number of activities including DEW Line site cleanups, turbot and shrimp fisheries, health supplement development, mineral exploration and expediting, construction, marine transportation, wholesale fuel sales and distribution, real estate management and helicopter services. QC also conducts joint ventures with other Inuit companies which may not have the resources or size to bid on large projects. QC emphasizes effective financial management and comprehensive Inuit training for projects (from: www.qcorp.ca)
   Nunasi: Nunasi Corporation is a birthright development corporation wholly-owned by its share-holders (Inuit enrolled as beneficiaries under the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement). Nunasi's mandate is to maximize profits for its share-holders and while doing so, create value added benefits such as training, employment and other economic opportunities for the Inuit of Nunavut. Nunasi's affiliates include NorTerra Inc., Nunasi Helicopters, Nunavut Investment Group, Nunavut Petroleum, and many others (from: www.nunasi.com/index.htm).
   NorTerra Inc.: NorTerra Inc. is a Canadian management and holding company, owned equally by the Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC) and Nunasi Corporation (Nunasi), representing the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic and the Inuit of Nunavut, who are NorTerra's beneficiaries. NorTerra Inc. holdings include the Canadian North airline, Northern Transportation Company Limited (NTCL) which offers complete dry cargo and fuel delivery services to communities, oil and gas exploration projects and mining sites throughout the western Arctic, Mackenzie River, Alaskan North Slope, Hudson Bay and Eastern Arctic regions, as well as Weldco-Beales, a heavy equipment design and fabrication company (from: www.norterra.com/oc_1.html).
2. Kakivak Association is the economic development arm of the Qikiqtani Inuit Association. It helps train Inuit to start up, manage and expand their own businesses, funds training programs that lead to jobs for Baffin Inuit, provides wage subsidies to help employers hire Baffin Inuit, assists childcare centres with funding and logistical support, supports youth and disabled people with wage subsidy and job creation programs, and looks after the Economic Opportunities Fund for Communities near National Parks in the Baffin Region (from: www.kakivak.ca/kakivak/main_en.html).

3. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) created several organizations responsible for the supervision of environmental matters. Among those are the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board (Article 5) which is the main instrument of wildlife management in the Nunavut Settlement Area and the main regulator of access to wildlife, the Nunavut Planning Commission (Article 11) whose task is to establish broad planning policies, objectives and goals for the Nunavut Settlement Area in conjunction with government, as well as developing land use plans that guide and direct resource use and development in the Nunavut Settlement Area, the Nunavut Impact Review Board (Article 12) whose main objective is to review the ecosystemic impact of development projects and to monitor the said projects, and the Nunavut Water Board (Article 13) that is responsible over the regulation, use and management of water in the Nunavut Settlement Area.
4. Makivik Corporation (1985), *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement: Ten Years of Disagreement*, Kuujjuaq, Makivik Corporation: 32p.
5. As of January 2008, the Nunavut Legislative Assembly was composed of eighteen members, sixteen of them being Inuit.
6. The Nunavut Act (Bill C-132) of June 10, 1993 mentions that "*the ordinances of the Northwest Territories and the laws made under them that have been made, and not repealed, before that day are duplicated to the extent that they can apply in relation to Nunavut, with any modifications that the circumstances require. The duplicates are deemed to be laws of the Legislature and the laws made under them*" (Article 29 (1)). What it means in short is that all laws of the Northwest Territories were transferred to the Nunavut government. This gives Nunavut a legal base on which to work, and ensure the Canadian government that the new territory will be legally similar to the other legislatures around the country. From there however, the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut is free to change those laws, as long as they respect the *Constitutional Act of 1982* and the powers of the Territory.
7. In 1997, Noah Kadluk asked the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board for permission to hunt a bear with dogs and a spear for the benefit of a film maker. The board agreed with the proposal that the hunter should be accompanied by other hunters equipped with firearms. But the Northwest Territories government did not allow Kadluk to pursue his project, and later the Government of Nunavut held the same position. Kadluk took the government to court, supported by NTI, when Paul Quassa was the president. Justice Kilpatrick ruled against the government position in his judgment in 2001.
8. On September 19, 1994, Simeonie Qaunaq, his son Levi, and his brother-in-law, Esa Kripanik illegally killed a bowhead whale near Igloolik. At the time, they were hunting walrus and saw the back of

a whale on top of the water. They determined that the whale was sick and they decided to kill it. They shot it with their rifles and then speared it with a harpoon made of a paddle and a knife. The word about the killing spread rapidly and the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans sent investigators to Igloolik to question the men. They first said that they had killed the whale to fulfill the wish of Noah Piugaattuk, an elder who wanted to eat maktak before he died. In January, 1995, the hunters were charged under federal fisheries regulations for illegally harvesting a bowhead whale. At the time, there was a total ban on hunting bowhead whales in the waters of the Eastern Arctic. Ottawa dropped the charges against the hunters in 1996 (from: van Rassell, 1996).

9. Article 5 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement states that "*Inuit are traditional and current users of wildlife*" (5.1.2 (a)) and that their "*legal rights* […] *to harvest wildlife flow from their traditional and current use*" (5.1.2 (b)). However, it also states that "the *government retains the ultimate responsibility for wildlife management*" (5.1.2 (i)). Article 5 also states that "*all Inuit shall have the free and unrestricted right of access for the purpose of harvesting to all lands, water and marine areas within the Nunavut Settlement Area*" (5.7.16).
10. The Northwest Territories have in fact an Official Language Act that came to force in 1988 (see: www.justice.gov.nt.ca/PDF/ACTS/Official_Languages.pdf). The Act recognizes 11 different official languages (Chipewyan, Cree, English, French, Gwich'in, Inuinnaqtun, Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, North Slavey, South Slavey and Tłicho). These languages have equal status in the territory. Each one of them can be used in the Legislative Assembly. Although all government acts and records are to be printed in French and English only, anyone can request that they be translated in one of the 11 languages of the territory. There were no compelling measures to enforce the application of this act, and consequently it was never really implemented.
11. As for all other legislation, Nunavut inherited the Northwest Territories Education Act when it became Nunavut in 1999. It is felt by many Inuit that this act is not adequate for Nunavut, as it does not put enough emphasis on Inuktitut and on *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*. In 2002, the Department of Education proposed a Nunavut Education Act, but it was dropped by the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut in 2003 after the third reading because it did not meet many Inuit requirements, and because many felt Inuit had not been properly consulted. In 2005, the Department of Education again tried to propose a new Nunavut Education Act. However, many critics said that the 2005 proposal was just like the 2002 proposal, and that it did not put enough emphasis on *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* and Inuktitut, that the funding it proposed for various programs was insufficient,

and that Inuit had not been properly consulted (see: Spitzer 2000; Minogue 2005ab; Minogue 2006). A new version of the Education Act, Bill 21, was introduced in the Legislature by Education Minister Ed Picco in November of 2007. It is difficult for a majority of the Inuit population of Nunavut to understand why most of the resources devoted to education by their government are mainly financing a unilingual English education system.

CHAPTER 9

A Microphone in Front of Me

I was working as a bouncer at the bar in Frobisher Bay (now Iqaluit) on the weekends, and this CBC employee asked me if I would be more interested in working at CBC than at the bar. That was a great opportunity for me, so I took that job. From there on, I've always gone back to CBC or journalism.

One of the things that I realized after I became a full-time employee was that one has to be unbiased all the time. If you are doing a story you have to be unbiased. But for the first while it was a little bit hard for me, especially when we were doing stories about Inuit and about government. At the back of my head, I was always biased because I'm an Inuk. There were stories about Inuit, and sometimes if they sounded wrong inside of me, I would always be biased. I had to keep thinking that I had to be unbiased if I was going to work for CBC. I found that was one of the hardest things.

I remember in 1979, while working with CBC, I was sent to Greenland to cover the elections of their home rule government.[1] I was the only Inuk reporter. People came from all over the world, from Moscow, Spain and Canada. I went from Iqaluit to Nuuk through Montreal, Halifax, Amsterdam, and Copenhagen and then finally I arrived in Nuuk. We took the long way. There weren't any direct flights then. While I was there I was very proud. All the others were *qallunaat* and I was the only Inuk. They made us feel very welcome in Nuuk and Sisimiut. They shook

my hand and everything but they didn't seem to notice me. I was wondering why they weren't very friendly with me. Later on, I found out that they thought I was just from Greenland because I was an Inuk! When they found out I was from Canada, they paid more attention to me. In those days the Inuit and *qallunaat* in Greenland didn't mix together very much. I was in Greenland prior to getting involved with our land claims agreement as a negotiator.

Because I was at CBC, people knew my voice and they knew me. I noticed later on, when I was running as a candidate, that this made it easier because people knew my name. Previous leaders like Rene Lévesque and Pierre Trudeau[2] were also involved with the media prior to getting elected. It helped them to be known by the people.

In 1979 I was working at CBC when I first ran for the President of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, and I was elected. CBC was my stepping stone. When you are at CBC you are dealing with current affairs every day and you are on top of what is going on. When Inuit organizations were just getting established I knew exactly where they were at. When you are working at CBC you get to know all these things and it makes it easier to talk about them. When I was on the air, there was no one to argue back. It was a great stepping stone for me, working for CBC and IBC, working with the media. It really helped me when I was running for office and became a politician, especially in current affairs. I also attended courses in journalism while I worked at CBC.

Just before I ran for office again, in February, 1999, Nunavut had their first government elections. Prior to that, I went to Montreal to take a course on how to cover elections. Peter Mansbridge was one of our instructors in Montreal.[3] They taught us how to sit properly, how to look at the camera properly, everything. If someone didn't know what to say or how to relax in front of the camera, they taught us how to deal with it. While I was there I was told that Peter Mansbridge was like a god at

Paul Quassa working as a radio host at CBC North in Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) in the late seventies
Credit: CBC North (Iqaluit)

CBC, even though he was just a human being. When they had the first elections for the Nunavut government I was the anchor for *The National* here in CBC Iqaluit. I really enjoyed that.

I also noticed at times when I was interviewing some people that it was difficult for me. When you are working for CBC you have to follow interview guidelines when you are going to interview a person. When you are a traditional Inuk, sometimes you hear things that aren't very pleasant to hear. When you have to talk about these things, it is difficult. For example, if someone passed away, talking about how they died was very difficult for me. I had to say the name of the deceased. In our culture, it is difficult to say the name of someone who has died. Those were the things that sometimes were difficult for me to talk about. I had to do things that weren't traditional to our culture; they were from somebody else's culture.

Another thing I wasn't used to was using surnames to address people. For example, Mr. Quassa or if they were talking about my daughter, Ms. Quassa. We use Inuktitut names and at times I found it difficult to use surnames. For example, I know Pilakapsi, and his children are all named Pilakapsi. Even if the child was very young, Mr. Pilakapsi would be what he would be called if they were talking about his son. When they first say the name, they use the person's given name as well, but after that they just use the surname. I wasn't comfortable with this. The person with that actual name is now dead, and it seems like I'm talking about that particular person. As an Inuk I felt like that. I don't think it was the same for *qallunaat*. Sometimes this was uncomfortable for me. There were times I would talk to my manager first and ask, "Do I have to say this in Inuktitut?" The manager would say, "Yes, You have to. It's a must." That's how the media operates. Those were some things I was uncomfortable with. They still do these things, but this was back then. Nowadays, these things seem to be accepted more.

