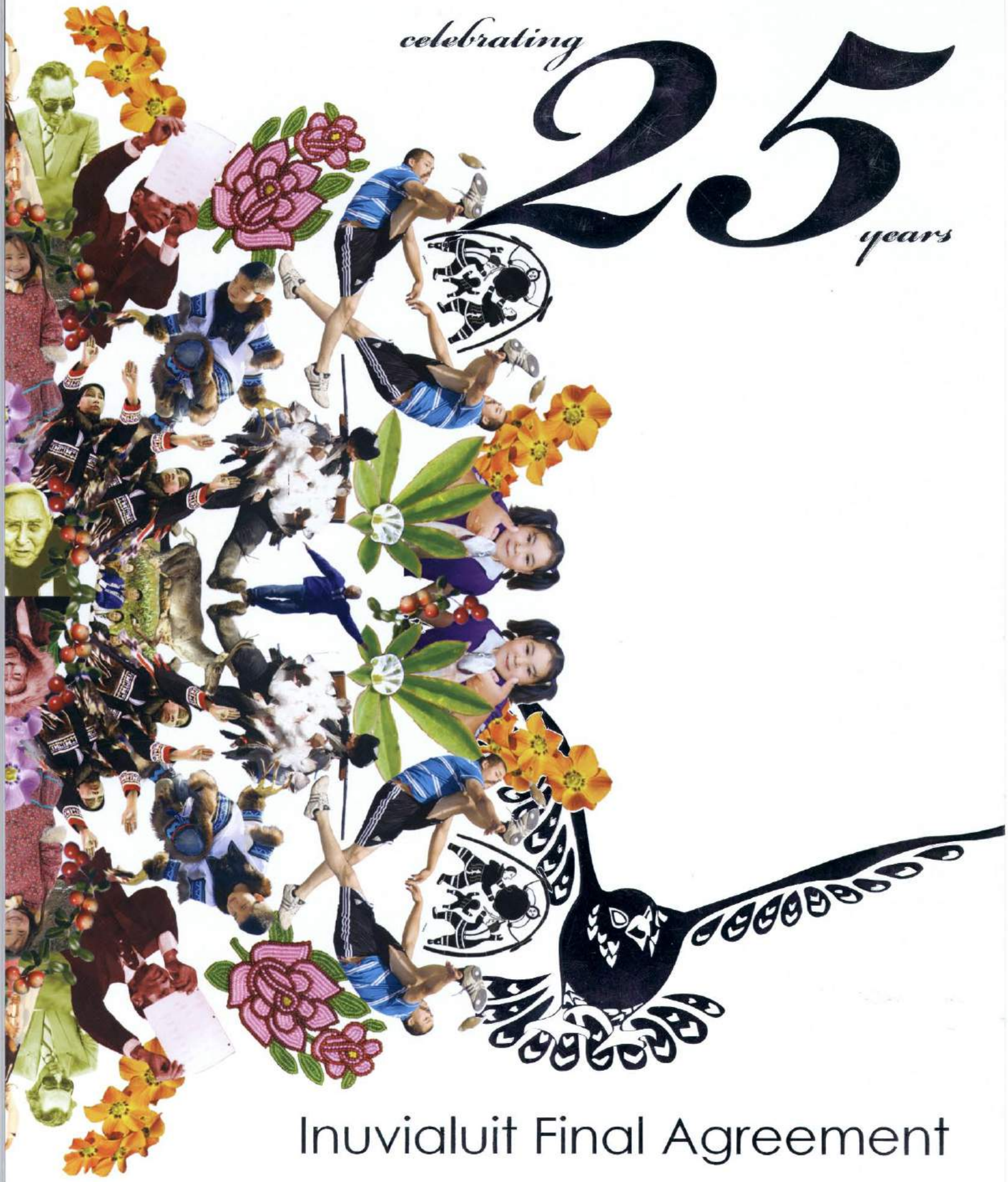


Inuvialuit Final Agreement

Two girls from Ulukhaktok celebrating in their new 25th IFA Anniversary t-shirts.

"**The Inuvialuit Final Agreement is a living document.** It is a blueprint which contains powerful provisions we can use to protect our identity and culture in a changing Canadian society, to be equal and meaningful participants in the world economy, and to preserve the land and wildlife we have always depended on."

Foreword

Nellie Cournoyea
Chair and CEO
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation

Twenty-five years ago, on June 5th 1984, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) was signed and subsequently brought into law by the Canadian government through the Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act. The land claim was shaped by our elders. They saw how outside forces