There was another thing that was difficult for us Inuit. The younger generation, who have more education, might not find it the same. It is not part of Inuit tradition to confront a person or keep repeating questions to get information out of a person. That's another area that was not very comfortable for me. If a person didn't really say what you wanted to hear, you had to keep asking the person the question, and that's not our traditional way. That was a difficult area for me, making a person say something they didn't really want to say. They say you have to do that to be a good journalist. That's how it was. Our inability to be confrontational was obvious. I'm sure Jonah Kelly felt the same way, too.[4]

At one point we had a meeting at CBC, as Inuit journalists, along with our manager. Some Inuit are comedians. They like joking around. In Inuit culture, people like joking around; it's okay. Apparently, in *qallunaat*

culture, the Inuit way of joking around was breaking one of the regulations. Jonah Kelly would jokingly say things. I think he jokingly said something to one of the *qallunaaq* journalists, so our manager wanted a meeting with the Inuit staff only. Apparently one of the regulations said we were not to behave like that, but Jonah Kelly thought he was just joking around. As Inuit we thought, "Why is he making such a big deal over something he was just joking about?" Those were some of the clashes we ran into working as CBC journalists. These are some of the differences we noticed back then, and I'm sure they run into the same problems today. During that meeting, I was reading a newspaper and my manager grabbed it from me, and shouted, "You should be listening!" I wasn't very concerned because I thought Jonah was just joking around. Inuit are still like this today. In the Inuit way, nothing a person says jokingly is taken seriously. That is part of Inuit culture. We weren't purposely trying to go against the regulations.

When you are an Inuk journalist, or working in any media, for that matter, it seems like you have to follow what is expected in *qallunaat* culture. For example, if you go to work at CBC, you have to follow their rules and regulations, and the rules and regulations of the government, too. Government institutions were imposed on us without our input at all. They were imposed upon us. If something comes here from the South we always have to use their rules and regulations. We have to follow their procedure.

We had wanted the land claims agreement to eliminate all of that, but unfortunately nothing has really changed. It was a lot less stressful when I went to IBC because it was for Inuit. When I went there, I felt so much more relaxed because I could use my traditional ways. It was less stressful. At CBC it was always stressful and very tense. That's how I saw it anyway. There was a limit as to how much you could use Inuit ways, even though it was very exciting and interesting. Even though I really enjoyed

working there, these were some of the things I noticed. Like everything else, things are starting to change at CBC now that they have a better understanding of our culture. They have been around for quite a while.

CBC at times was a bit biased. Now I think it is a lot better. When I was there, I thought CBC was too intruding. When you are doing an interview you really want to get that person to say something to make the news. You are intruding on that person. That's not really our custom. In a sense we felt very uncomfortable. It's like eating away at a person.

I'll give you an example. Well, I for one have had so many ups and downs. This year a federal election was held and various parties came to me and asked me to run as their candidate.[5] First of all it was the Conservatives who asked me to run. Then, the New Democratic Party came to me. It came to a point where even Jack Layton called me while I was in Igloolik encouraging me to run for the NDP. I thought about it, but in the back of my head I thought, "I know what the media are going to do. As soon as they see my name they are going to say, 'Paul Quassa is running. Remember in 1993 and in 2001, he did all these things. This is the guy who did all the bad things.'"

The media tends to look back and bring up any negative things that might have happened. That's how the media works. Whereas Inuit think, "Well, he's going to run." In the past, the elders or *innait* used to tell me that Inuit wouldn't think like that. They'd say, "This is where you are now." But the media doesn't work like that. That used to be very hard for us Inuit working in the media. You had to keep asking a person about the past and so forth. It was their way of doing things in a sense, to look back at the bad events.

I never really encountered anybody from CBC favouring one group or one person more than another. I think that CBC is good in that sense. They emphasize the need to be unbiased. For me, especially after being in

politics and then coming back to CBC, it was always hard, at first, to be unbiased. Maybe just because I'm an Inuk and I used to work for Inuit organizations, such as TFN, or BRIA. When I went back to CBC, I had to be unbiased. It was pretty hard after working for an Inuit organization, when there was something in the news about that particular Inuit organization having a fight with the government.

One of the things I used to notice is that a news clip that would be nice and short in English would become long in Inuktitut because a lot of times you had to explain what it really meant. In English you might have one short word but in Inuktitut sometimes you have to explain what it is. That's why Inuktitut newscasts are a lot longer than they are in English. In a lot of cases we want to make sure that the Inuk listener understands. That's how we used to do it. We would have to explain what something was. Sometimes there is a word in English that there isn't any word in Inuktitut for. We ended up having to explain what it meant.

Also, I'd get a news story in English and I'd have to do it in Inuktitut, so I would sight translate it. I'd have an English version here and I would be talking in Inuktitut. I would be reading the English script. As I said earlier, sometimes I notice that I am talking in Inuktitut, but I'm actually thinking in English. My head is thinking in English but it is coming out in Inuktitut. That's how we used to do it, and they still do. It's unfortunate that it is like that because the syllabic alphabet is such that you have to pronounce each symbol. In English you can have a word with six or ten letters. In Inuktitut, for those of us who cannot read as fast as we should, we tend to say each little syllable. If I said smile and I said it in English I would say s-m-i-l-e. Do you know what I mean? That's how a lot of us read Inuktitut; we never used to write the news down in syllabics, it was always the English we would use. Now I can read and write syllabics as fast as English, but before I couldn't. It is much harder and time

consuming to do it in Inuktitut first. And a lot of us, as I said, were slow readers in syllabics. So we always did a sight translation of that news clip. I notice it, too, when people are trying to read word-for-word instead of reading whole sentences. It ends up not really making sense. The quality depends on who is doing the work. Later on I learned to read on sentence, then not look at it once I understood it, and then say it in Inuktitut. To me that was better. If I was going to translate it, I would read the English version first, understand it, and then translate it rather than trying to do it word-for-word. A lot of us know how to do that now. Later, if I knew something was written in English, I would write one word in English rather than writing the whole sentence, because as soon as I saw that word I knew what I would say in Inuktitut. That's how I would do it before I started the news. I would just write down a word to remind myself about what it was about. This made the Inuktitut more understandable. It was okay if we were just speaking our language, but if we had to read and then sight translate, it was more difficult.

There was a big difference between how other aboriginal peoples responded to media compared to Inuit. They had different ways. In my understanding the Indians in Canada were warriors while Inuit weren't. Maybe there was a little bit of aggression, but you never heard about it. We have always been less confrontational than other aboriginal peoples in Canada. We have always been more compromising. We tend to compromise more easily than other aboriginal peoples. I think we tend to look more into working together, having partners, whereas Indians tend to have more of an 'Indians only' type of attitude. Look at the creation of Nunavut. It has always been a public government. As I was saying, some of us thought about having an ethnic government at the start. People started asking, "So, this is going to be an ethnic government?" And it never was. I think we are more accepting. That's what it is. It depends on what kind of background we had. With

the Indians there were always wars with the English and the French and so forth. Even though that dates way, way back, I think that is in their blood. The Canadian government tends to see us as one. We have always emphasized that we are two completely different cultures; it is like Japanese and Chinese. I always like to use that comparison. We might look a little bit alike, but the backgrounds of other aboriginal peoples are very different.

When you are working in the media you need to use words that the people listening can understand, so that the listeners get the picture in their minds. That's what you have to do, get the listener to see things in their minds. If I was working for television, it would be easier because the people could actually see it and not just listen. It was less complicated working for television. They are always doing visuals first and the verbal afterwards. It's different with radio. When you are talking about something, you want it to be comprehensible. You would think it would be the same way for both media; but with radio it is only audio.

Sometimes when I am looking at programs on APTN (the Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network) I keep seeing the same programming again and again, and it gets tiring. APTN is like that. They seem to forget that, and the audience becomes bored. When people tend to only see one thing they get bored. That's what APTN does. They seem to ignore the fact that they are boring their audience. At least that's what I was taught when I was working with IBC. I had to make sure the audience wasn't bored. For that reason, I tend to move my hands around a lot so listeners don't get bored! Some people just sit there. If you see an emotionless person you get bored, if you keep watching the same person talking on television. But it is a different case for radio because radio is for listening only.

When I first started working on radio, even if I didn't have an audience in front of me and I was just going to talk into a microphone, I would get all nervous and start

shaking. That's what it was like when I first started, even though no one was looking at me. I got all nervous just because there was a microphone in front of me. Television is probably worse, because you know a lot of people are watching.

In 1999 when we had the first Nunavut government election, I was anchoring the election coverage. When I was told at 11:00 that we would be shown nationally, I became very nervous. I think this is triggered in your head. Your mind is very strong. If your mind is scared of something, your body follows along. I think that's the way it is. I've been a journalist and a politician. I've also worn other hats during my life.

In my mind there are some similarities between being a journalist and a politician. When you are with the media, both television and radio, talking is very important. This is truer for radio. For television your appearance is also important. As a politician it is the same thing. You have to talk properly. If you are on television you also have to be aware of your appearance. With television you know people are going to listen to you talk, but they will also be watching you. When you are working on the radio you want people to listen to you; if you are a politician you want them to listen to you, too. That's the way I see it. If I wanted to be elected I had to talk properly; not just talk properly, but be aware about what I was talking about.

It was annoying working at IBC when APTN took over, because we knew that aboriginal television broadcasting was started by Inuit, with TVNC. That's when the Inuit programming started. When it became APTN, it seemed like they took what we had away.[6] The programming now is more for Indians than for Inuit. It seems like they took something away from us. IBC doesn't have as much money to operate. They can barely get by. They don't get fresh money to progress further. The Indians seems to be benefiting a lot more from what IBC initiated. They seem to be taking advantage of it. I know that thirty second

Paul Quassa, Executive Director of Programming at the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, 2002. At the computer, Mosha Akavak, now cameraman for the IBC program "Qaujisaut".
Credit: Michel Albert

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation Production Team in 2002 Back row, left to right: Loretta Kanatsiak, Sila Ineak, Malakie Kilabuk, Koveanatuk Ashoona, Moses Ipeelie, Gooteleak Michael, Michael Ipeelie, Tiana MacLeaod and Paul Quassa. Front row, left to right: Rosie Simonfalvy, Leetia Ineak, Henry Naulaq, Jimmie Papatsie, Mosha Michael and John Amagoalik.
Credit: Michel Albert

clips are very expensive. For example with animation, thirty seconds could cost thirty thousand bucks! It is very expensive. But when you watch APTN that is what they are doing. And here, IBC is struggling financially.

I was at IBC recently, and it seems like they are poverty-stricken. They are going through financial difficulties. IBC was first established in 1981. I was appointed as a board member; probably because they knew I had worked for CBC. When they first started, they were progressing well. When APTN started, it seemed like IBC went downhill, unfortunately.

When *Isuma* started making movies, Inuit were very capable actors. It seems like Inuit have a natural ability in this area. For instance a lot of people from Igloolik who had never acted before already knew how to do it. That is something to be proud of. They were natural actors.

I was born in an *iglu* but in the course of fifty years I can live like a *qallunaaq* and be on television! Fifty years is a very short time compared to thousands of years. People living in other places took a lot longer to get to where we are now. For Inuit, it seems like we started to change not too long ago, and we are here already!

There is a saying that Inuit are adaptable. That is very true. For example even if a person couldn't read or write English, they could repair snowmobiles or sewing machines or anything. Maybe it is through visual learning. Maybe Inuit can learn faster through visual learning than other cultures. Some other cultures seem to learn more from what they hear, and Inuit from what they see, and also hands-on experience. Even if they have never taken a course, they learn how to repair things just by looking at them. If I read about something I can learn, but I would learn better by seeing something, by hands-on work. I think that is very true. Maybe the reason we can do this is because we use both our visual and hearing abilities. That's why we can tackle anything.

Communications is what I enjoy. I kept going back to journalism and communications. That's what I enjoyed the most. To me, it seemed the easiest. I could talk, and there were listeners at the other end. I also enjoyed being an elected official. I really used to enjoy having meetings, and being at meetings. When you are involved and you really understand what is being discussed, you really enjoy it.

Working with media would be my first choice and being a political representative would be my second.

NOTES

1. The Greenland Home Rule Government was established on May 1, 1979. Prior to this, Greenland had been a colony of Denmark until 1953, and then an integral part of Denmark until 1979. Greenland is now officially an autonomous province of the Kingdom of Denmark. With Home Rule, the Greenlanders, of which most are Kalaallit (Greenlandic Inuit), gained power over most jurisdictions, except foreign affairs, defence and part of the judiciary which are still dealt with in Copenhagen.
2. Pierre Trudeau was a law professor at the University of Montreal. He was one of the founders of *Cité Libre*, a political publication which had the ambition to transform Quebec traditional society at the end of the Duplessis regime. René Lévesque was a journalist who worked for Radio-Canada (SRC) in Montreal. He became a very popular political commentator as a host of a weekly show called *Point de mire*.
3. See note 4, Chapter 2.
4. For thirty-one years, Jonah Kelly worked on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) North morning program *Qulliq* where he shared his stories, music and insights. He's considered as one of the pioneers of Inuktitut broadcasting. Following his retirement in 2001, he became a program director for the Arctic Winter Games that were held in Nuuk (Greendland) and Iqaluit (Nunavut) in 2002.
5. Paul Quassa is talking about the 2006 election that saw the Conservative Party of Canada winning a minority government on January 23. In Nunavut, Nancy Karetak-Lindell of the Liberal Party won the election, followed by David Aglukark of the Conservative and Bill Riddell of the NDP.
6. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) was created in 1981. Its mandate was, and still is, to produce and distribute Inuktitut television programming. In the 1980s, the IBC relied on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) to broadcast their programs (like *Qaggiq*, *Kippingujautiit* and *Takuginai*). However, CBC's own programming had precedence, and IBC's programs were put on the air late in the evening. Beside, IBC's programs could be moved around the grid according to CBC's needs. The Inuit thus lobbied to obtain their own satellite channel. In 1988, "*Minister of Communications Flora MacDonald committed $10M to the creation of Television Northern Canada (TVNC), a pan-northern network established by northerners, for northerners*". TVNC was launched in 1992. It provided IBC and other northern broadcasters with their own channel and thus made Inuktitut programs available to more Inuit than CBC had before. In 1997, TVNC's board voted for the creation of a national aboriginal broadcasting network that would be distributed through cable

television (instead of through a satellite signal only). In 1999, they were granted a licence for the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) to "*provide a much-needed, positive window on Aboriginal life for all Canadians, whether living in the North or in the South*". From then on, IBC's programs were broadcast on APTN, with a variety of other Aboriginal programs. That made many Inuit, like Paul Quassa, say that APTN was not as Arctic and Inuit-oriented as TVNC, and that there were too many Indian programs. Whether it was through IBC, TVNC, or even in the 1970s and early 1980s through the *Inukshuk Project*, Inuit television had always been in close proximity to its audience. In fact, "*In the North, unlike the South, there was no gap between broadcasters and their audiences*". This proximity however ceased to exist when Inuit television started to be broadcast on APTN, a large network that not only broadcasts for Inuit but for all aboriginal peoples, as well as aiming to reach a Southern audience (From Rudden 2003).

Chapter 10

Whatever You Are Going Through Eventually Passes

Sometimes in our lives we see a person who can do things, and we say this person has skills. I have had mentors in my life. I think that really helps in life. If you know a person, maybe an elder, and you are familiar with his culture, he can help mentor you. I have had two mentors. One was from Arviat. He has since passed away. I admired the way he spoke to people. Just listening to what he was saying, you knew that he would never hurt anyone. He treated everyone the same. For that reason, I really liked him. To me and to everyone else, he was always friendly and welcoming. John Arnalukjuak really encouraged me to be a leader, even though he was living in Arviat and I was living here.[1] Every time I saw him, he always encouraged me.

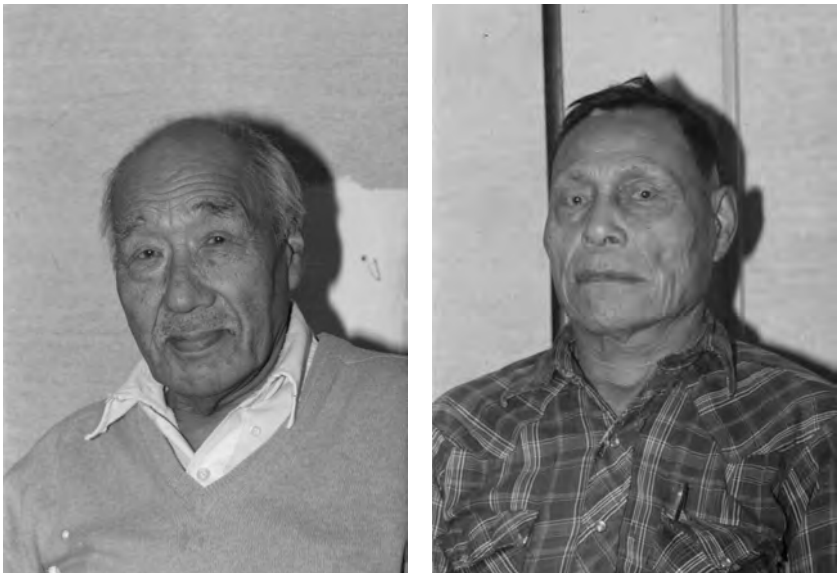
He told me even if somebody did something to him, he wouldn't retaliate. He wouldn't do anything. He was quite old when he passed away. When he was a young man, he and a friend went for a walk. They were hunting geese. His friend had a .22 rifle. His friend said, "I'm going to pretend I'm going to shoot you," and he actually shot him. John didn't even notice because he knew his friend was just going to pretend to shoot, and he was going to pretend to be shot. They walked back, but when he got home, Arnalukjuak started feeling weak. He had actually gotten shot and didn't even realize it!

I always admired him. He would never hurt anyone. He would never retaliate if anything happened to him. That's how I saw my father, too. Even with all us kids he always treated us the same. That's the way I wanted to live, treating everyone equally. Inuit, of course, were not all like that, especially my mother. I noticed she treated people differently. My mother loved my older brother more, and showed him more compassion. That's the way my mother treated us, she treated us children differently. My father always treated us equally. I always admired people who would treat others equally.

Piryuaq, from Baker Lake, really lives up to his name. Even the way he talks; his voice is very strong. It's something else when he talks! He is not afraid of anybody, no matter who it is. I said before that Inuit were always scared of *qallunaat*, but that guy Piryuaq was never afraid of anyone. I said earlier that Inuit don't say things directly, they use a roundabout way, but he would say things directly. I really admired him, too. These were two different people. I liked Piryuaq because he said things directly. There weren't just these two, but I tend to think of these two more than others, maybe due to the fact that they were elders. I often wondered what they were like when they were younger. They must have had great strength.

Louis Pilakapsi and Mark Evaluardjuk were also my mentors. They were true leaders in their communities. When you have someone you look up to, it makes you feel better. Having different people to look up to really helped me. Even though I looked up to my father, I spend a lot of time away from him. When I was young, I was taken from my parents, and because of this I found other mentors as well. That's what I noticed.

I did not have a perfect life. I've gone through difficult times, but because of that, I have become stronger. I remember being really depressed more than once in my life. Once was in 2001. I felt helpless. I was suspended by NTI as their president. I'm sure some of you are aware of



Left, John Arnalukjuak from Arviat, deceased in 2000. A respected elder, Arnalukjuak's name was given to the local school. Right, the late Barnabas Piryuaq from Baker Lake. Piryuaq was the Kivalliq commissioner for the Law Review Commission, *Maligarnit Qimirrujiit*, created in 1999 by the Government of Nunavut to review the whole body of laws inherited from the Northwest Territories. He was also a founding member of the Inuit Heritage Trust.
Credit: Paul Quassa

the reason why. At that time I felt alone. I realized at that time why some people commit suicide. I was at a point that I even felt like that. I felt there was nothing I could do. I called someone I knew, someone who worked at CBC and I told her that I wouldn't be seeing her again and I just wanted to say goodbye. When I was all confused I called my late uncle George Agiaq, and I think he passed on his strength to me. That is why I am still alive today. I was open with him about not knowing what to do, not knowing where to go. I said I wanted to commit suicide so people would stop talking about me, and so that I wouldn't be on the news on CBC. I told him I thought it would be better

like this. This was after my father had passed away. He asked me if I ever wanted to see my father again. I said I did. He said, "Then don't commit suicide. When your time comes then you will be able to see him." For that reason I decided that I wanted to live. Later on, I realized that I am still alive because I have a purpose in life. There were a few times I nearly drowned.

I almost drowned one time when I was away attending school. When I was a child, I nearly died, too. We used to go for walks when we were young people. We would go everywhere. When we were out walking I was falling behind. I think I was too young then. We were on the ice. I was angry because I was being left behind. It was spring time when the ice was becoming thin. I started thinking, "I don't care if I fall in the water." Right after I thought that, I fell in. The current was strong and my feet were being sucked away. I don't know how I got pulled out. These are a few incidents where I nearly lost my life. I am still alive because I have a purpose in life. A lot of us think like that.

I still think about what they say about religion and whatnot. I used to always think about that, too. We have been told that we never know when we are going to die. That's what I think about; it can be any time or any how. I am not condoning suicide, but sometimes I am confused. In our different religions we are told that death can come at any time. Some people commit suicide. That's one way of dying. It is difficult to talk about. I find this confusing. When I was in Igloolik when I was very young, an elderly person committed suicide. Nowadays it's mostly young people who commit suicide. In those days, when they were elderly, some people committed suicide.

I personally almost committed suicide myself, not only once but twice. The first time, it probably didn't make much sense; I was twenty-five years old then. I was still single. I had a girlfriend. She was also twenty-five years old. I felt like I was ready to get married because I now

knew how to build an *iglu*. That's what they used to say, that you had to know how to build an *iglu* first before you get married. I proposed to her and she said, "Not yet. You are going to marry somebody else from Iqaluit, instead." She seemed to know this, then. I got very depressed. I went to Qalirusik.[2] Once I got there I was wondering what part of my body I was going to shoot. While I was in that state I decided not to do it, and to just shoot the ground instead. I decided to come back home. I almost committed suicide twice. Later on when I thought about that, I thought that I must have had a purpose in life. I've been able to accomplish quite a bit, even after having thought of killing myself. I didn't know that later on I would be involved in the land claims agreement process. There were all these things I never would have been involved in if I had committed suicide then. This is what you think about later on. My mother told me also at the time that life is like a roller-coaster. She didn't know about roller-coasters but she was moving her hand up and down. That's exactly what I found out. Elderly people tell me not to give up. Things will eventually get better. This will pass. That is true. Whatever you are going through eventually passes. I really believe that now.

If you are able to talk about what's bothering you without being embarrassed, you eventually get rid of those feelings and you feel more relaxed. This has been said by elders, and it is still being said. I've lost some of my grey hair by talking about what was bothering me. I didn't think I would go through so many different things in my lifetime. Anyone can go through bad times.

Leaders would be aware of more things if they accept what they are going through. For a long time I kept things to myself. I probably still do, but that's how it is. I think it makes you a better leader if you have gone through difficult things. You can conquer anything you encounter more easily than someone who hasn't gone through much, and who becomes a leader all of a sudden. I don't think

people became leaders instantly. Over time, things are easier to confront and deal with. What I also learned was even if people are speaking against you to stay calm. For example, when we were going through the ratification process, I think I was in Sanikiluaq then, this guy came up to me and started calling me names like Saddam Hussein. He was saying that to me and I just sat there and took it. If you don't become defensive, you end up calming the person who is confronting you. I'd just talk about the facts instead of being defensive. That's how I learned how to behave when we were on the ratification tour. You knew there would be some people on your side and some people against you. I would just take it, rather than fighting back verbally. Instead of doing that, I learned how to deal with it instead of arguing back.

NOTES

1. John Arnalukjuak was a businessman and a member of the Keewatin Chamber of Commerce. He also served as Hamlet Councillor in Arviat in the 1970s. In 1999, he was chosen to represent the elders at the opening of the Nunavut Legislative Assembly. It is said he was not only a great inspiration to a great many younger Inuit, including Paul Quassa, but to other Inuit leaders of his generation as well. He died on April 16, 2000, and members of the Nunavut Legislative Assembly paid him a tribute, as did then-Commissioner Peter Irniq (www.gov.nu.ca/commarviat.htm).
2. Igloolik Island has about five plateaus, or higher grounds. There are two in the community of Igloolik. They are called *qalirusik*. There is one on each side of the actual community. (Personal Communication with Paul Quassa)

CHAPTER 11

We Have to be Proud of Ourselves to Progress!

We had a vision when we negotiated the land claims agreement with the federal government. When it was signed we said we would follow its content, but a lot of things haven't been implemented. For example, we haven't seen any real benefits yet, not from NTI, not from the Nunavut government and not from the federal government. The contents of the NLCA haven't been implemented to date.

As ordinary people, we are impacted by rapid changes more than the organizations themselves. Perhaps a lot of people ask themselves today why they supported the agreement. At least, that's what we hear in some communities. People are wondering why they supported it. I keep hearing that Inuit are feeling they are living in even more poverty, probably because the benefits of the agreement haven't been delivered. A lot of things seem to be more difficult nowadays, because the agreement is not being enforced. From my understanding, if the federal government is not following the agreement, then we had the right to take them to court. It is the law. For example, the RCMP enforces the law. If we had enforcers for the agreement there would be arrests made by the RCMP.

It should be like that today. I even stated that they are not using it in the communities as much as they could;

there is no enforcement. If the agreement was enforced then people could actually be arrested if they weren't following the contents of the agreement. It is the law. We were very proud when we signed it, even those who have since passed away. We were all proud when we signed it, but we did not know at the time that it would not be implemented as it should be. We have made some progress in some areas.

If you look at the agreement, the land is not owned by individuals. It is owned by all Inuit. It is NTI that represents Inuit. It would be NTI who would have the ability to take the government to court. It could be NTI or it could be the regional organizations that could do that. I have also noticed when the government is to appear in court, it seems like the courts are leaning to the federal government side, even though the courts are supposed to be unbiased. As I stated earlier, when you work at CBC you have to be unbiased. But the courts seem to be one-sided. I don't know why. It shouldn't be like that at all.

When I was taking legal studies here, we were doing role plays. We needed a defence and a prosecuting attorney. We were asked which one we wanted to be. All of us wanted to be the defence lawyer rather than the prosecutor. I ended up being the Crown prosecutor. At that time, I pretended to lose my case on purpose!

The courts could be used more if NTI represented the people better. There are cases which rightfully should have been taken to court. I don't know why this didn't happen.

We wanted the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement because we thought it would be a unique settlement. We thought we could behave more as traditional Inuit. If we still had the Government of the Northwest Territories, things would have remained the same. If the Nunavut government would operate in a more Inuit way, there would be more attention given to us. The federal government just thinks of us as another territory or another province. If

you think about it, we could be unique. We are not the Northwest Territories. We are not the Yukon. If the federal government saw us in a more unique way they would give us more attention than the rest of Canada. It is good to know that Southerners are more aware of Northerners now.

I was watching CBC. They were asking people questions and they even mentioned Nunavut. That was something different. We are becoming better known to Southerners.

The Government of Nunavut and NTI are on the same level. I used to jokingly say that Nunavut is like France. In France they have a prime minister and a president. Some countries are like that. It seems like we are like that, too, in Nunavut; we have a president and a premier. I think NTI should be at a higher level because NTI represents more people in Nunavut. The public votes for the president of NTI, whereas the premier is only voted in by the cabinet. I like to refer to Nunavut as its own country with its own president and its own premier. That's how I see it.

Well, first of all the Inuktitut language has to be supported. It is used more now at the Legislative Assembly but it has to get stronger. I talked about that earlier. The Nunavut Territory should be as strong as Quebec. In Quebec, people are so proud of their language and their culture. They have made laws regarding that. I used to envy Quebec a lot. We are not really like that in Nunavut, but we should be. Of course I always think that we are only a territory. Our next step should be to become a province and have provincial status. We are not going to be a territory forever. We should strive for a provincial status. If we just remain a territory, we can't take on the responsibilities we could if we became a province. That's the way it is elsewhere in Canada. That should be the goal. Inuit should work more towards that. That's the only way we can take on more responsibility, if Nunavut becomes a province.

We are waiting for the younger generation to move ahead. Some of the people who first started working on the land claims are still around, but the people after us need to be more radical. They should be the kind of people who use more pressure to achieve their goals.

I also have questions about the different generations. For example, if we compare our age group and our children's, the education system is not very strong nowadays. Some children can't speak very much Inuktitut. They speak more *qallunaatitut* now. The next generation are the ones who are going to be more radical. At this time, we are more subdued. Perhaps when the education system will be stronger, the younger generation will be able to speak more Inuktitut. Our generation could do more than our parents, because we had been taught to speak English. We moved in a subtle way. But now we need more radical people to make more changes. The term radical might not be the appropriate word, but something to that effect.

To speak Inuktitut it is something to be proud of. I notice, myself, that I don't speak Inuktitut as well as other people that I know. Here's something funny. In Inuktitut the word for potato is *taattisi*. We don't say *putaitu,* we say *taatisi.* I was so proud that the word *taattisi* was a real Inuk word. I was walking with Keith Crowe and we were talking about this. I said, "In Igloolik we have a real Inuktitut term for potato." He asked me what the word was. I said, "Taattasi." Keith Crowe didn't say anything for a while. Then he said, "In Scotland they call them *tatties*!" Here I thought the word was a hundred percent Inuktitut, but apparently we are using a Scottish word. This word that I had thought to be a traditional Inuktitut word had been borrowed from *qallunaatitut*.[1]

I was born January 12, 1952. When I was reading Abe Okpik's book, I found out he was also born on January 12.[2] I was born when Inuit were still living their traditional life, before the government came up here. For our generation it was like this. When I was very young, in 1955 or '56,

a lot of Inuit had tuberculosis. I, myself, must have had tuberculosis because I was sent out. From Maniittuq, I was sent to Igloolik and from Igloolik to Hall Beach. At that time, because of the Cold War, there was an airstrip in Hall Beach.[3] I went down South from there. I think I was away for one year. I watched television there for the first time. I was watching television before Inuit were even aware of it. After being down South and learning English, I finally came back home. I found out my mother had also been sent out, away from home. When I arrived home, my father was the only one left there. My mother had been sent to a sanatorium in Hamilton, I believe. Around a year after that, I started attending school in Chesterfield Inlet. Around 1959 or 1960 we started to be sent out to Chesterfield Inlet. I attended school in Chesterfield Inlet for eight years. I finished grade eight in 1968.[4]

In 1969, I went to Churchill. There were more people from different places. In Chesterfield Inlet there were only Catholics who went to the residential school. The Chesterfield Inlet school was based on religion, so when I went to Churchill, it seemed like I had gone to heaven.[5] There was a lot more freedom. We couldn't just do anything we wanted, but still, there was more freedom. I started meeting more people who were from different areas. In those days, I also found out that I was related to some other people who didn't come from Igloolik. For example, I found out that William Kidlapik was my uncle and he lived in Churchill, Manitoba.[6] At the time, I didn't want to go to Churchill, at all but they had more freedom there and there were no nuns around. Maybe I was afraid. For that reason I didn't want to go to Churchill, but I went anyway. After being there for one year I went back to Igloolik for a year, and then I went down South. I remember once being lost all night long because it was the first time I had really been down South.

I didn't think of using the telephone at first. If I had called, they probably would have picked me up right away,

but I was scared to call. I was walking around outside. I think it was around 2:00 in the morning when I finally got the guts to call the family where I was staying. Apparently, they were going to pick me up right away. I was scared to call them, maybe because I wasn't used to using telephones. Thank goodness it was in the summer time.

It was while I was in Ottawa that I saw a lot of new things. I also started experimenting with alcohol around the age of eighteen or nineteen. That's when I started finding out about that, and also cigarettes. I started finding out about these things at that time. I was at Algonquin College for three years. When I first got there they put me back in grade eight. I did grade eight, nine and ten in one year. In my second year I did grade eleven, and in my last year I did grade twelve. That's what I did in Ottawa.

After that, I came to Iqaluit and worked as an apprentice mechanic for a little while. I stated earlier that I didn't work much for the government, but at that time I worked for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development when their office first opened in Frobisher Bay. I was just learning about government structure. That's the only time in my life that I worked for government. After that, I worked for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in '74 or '75, around that time. Then I started working for different Inuit associations. I didn't work for government much after that, other than at CBC. I went back and forth between these two directions in my life. I went through a lot in between.

I was really depressed at one point, as I said earlier. I was very fortunate in some ways because ever since I was born, I've been able to travel. I've never had to stay put in one place. I've visited all the communities in Nunavut. I've travelled outside of Canada. I've been to all the cities down South within Canada. I am very fortunate because I learned a lot from travelling. At some times I feel fortunate, but at the same time I envy people in my age group who stayed in their community their whole lives because they

know more about our language and our environment. I envy them for that. I sometimes wonder what I would have been like if I had stayed home. That's the question I ask myself.

In the 1980s, I got married and I am still married today. But there is always a 'but'. Physical abuse and sexual abuse were not things that I experienced, but it seems that I am always looking for something. Maybe I lost something, but I don't know what. All my life it seems like I am looking for something and I am never satisfied. Even after I was married, I seemed to be looking for something. Maybe I was looking for love. That's what I seem to have been looking for in my life. I seem to be looking for love. That's the way I feel, because I lost something there in Chesterfield Inlet. We felt unloved then, even though we were loved by our parents. We were too young, maybe five or six years old, when we were sent to Chesterfield Inlet. That's where we lost this feeling of being loved, where we didn't see any love at all. We were scolded daily. The education was very good, but it was lacking the love we needed physically. They drilled a lot of religion into us, but I think I lost something, a lot of us have. I think that's why I am always searching for something. It is obvious, too, that this is why I feel lost at times. We were too young when we were taken from our parents. That's when we lost something. That's the way it seems to me anyway. I don't know if that makes sense. A lot of times, if you haven't had the same experience it is difficult to understand.

When I first started working for ITC, we were only distributing limited copies of *Inuktitut* magazine even though we were representing a whole lot more Inuit.[7] We were saying that we represented all Inuit. Even though the Agreement is supposed to be for all Inuit, it seems like it is only benefiting hunters and elders.

Even though this is not in the Agreement, NTI has a policy that if you were born in 1948 or before, you could get an elder's pension, but those born after 1948 are not

eligible.[8] A lot of us will not be getting that benefit. At the time we were negotiating the agreement it wasn't only for certain people, but sometimes it seems to be that way now. NTI is saying you can only get benefits from the Hunters' Support Program if you make a certain amount of money or less. That's what they are saying. But when we were working on the agreement we were thinking it would be for everyone, whether you were male or female over the age of sixteen. No matter where you worked you would be eligible for benefits. That's how we intended it to be, but somehow it got changed. There are a lot of expectations from Inuit that still have not been met. You need to elect more radical people to make changes. There can be a lot accomplished under this agreement. That's what it was put in place for. A lot of things still can be accomplished. It is a living agreement. It is not written in stone.

As I have been saying, as Inuit we used to be scared very easily, and when you are like that, it is a weakness. When we were children, we were intimidated. We were taught to listen. If we are going to think about moving ahead, we shouldn't be taught to be afraid of certain people. As we were growing up that's how we felt. Even adults felt like that. Today as adults, we shouldn't be easily intimidated or scared. It is only negative. There is no use in being scared or intimidated. Don't hesitate to start new things. I remember when we were taking legal studies we learned about this man named Mr. Boeing in 1923. He had this audacious goal, that one day he would fly a jet. In 1923 nobody knew what a jet was, but he had this goal. In the 1960s and 1970s Inuit had an audacious goal, too, to create a Nunavut Territory and a Nunavut government and to govern that territory. It was not impossible. Although we were a minority, and the majority rule in a democracy, we made this happen. We had this audacious goal even though it seemed impossible. In 1923 Boeing wanted to see a jet plane long before anyone even knew what this was. I think we should be more like that. Even if it seems

impossible, you need to come up with something that will be your goal. Inuit life is changing all the time; it is changing daily. If you have a goal and you can't reach it, don't get depressed.

People like Louis Pilakapsi and Michael Amarook used to tell me, "You have to believe in yourself." They believed in me, and that's what I have learned, belief in myself. If I had doubts about myself or my abilities I don't know where I'd be. You have to believe in yourself when other people believe in you. We have a saying that you shouldn't be proud. It is the other way around in *qallunaat* culture. You have to be proud of yourself.

I've also spent time in a treatment centre for alcohol abuse. I went through this myself. I was told that I needed to be selfish. I didn't believe in that because to me Inuit are not like that. That's a bit too much. The *qallunaat* way was a bit too much, even though they were trying to help me. The Inuit traditional way is to think of the other person, not just oneself, and we have been around for four thousand years, here in the North where it is very cold. We have always had partners. We work in partnerships. I think that's what makes us strong. Before we had our Nunavut government I stated that NTI and the Government of Nunavut had to work as partners in order to move forward. A partnership always makes something stronger whatever it is. The Nunavut government didn't have lots of money for government offices or the Legislative Assembly. The Inuit organizations built these facilities and the government now rents them. NTI used their business arm to get them built. That's a partnership.

Inuit are shareholders in big businesses now, such as airlines and ships, housing, and infrastructure through the development corporation. That was expected. But on the other hand, Inuit in the communities have not really benefited from anything. That's what we were fighting for. There are still people out there who have nothing. I even envy Makivik because they are more business-oriented

than we are.[9] I think we have to be more business-oriented, while at the same time use traditional ways more. That's what other previous leaders were trying to achieve with this agreement. We need to have a desire to make our language and culture a priority. It's not where it should be. But on the positive side, I think other people around the world see us as people to be proud of. We are a minority group up here and we managed to achieve our goals in the eyes of the world. They are very proud of us, and we also need to be proud of ourselves to progress. Even though we are small in numbers, we can do big things. We even have our own government. We have to be proud of that. We have to be proud of ourselves to progress! I should stop here before I become too proud!

Around fifty years ago we had nothing, and we have come this far. Look at Greenland. There were *qallunaat* there for two hundred years. We're catching up with them. We have our own government now!

NOTES

1. In Scotland, potatoes are called *tatties*, which may well be a short form for potatoes and surely very close to the Inuktitut form of *taattisi*. In Nunavik, potatoes are called *patitasi*. In Nunatsiavut (Labrador Inuit), the potato is called *kaattupalak*, from the German word *kartoffel*, a legacy of Moravian missionaries. (Information supplied by Louis-Jacques Dorais)
   It is quite interesting that this form is still used in Igloolik, as the whaling occurring in the north-western Hudson Bay was mostly American. An important Scottish influence around Igloolik, beside contacts with Pond Inlet whalers, would have been the presence of the Hudson's Bay Company employees, after 1939, as most of their employees were recruited in Scotland.
2. Okpik, Abraham, 2005. *We Call It Survival, The Life Story of Abraham Okpik*, edited by Louis McComber. In Life Stories of Northern Leaders, Iqaluit, Nunavut Arctic College. 384 pp.
3. In the early 1950s, worried that the USSR could launch rockets or send bombers through the Arctic to bomb its cities, the United States decided to build a series of radar detection lines in Arctic Canada. The most northern of those radar lines, the Distant Early Warning Line (DEW Line) was a network of around 60 radar stations built on the 70th parallel, from Alaska to Greenland. One of the most important radar stations in the Canadian Eastern Arctic was called Fox Main and was built near the present day community of Hall Beach. For obvious reasons, the station had an airstrip so that planes could bring the much-needed material for the construction of the station (Bégin 2004). So, it was through this airstrip that Paul was medivac'd to the South.
4. See note 8, Chapter 1.
5. See note 8, Chapter 1.
6. William Kidlapik was the younger brother of Paul's father, Francois Tamnaruluk Quassa. He lived in Arviat and his descendents all live there now (Personal Communication with Paul Quassa).
7. *Inuktitut* magazine is the magazine of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (formerly known as the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada). Published for over forty years (it was first published by the Department of Indian Affairs before being published by ITK), it is the oldest aboriginal magazine in Canada. It is the national Inuit magazine published by Inuit for Inuit of all regions of Canada.
8. Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. has an Elders Benefit Plan. This plan "*provides monthly financial support to assist Elders to pay for basic expenses like food, clothing and shelter. Monthly benefit payments are provided to Elders born on or before Dec. 31, 1948. The monthly benefit payments vary from $90-150 per month. All payments are made from funds received*

from the Government of Canada for the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA)" (from: www.tunngavik.ca/english/pdf-Benefits/EN-BNFITS-ElderBenefitPlanDescription.pdf).

9. Makivik owns, or partially owns, companies that provide employment for more than fifteen hundred Canadians everywhere in the country, as well as providing some employment in the United Kingdom and in Greenland. Among the subsidiary companies fully owned by Makivik are Air Inuit and First Air, as well as Nunavik Arctic Foods, and Halutik Enterprises (Halutik carries fuel and has garage operations, rents heavy equipment as well as being a contractor – Halutik is responsible for the construction of the new runway in Kuujjuaq, for example). Makivik has also developed joint venture companies with Inuit in other parts of Canada. These companies are Unaaq Fisheries Limited, Pan Arctic Inuit Logistics (PAIL), Nunavut Eastern Arctic Shipping (NEAS), and Natsiq Investments.
   As for NTI, its corporate arm is Nunasi Corporation (see note 1, Chapter 8).

The Historical Context

The Making of a Twenty-First Century Inuk

Louis McComber

The idea of writing a book with Paul Quassa came to me one evening in Rankin Inlet when I was staying at the Siniktarvik Hotel. By coincidence, I met Paul in the dining room where he too was spending an evening, waiting to catch his plane the next day. We had the time for an interesting conversation over a few cups of coffee. From listening to Paul Quassa on CBC, I knew that he was a fascinating storyteller. But after having this long conversation with him at the hotel, I was convinced that his life story would make a very good book.

At that time Paul was the mayor of Igloolik and this seemed like a privileged opportunity to ask him a few questions about Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI), the Nunavut Inuit land claims organization, of which he had first hand knowledge, and better yet, with which he was no longer directly involved.

I was very curious to hear the comments of a former NTI president; after all, this man had become the chief negotiator for the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut in 1985 and was elected president of this organization representing all Nunavut Inuit in 1989. He put his signature on the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in June, 1993, just beside the signature of the Prime Minister of Canada,

Brian Mulroney, and the then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Tom Siddon, at a signing ceremony held in Iqaluit.

Paul had recently made the headlines in the media because of the embarrassing events of 1993 and 2000 that probably forever handicapped his political stature. Paul had had to resign a few months after signing the land claims agreement in 1993 after being charged in relation to an incident at the Royal Canadian Legion in Iqaluit.[1] Ten months after being re-elected in 1999 as President of NTI he again had to resign due to allegations of mismanagement of the corporation credit card.

But my questions that evening were more about the big business corporate style that NTI has adopted, the exclusive use of the courts as their main mean of action, the absence of female representatives on their board, the creation of thousands of jobs down South or in Yellowknife by their corporate arm, Nunasi Corporation, the limited scope of services delivered at the community level, and other intriguing issues.

Paul's answers were very contextual. He explained in much detail how NTI is a big corporation, and everything needs to function according to established rules and regulations. Every decision involves money, budgeting, legal concerns, and consultation to a point where it is almost impossible to induce significant change in the organization. If I understood the explanations well, all this means that NTI is far from functioning in an Inuit-friendly manner. The image that Paul was using was that when you are elected to NTI with the will to bring about change, you become like someone trying to move through a thick cloud saturated with dollar signs and legal concerns. It seems highly difficult to shift the organization's culture into serving ordinary beneficiaries at the community level.

My specific questions about NTI never got any direct answer, but perhaps Paul's indirect answers were more encompassing. The work culture of Inuit organizations as

well as the Government of Nunavut represents a complete departure from their Inuit cultural base. The Inuit men and women who invested their lives in the political adventure of the creation of Nunavut had to go through a soul-harrowing journey that took them out of their community into the larger sphere of government bureaucracy. This is essentially the story that Paul Quassa narrates in this book.

The life story of Paul Quassa illustrates the dramatic cultural shift that transformed the Inuit way of life from the 1950s to the present, leaving behind ancestral traditions to establish a new bureaucratic Inuit elite. Any Nunavut institution today is impacted by this cultural paradox of a traditional culture struggling to borrow the ways of southern Canada in order to save their distinct heritage.

The following historical context is an attempt to supply some historical references to this major social metamorphosis and to the extraordinary life story of Paul Quassa which illustrates it so well.

When Paul Quassa arrived in this world in Igloolik in 1952, the Inuit way of life had already been seriously influenced by contact with non-Inuit, mainly in the fields of trade, religion and, to some extent justice.

Before 1950, the Canadian North was pretty much left to the good will and initiatives of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), Anglican and Catholic missionaries and a few RCMP constables. The HBC needed Inuit to be spread out on the land to trap as much fox as possible and so did not encourage Inuit to live close to the trading post. Nor did the RCMP want Inuit around their police stations. However, after the Second World War, the Government of Canada started to provide many more services to the North, bringing about the settlement of many Inuit. The federal government's role here changed largely because of the development of the welfare state in Canada, and because of the difficulties Inuit were headed for with the uncertainties of the fur trade.

The *Iglulingmiut*, the people from the Igloolik area, had certainly made contact with the crews of Parry's and Lyon's ships, the *HMS Fury* and *Hecla*, which were icebound in the winter of 1822-1823, close to the island of Igloolik. At that time, Parry and Lyon recorded the presence of knives, blades, kettles, beads and other manufactured goods, most probably obtained by trading with whalers in the Pond Inlet area.[2] We also know from the reports of Charles Francis Hall that as early as 1868 the *Iglulingmiut* made large use of guns.[3] These guns could have come from Pond Inlet whalers, or from the American whalers who started visiting Roes Welcome Sound in 1860.

Iglulingmiut also were in contact with Christianity from as early as the 1920s through the preaching of Umik, an *angakkuq*-turned-Anglican from North Baffin.[4] The Hudson's Bay Company arrived in Igloolik in 1939. They closed their trading post in 1943 and re-opened in 1947. When they established their first trading post, they were the only non-Inuit in the area, along with the Catholic missionary who had arrived earlier in the decade.[5]

Paul's story starts in a small winter camp outside of Igloolik called Maniittuq, where his grandfather, parents, siblings and an uncle's family lived. From time to time some other uncles and families increased the population of the camp. There was no policeman in the area before the establishment of an RCMP station in Igloolik in the 1960s. The only *qallunaaq* (non-Inuit) to visit the camp, the first one that Paul ever met, was the Catholic missionary.

Inuit were still living in *igluit* in winter and tents in summer. They relied mostly on country food to survive. Dogs were still essential for travelling, hunting polar bears and seals, and also as pets for children. The family travelled seasonally: from their winter camp, Maniittuq, they journeyed in the spring to Inuksugalik and then in summer, to Kangirjuaq; in the fall, they all moved to Aupaluktuq.

This was a time when children were not supposed to listen to adult conversations. Children were also told

that if they touched implements in the *iglu*, some hands would grab them. If they walked on the sea ice, *qallupilluit* might catch them, stuff them in their *amauti*, and carry them down to the ocean's depths. This was the time when marriages were still arranged by parents as well. Parents, mainly fathers, were practically in full control of their family's destiny.

This was the cultural landscape from which emerged the lives of the Nunavut Inuit leaders born in the 1950s. This traditional cultural landscape that revolved around kinship ties was home to Paul Quassa. Kinship ties were then the main ordering principle of social relations from birth to death and beyond. Names and the kinship relationships attached to them survived the lives of specific individuals, carrying them from one generation to the next. Naming was such a precious component of the self that people's names were not commonly used in daily life. In fact Paul describes how he did not know the name of his uncle and not even of his mother until he was a teenager.[6] Children were not allowed to use the names of adults to address them in a conversation; kinship terms were used instead.

To this day, the kinship term used to designate a person indicates the position of the person using it, and the person designated by it. For example, I might be talking to my maternal uncle *anga*, or my father's brother's son, *angutiqati*. If I were talking to my mother's brother's son, I would call him *ani*, and my mother's brother's daughter would be *najak*. I am designated differently by different family members according to my position in the kinship grid. An affix to the kinship term would also determine my age group. As an individual, I occupy a clearly defined position on a genealogy tree, and everybody knows who I am in relation to them.

Even this description is too simple to describe the *Iglulingmiut* kinship system where an individual living traditionally occupies more than one position in multiple

kinship and alliance networks. One layer of kinship in the Inuit tradition refers to the immediate family members (biological and adopted kin), which may compare to the understanding of kinship in the Western world.

A second layer of kinship is created by the names given to a child, the *atiq.* Paul says: "A lot of times when you name a child after someone they tend to be like the person they are named after. It is something like reincarnation."[7] The name itself is considered to be more than just a word, it is considered to carry the soul of the person who previously bore the name, usually a deceased person. Because he is a vehicle of his *atiq,* an individual can be addressed as a male or a female, independently of his biological gender. For example, if a male newborn is named after his deceased grandmother, he might be called *anaana* (mother) by his father. The *atiq* allows an individual to experience social positions different than his immediate kinship relations. Even a young child can be addressed as an elderly person. A young female child can be addressed as an elderly man by her parents. Ancestors are thus reinserted into social relations through newborn children. And so beside his Christian names, Paul has other names: Aarulaaq, Qungatallurittuq and Quassa, each name providing its own network of kin.

Another layer of kinship relations that makes the grammar of Inuit kinship more complex for a given individual would be his adopted family, as adoption was and still is, maybe in slightly different ways, a very common practice amongst Inuit. Trott estimates that adoption occurred at an average frequency of 22% in the Arctic Bay population from data collected between 1919 and 1978.[8] Other studies in Baffin evaluate the proportion of adopted individuals in communities at a rate of 15%. An adopted child keeps his kinship ties with his biological family as well as with his adopted family. There were multiple other social binding alliances reinforcing the group as well, such as hunting partners, or dancing partners. With

these naming practices, the ancestral group recreates itself through existing individuals as the deceased return to relive their positions in the hunting group through newborns. In this context, a person seems to be a vehicle of reproduction of the ancestral group.

The variable geometry of Inuit kinship can be looked at from the study of the social organization, for those interested in identifying recurring structures of kinship. But it can also be examined as a formatting process of the persona. Different strata of kinships and alliances inform the person about who he or she is and who he or she should be. They shape his or her identity as a human being, providing a complete set of social bearings.

The construction of an individual into a social persona in the Inuit traditional culture is a process quite remote from the construction of an individual into a social persona in the industrialized Western world. In the case of the traditional hunting gathering Inuit culture, there was no other place of existence for a person outside the kinship relations. A person is necessarily a piece of a family puzzle that flows from one generation to the next. The distribution of wealth follows these same channels. The person is integrated to the group when occupying a strong position in various kinship relations and alliances.

Inversely, in the twentieth century Western family, the construction of the person, or social subject, pulls him/her outside of the family circle. As psychoanalysis has attempted to demonstrate, the constitution of the ego is a consequence of the symbolic murder of the father: to be constituted as a person, a child has to confront the source of castration that threatens the idyllic union with the mother, and replace the father figure. This confrontation prepares the child to strengthen his identity as a separate entity from the family circle. In practical terms, a Western urban child is engineered to move out of his kinship circle to become primarily a reproductive unit of the State. The churches, the school, the media, and the corporate world

take charge of the youth in a way that discards most of the family authority.

When missionaries started giving Christian names to Inuit, they inserted a new logic in the ancestral system of naming. Names of Catholic saints for Catholics or Bible names for Anglicans had nothing to do with the return and reproduction of Inuit ancestors. The Christian faith does not promote devotion to ancestors. The gospel is very clear on that matter when Jesus Christ preaches to his disciples that they should leave their family behind to follow Him.[9] So, Christianity and the inherited Roman legal legacy have produced a persona that is no longer attached to family authority. In fact in 1968 the government of the Northwest Territories decided to abolish the E-number and gave a surname to all Inuit, diverting even further the old naming practices.

The formation of identity amongst Inuit children has been under tremendous pressure in the last fifty years as the hunting and gathering band has been exposed to more and more contact with external cultural forces, particularly to the latest and most systematic influence of being subject to government laws and regulations.

Paul Quassa and so many other children of his generation went through this accelerated metamorphosis. It began when he was baptized with a Christian name and continued when he was sent down South, first for health reasons and then later to Chesterfield Inlet, Churchill, and Ottawa for his education. Paul spent most of his life away from Igloolik and his family, cut off from essential cultural bearings.

When these young educated Inuit came back to their communities, often speaking more English than Inuktitut, they no longer fit into the ancient lifestyle. Many, for example, refused to agree to marriages arranged by their parents. They were also getting involved in a different style of leadership that was foreign to camp life: electoral democracy developed in the British tradition. In the

emerging communities and political organizations, elections were now determining who would make the decisions, and those who could understand English were better prepared to function in the emerging settlement councils.

Here is how a report from the Nunavut Social Development Council of 2000 described the situation at the beginning of the settlements from an elder's perspective:

"Because Inuit governance methods were based upon family structures, they were not adaptable to life in settlements where numbers of families live together. So the government introduced new forms of governance--in particular municipal councils--imported from the South. This form of governance, in recent times, is established through the democratic process of elections.

Elders, the holders of Inuit knowledge, who have fundamentally important roles to play in effecting changes, are being rendered insignificant to decision making, in fact being shoved aside. The ground for this erosion is the fact that the young people of voting age, greatly outnumber the Elders who would have held a leadership role in the community.

The tendency of youth to be increasingly involved in decision-making is not only applicable to municipal corporations. Inuit owned organizations, such as Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated and the Regional Inuit Associations, for their own reasons, encourage youth from age sixteen years old to decide who they want for their spokesperson.[10]

This next quote expresses very clearly how the Western practices that were introduced could disintegrate the ancient kinship order where the heads of families were the main decision makers:

"It was stressed time and time again that the Inuit way of raising children was being lost to the modern way of raising children. The greatest concern surrounds the legal age of majority. In this model, a youth reaches the age of eighteen and is legally considered an adult who can do as they please without their parents' input. This leaves parents with no recourse. This has

often created dysfunctional families. In the Inuit way, as long as persons have parents, they are subject to them, and must do what is required from them.[11]

Paul Quassa grew up knowing both of these ways. When he is in Igloolik, he misses the Chesterfield Inlet Residential School; when he is at the residential school, he misses Igloolik. Paul also mentions that sometimes when he speaks Inuktitut, his mind thinks like a *qallunaaq*. When the elders of the NSDC report observe that they have lost control over their family members, they have in fact lost it not only to non-Inuit civil servants but also to their English-educated children and their southern Canadian vision of what Nunavut should be. The paradox is that in order to discuss with the federal government, Inuit leaders had to start living and thinking like southern Canadians all the while touching base with their communities in order to maintain the legitimacy of their actions. This is still the dilemma today for any educated Inuit working for the Inuit organizations or for the Government of Nunavut. Self-government may also require the loss of traditions.

Paul reflects on this matter at several points in his life story. For certain, those who stayed in Igloolik have a greater mastery of Inuktitut and are closer to the land, but some Inuit had to take a stance and position their reality in the contemporary world. And this was a dangerous journey: many land claims workers never made it to the creation of Nunavut.

As with other Inuit negotiators, when Paul Quassa got involved in the land claims negotiations, he had to learn everything.[12] He had to learn to think and speak like a lawyer. He had to spend most of his time in southern Canada where most of the negotiations took place. Coming back to the North, it must have been challenging to explain the context of these negotiations and why Inuit had to claim from the Canadian government the land on which they had lived for hundreds of years. After all, Inuit had never been conquered and this land was never ceded. How

to explain to family and friends that Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada has decided that the whole territory inhabited by Inuit is her possession? How to explain to family and friends that in order to discuss these matters with the government and the population of Canada, you have to depart from your own culture, family, tradition and language and become some kind of self-made lawyer specialized in aboriginal rights?

The development of Inuit political organizations happened in parallel to the development of northern media. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada was formed in 1971, the same year that the satellite Anik-1 was launched, providing the possibility of linking together by telecommunications all the remote communities of the Arctic. This created a time of accelerated change in the North. Inuit families were just barely moving into communities and were being provided with basic housing. In 1973, telephone, radio and live television were delivered to the communities with a technology and content that was foreign to the North. The penetration of the southern media in the North had a devastating impact on aboriginal cultures and languages; in fact this is when many aboriginal languages began to decline. Most of the programming then was broadcast in English and produced in the United States.[13] For these reasons, Igloolik refused to broadcast television programming in their emerging community from 1973 to 1983.

CBC Radio made a special effort to integrate Inuktitut speaking broadcasters and hired Paul Quassa in Iqaluit in 1979. As a response to this telecommunications invasion, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada obtained a license from the Canadian Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) to create the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) in 1981, after a convincing Inuit broadcasting experiment called the Inuksuk Project. IBC broadcast its first television program in 1982, the same year that the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut was created by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.

If the expansion of media and most particularly television brought the South to the North, it also brought the North to the South. The Berger Commission on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project was covered by CBC. Canadians woke up to the reality lived by aboriginal people in the Canadian North. Inuit leaders used the media to inform the public coast to coast of their claims and constitutional policies, and in so doing, they developed a lot of good will for Inuit issues amongst the Canadian public.

As Paul explains in the book, Inuit broadcasters learned about politics and social issues concerning Inuit by covering the events as journalists.[14] At the same time their names, voices and images became familiar to a majority of the northern population. For many of them (James Arvaluk, Paul Quassa, Jose Kusugak, Peter Irniq, Ann Hanson, Eva Arreak) broadcasting was an introduction that later led them to take on public positions.

For this, political organizations needed the media to engage in discussions at the community level on local radio. They needed northern media to create a northern forum of information and opinions on important political issues related to the land claims negotiations and the creation of Nunavut, and they needed national and international media to gather the public support for their political vision.

These political issues accelerated drastically in April 1982, when supported by a majority of aboriginal and Inuit members of the legislative assembly of the territorial government, a plebiscite was held in the Northwest Territories to decide on the question of dividing the territory. A majority, 53% of the voters, supported division.

In the same year, 1982, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut was created to represent the Inuit of the Nunavut region to pursue negotiations with the federal government, as it became clear for the ITC leadership that negotiations had to be pursued regionally. Delegates from other regions outside Nunavut had been of the opinion that ITC was

putting too much energy into the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

In November 26, 1982, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, John Munro, announced in the House of Commons that the federal government supported in principle the division of the Northwest Territories and the creation of Nunavut.

The position of the federal government on aboriginal claims in Canada evolved slowly, but it did change. Months before the start of the 1984 First Ministers Conferences on Aboriginal Rights in Ottawa, the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, chaired by MP Keith Penner, examined the question of native self-government in Canada and released a report in 1983. The Penner Report recommended the creation of a distinct level of government for native groups, protected in the Constitution and with similar powers to a province.

Paul Quassa started working for the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut in 1985, as a land claims negotiator for South Baffin. Around that time, the wind shifted in Ottawa on the question of indigenous rights. In 1986 the Coolican report entitled *Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements* marked a turning point for government negotiators. Self-government was advocated clearly, even if threatening the constitutional jurisdiction of provincial governments. The report developed a broader understanding of land claims agreements: new agreements should be a flexible settlement between government and aboriginal people. They should not be simply business deals, but should allow enough room for a small cultural group to thrive and prosper within the framework of the provincial and federal governments. The Coolican report also called for a modification of the extinguishment clause in future land claims agreement negotiations.[15]

An agreement-in-principle on the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement was reached in 1990 and signed in Igloolik on April 30, just at the beginning of a difficult

summer for the Mulroney government. In this agreement-in-principle, the federal government agreed to create a new territory called Nunavut, but refused to include such a political development into the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

That same year, at the beginning of the summer, the Meech Lake Accord failed to be endorsed by all the provincial governments, following the refusal of Elijah Harper at the Manitoba legislature and the reluctance of the Newfoundland government. Elijah Harper was massively supported in his action by aboriginal organizations because of the absence of concern in the Accord for aboriginal rights. Just a few weeks later, the Oka crisis made headlines in the international media and the Quebec government decided to resort to the intervention of the army to control the two Mohawk communities involved in major road blocks at Kanesatake and Kanahwake.

Just a few weeks away from the 1993 election, the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut negotiators refused to sign a final agreement without a provision to create Nunavut being included. At its lowest level in the opinion polls, blamed nationally and internationally for its management of the Oka crisis, the Mulroney government gave in and included the creation of Nunavut in the agreement in article 4. Once the final agreement was signed in Iqaluit in May of 1993, in the presence of the Prime Minister and TFN President Paul Quassa, the Nunavut Implementation Commission was set up and John Amagoalik was appointed Chief Commissioner by the Governor in Council.

The Nunavut territory was becoming a reality.

The incredible task that Inuit broadcasters and politicians like Paul Quassa had to accomplish was to define a new way of life for themselves and their newly created communities and explain it to Northerners and the rest of Canada. They had to tell the story of an emerging Inuit way of life that was still attached to the land and traditions but not constrained by them anymore.

NOTES

1. See: Sean McKibbon, *Paul Quassa comes full circle*, Nunatsiaq News, December 1999.
2. Ross 1975: 33.
3. Hall, C.F. 1879:337.
4. Chapter 3, Note 12
5. Chapter 1, Note 7.
6. Chapter 1, page 1. To be changed on the final PDF document.
7. Chapter 7, page 127.
8. Trott, 1988, page 195.
9. Luke 14:26, Matthew 10:37
10. NSDC 2000:15
11. NSDC 2000: 16
12. "It took Paul Okalik and me six to seven months before we knew what we were talking about. It was so complicated!" Chapter 4.
13. Willett 1996: 5
14. See: Chapter 9.
15. An extinguishment clause annihilates all claims to the land, present or future, that an aboriginal group may have, or think that they have, outside of their land claims agreement.

Glossary

Aggatuinnaaluk [Pl. Aggatuinnaaluit]
A hand that would grab children if they touched something they weren't supposed to.

Ajaaja
A refrain found in many traditional songs.

Amauti
A woman's parka with a pouch on the back for carrying a baby.

Iglu [Pl. Igluit]
Snow house.

Ijiraq [Pl. Ijirait/Ijiqqat]
An invisible human-like being which shows itself as a caribou. When Uinigumasuittuq sent her dog children off, these are the ones who remained in the land of the Inuit, but are not visible to them except in the form of caribou.

Innaq [PI. Innait]
An adult; an elder.

Inugarulligaq [PI. Inugarulligait]
Small human-like beings said to have lived near the shore. If you looked at them from their feet up they would look very large. They are very strong. They suffocate people with their groins.

Inukpasugjuk [PI. Inukpasugjuit]

[South Baffin] A giant human-like being. [Iglulik/Nattilik] *Inukpasujjuk*.

Maktak

The skin of a bowhead whale. *Maktaaq* is the skin of a narwhal or beluga whale.

Putaitu

Potato.

Qallunaaq [PI. Qallunaat]

A whiteman.

Qallunaaraaluit

A derisive term. It means big, bad (implied) white people.

Qallunaaruluit

A derisive term. It means bad white people.

Qallunaatitut

The English language.

Qallupilluk [PI. Qallupilluit]

[North Baffin/Kivalliq] Human-like creatures that live under the ice and take children away by carrying them on their backs. [South Baffin] *Qalupalik*.

Qamutiik

A sled.

Qaujimajanngit

Knowledge in general.

Qaujimajatuqanngit

Literally, knowledge from the past; old knowledge. This is the word used by the government of Nunavut when they

are talking about including Inuit culture and traditions in the workplace, and in their policies.

Qulliq

A seal oil lamp.

Sivuliqti

A leader. It is also the term used for the premier of the Nunavut government.

Sivuliuqti

The person who builds the front of the boat. In the Cape Dorset area this word has also taken on the meaning of leader. In dialects where this word is used for leader, it is also the word used for the premier of the Nunavut government.

Taattisi

Scottish word for potato.

Takannaaluk

[Iglulik] Takannaaluk [Qitirmiut/Kivalliq] Nuliajuk [South Baffin] Sanna. Spiritual being who lives in the sea. The shamans would go to visit her and comb out the tangles in her hair to appease her anger which was caused by someone doing something that was forbidden, when game was scarce.

Taliilajuq [PI. Taliilajuut]

[South Baffin] A being that lives in the sea. Its upper torso is human-like; the bottom half is the flipper of a whale.

Tarriassuk [PI. Tarriassuit]

[Baffin] A human-like being that sometimes makes itself visible to people. These beings are also known as the shadow people. [Kinngait] *Ijiraq*.

Tuniq [PI. Tuniit]

One of the peoples who inhabited the Arctic before the Inuit who disappeared shortly after Inuit arrived. Often associated with the Pre-Dorset people.

Unikkaaqtuaq [PI. Unikkaaqtuat]

A story passed from generation to generation.

Timeline of events leading to the signing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the creation of Nunavut

1870: The creation of the Northwest Territories, as Canada has accepted dominion over Rupert's Land. The HBC keeps 120 trading posts across the ceded territory.

1880: Britain cedes the Queen Elizabeth Islands to the Dominion of Canada.

1903: The first three RCMP posts are built on the Arctic coast in Fort McPherson, Fullerton, and Herschel Island. The first voyage of the Canadian ship *Neptune* takes place mainly to assert sovereignty in the Arctic.

1921: A new territorial council made of appointed members is put in place for the Northwest Territories. The first northern office is set up at Fort Smith with field agents. However, the legislative capital of the territory remains in Ottawa. Most territorial administrative work is carried out by the RCMP.

1922: The first Eastern Arctic Patrol embarks on the ship *Arctic* commanded by Captain J.E. Bernier. The patrol is the new administrative arm of the Canadian government in the Eastern Canadian Arctic.

1925: The boundaries of the Northwest Territories are extended all the way to the North Pole.

1942: The United States Air Force builds an airfield near the Sylvia Grinnel River at the head of Frobisher Bay. During the war 5,000 members of the US military arrive. Many Inuit move to the area as well to find work. Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) is born.

1950: The Canadian government charters the *C.D. Howe*. Onboard there are RCMP policemen, dentists, doctors, nurses, as well as a six bed dispensary. The *C.D. Howe* will make annual patrols until 1968.

1954: Inuit are granted the right to vote in federal elections.

1954: The Joseph Bernier School and its residence, the Turquetil Hall, in Chesterfield Inlet were founded by Roman Catholic congregations of Oblate missionaries and Grey Nuns. It opened in 1951 and was transferred to the Canadian authorities in 1954.

1955: Construction of the Distant Early Warning Line (DEW line), a system of radar stations covering the Canadian North.

1957: The Indian and Eskimo Association (IEA) was founded in 1957. It was not an 'aboriginal' organization proper, because the membership was open to all who cared about Indians and Inuit. It promoted research concerning aboriginals and assisted newly created aboriginal organizations across Canada. It was while meeting during IEA meetings, first in Coppermine in 1970 and then in Toronto in 1971, that Inuit delegates, amongst whom was Tagak Curley, decided to create an Inuit-run organization, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.

1959: The federal government initiates the development of Northern Co-operatives in the Northwest Territories.

1960: K.H. Lang, Northwest Territories councillor for the Mackenzie Delta, proposed the creation of two distinct political territories. The idea behind this proposal was

that the Eastern Arctic was a burden for the development of the western part of the Northwest Territories. It was hoped that if the Eastern Arctic could be made into an autonomous territory, the western part of the Northwest Territories would be better able to develop and take care of itself.

1962: In September 1962, Diefenbaker included in his Speech from the Throne his government's intention to divide the Northwest Territories into two territories. According to the Inuit Committee on National Issues, the proposal was dropped "because of misgivings about the lack of elected aboriginal representation [...] and the absence of any regional political organization (Inuit Committee on National Issues: 1987: 30).

1962: Eastern Arctic Inuit vote for the first time federally.

1963: A bill on the division of the Northwest Territories is tabled in the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa. This bill is supported by the Yellowknife Chamber of Commerce, a non indigenous association. The bill never makes it through Parliament because of a change of government and the opposition of citizens in the Eastern Arctic who still want to remain part of the Northwest Territories.

1964: The Churchill Vocational Centre was the last federal hostel opened by the Canadian government. With a capacity of two hundred and fifty children, it received Inuit from all over the Arctic.

1964: The newly elected Liberal government in Ottawa creates the Carrothers Commission to study political development in the Northwest Territories.

1966: The Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic are granted the right to vote in territorial elections.

1967: Following the Carrothers Commission recommendations, Yellowknife becomes the administrative and legislative capital of the Northwest Territories.

1969: Tagak Curley was asked to represent Inuit as a member of the Indian and Eskimo Association (IEA), an organization created to find remedies to aboriginal issues in Canada, from which sprang the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, a nation-wide Inuit run organization.

1970: An important discovery of oil and gas fields in the Beaufort Sea as well as in the Mackenzie Delta (potentially 36 billion barrels of oil and 339 trillion cubic feet of gas).

1970: The Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) was created in 1970 by Inuvik residents to represent Mackenzie Delta Inuvialuit in negotiations with the federal and territorial governments as well as the oil industry, since oil had been discovered in the region.

1971: The Anik satellite is launched, opening the North to telecommunications.

1971: In December 18, 1971, the Inupiat and all other natives of Alaska signed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) with the American government, under the Republican administration of Richard M. Nixon. The settlement was to be administered by twelve regional corporations which would manage the compensation and the land obtained in the settlement.

1971: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) is created.

1972: The Northern Quebec Inuit Association (now Makivik Corporation) was created on behalf of Northern Quebec Inuit in 1972 to negotiate The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement with the federal government and the Province of Quebec.

1973: CBC started broadcasting across the Canadian North through the Anik-1 satellite, and, in 1975, implemented the *Accelerated Coverage Plan* to provide reception and transmission equipment to any community in Canada with more than five hundred people.

1973: The Labrador Inuit Association was founded in 1973 and is responsible for advancing the aboriginal, constitutional, democratic, and social and human rights of Labrador Inuit.

1973: The Hon. Jean Chrétien, then minister of Indian and Northern affairs, announces that the federal government will henceforward negotiate to settle aboriginal land claims.

1974: A delegation from Inuit Tapirisat of Canada led by Jose Kusugak went to Alaska to study the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and its implementation.

1974: The Native Land Claims Commission is set up by the federal government.

1974: The Northwest Territories Act is amended. From now on, the Northwest Territories Council will be made up of a fully elected fifteen member body.

1974: The Dene and Métis started negotiating a single claim for Denendeh, consisting of approximately what is now the Northwest Territories (excluding the Mackenzie Delta). From 1984 to 1990, the Dene and Métis conducted land claim negotiations with the Canadian government. In 1990, a final agreement was reached. However, the Dene and Métis rejected the final agreement that very same year.

1975: The Baffin Region Inuit Association (now Qikiqtani Inuit Association or QIA) was formed in 1975 to represent the interests of the Inuit of the Baffin region. The Keewatin Inuit Association (now Kivalliq Inuit Association) and the Kitikmeot Inuit Association were also created in the mid-1970s to unite the voice of the Central Arctic Inuit.

1976: Milton Freeman's report (under contract with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs): *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project*.

1976: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada presents its first proposition for the creation of Nunavut in a working paper entitled *Nunavut: A Proposal for the Settlement of Inuit Lands in the Northwest Territories*.

1976: The Inuvialuit split from ITC to negotiate a separate land claims agreement due to development pressure in the Beaufort Sea area. The Inuvialuit are represented by the Committee of Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE).

1977: The Inuit Circumpolar Conference was created in 1977 by Eben Hopson of Barrow, Alaska. Its goals are to strengthen unity among Inuit of the circumpolar region, promote Inuit rights and interests on an international level, develop and encourage long-term policies that safeguard the Arctic environment, and seek full and active partnership in the political, economic, and social development of circumpolar regions. ICC holds a conference every four years.

1977: Following a public consultation, ITC follows with a second proposal in a three-page document entitled *Speaking for the First Citizens of the Canadian North*. This proposal calls for the creation of a territory that would be governed by an all-Inuit government.

1979: ITC presents its third proposal to the Government of Canada in a document entitled *Political Development in Nunavut*. ITC acknowledges that Nunavut would be governed by a public government.

1979: The Greenland Home Rule Government was established on May 1, 1979. Prior to this, Greenland had been a colony of Denmark until 1953, and then an integral part of Denmark until 1979. Greenland is now officially an autonomous province of the Kingdom of Denmark. With Home Rule, the Greenlanders, of which most are Kalaallit (Greenlandic Inuit), gained power over most jurisdictions, except foreign affairs, defence and part of the judiciary which are still dealt with in Copenhagen.

1980: The Drury report (*Report of the Special Representative on Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories*) recommends unity of the Northwest Territories.

1981: The Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly elects eight members to the Executive Committee, including the House Speaker. All Members of the Legislative Assembly elect the leader of the government.

1981: The CRTC granted a network television license to the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation was formed. After an initial period of production and consolidation, IBC aired its first program on January 11, 1982, at midnight, a ninety-minute special introducing the new network. http://www.inuitbroadcasting.ca/history_e.htm

When the community of Igloolik allowed the retransmission of the television signal in 1983, some IBC Inuktitut programming was already available.

1982: The Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic create the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) whose goal is to negotiate a land claim and the creation of Nunavut with the federal government.

1982: Nunatsiaq's Member of Parliament Peter Ittinuar left the New Democratic Party (NDP) and joined the Liberal Party of Pierre Trudeau. In exchange, Trudeau agreed to support the division of the Northwest Territories and the creation of Nunavut.

1982: A plebiscite on division in the Northwest Territories. Division is supported by 56% of the voters. Only 52% of all electors turn out to vote.

1982: The Constitution Act, the Canadian Charter of Rights, and the repatriation of the Canadian Constitution. The Liberal government of P.E. Trudeau brushes away a clear definition of 'existing' native rights from the constitution, promising native leaders a series of First

Ministers Conferences on aboriginal constitutional matters.

1983: The Penner report (House of Commons, Special Task Force on Indian Self-Governement: 1983) produced under the Trudeau Liberal government recommended the recognition of aboriginal self-government to the Government of Canada and the elimination of the blanket extinguishment clause from the land claims negotiations. Trudeau resigned a few months later.

1983-1987: The First Ministers Conferences on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters. The discussions stall but the concept of native self-government emerges.

1983: Qikiqtaaluk Corporation (QC) was established in 1983 to manage economic development on behalf of the Qikiqtani Inuit Association.

1984: The Inuvialuit reach a land claims agreement (The Inuvialuit Final Agreement) with the Federal government.

1986: Release of report titled *Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements* (also known as the Coolican Report). Following the Coolican Report, the federal government sets up a new comprehensive claims policy which states that self-government and preservation of culture will not be affected by further agreements and that blanket extinguishment of aboriginal rights will no longer be a precondition for settlements.

1990: Signing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement-in-Principle in Igloolik.

1990: After the mayor of Oka decided to allow the construction of the final nine holes of a golf course on their burial grounds, the Mohawks decided to erect a barricade and block the entrance to the area. On July 11, the mayor asked the Sûreté du Québec (SQ) to intervene. The SWAT team of the police attacked the barricade and a policeman,

Corporal Marcel Lemay, was killed. In solidarity with the Mohawks in Kanesatake, other Mohawks also erected barricades, even blocking the Mercier Bridge between Montreal and its south shore. The barricade in Oka remained in place until the end of September 1990.

1991: With the final agreement between the Canadian government and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut getting closer, Tom Siddon, then Minister of Aboriginal Affairs under the Mulroney government, named John Parker, former Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, to mediate negotiations. In April of 1991, Parker recommended adopting the boundary that was first agreed upon in 1986, which was a compromise boundary running between the boundaries proposed by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut and the Dene and Métis.

1992: In May, a majority of voters in the Northwest Territories approves the boundary that will divide the territory into two distinct territories: the Northwest Territories in the west and Nunavut in the east.

1992: In November, the Inuit of Nunavut ratify the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (Nunavut Agreement). On October 30, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the Government of the Northwest Territories and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut sign the Nunavut Political Accord that makes the creation of Nunavut official.

1993: In May, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Northwest Territories Government Leader Nellie Cournoyea, and Tungavik Federation of Nunavut President Paul Quassa sign the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in Iqaluit.

1993: The Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI) replaces the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN). NTI becomes the incorporated organization that represents Inuit under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

1993: In June, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act and the Nunavut Act are enacted by the House of Commons in Ottawa.

1993: The Nunavut Implementation Commission (NIC) is set up by the Nunavut Act.

1995: The NIC publishes its first report entitled *Footprints in New Snow*. This report is the first blueprint for the Government of Nunavut. It contains 104 recommendations as to how the Government of Nunavut should be set up.

1995: Nunavummiut vote to make Iqaluit their future capital.

1996: The NIC publishes its second report entitled *Footprints 2*. It incorporates popular responses to *Footprints in New Snow*.

1997: On May 26, the people of Nunavut reject gender parity and the two-member constituencies in a non-binding plebiscite.

1997: On April 15, Jack Anawak is appointed as the Interim Commissioner of Nunavut.

1997: Television Northern Canada's (TVNC) board voted for the creation of a national aboriginal broadcasting network that would be distributed through cable television (instead of through a satellite signal only). In 1999, they were granted a licence for the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN). From then on, IBC's programs were broadcast on APTN, with a variety of other aboriginal programs.

1998: On March 4, Nunavut's deputy ministers meet for the first time.

1999: On April 1, Nunavut is officially created as a new Canadian Territory.

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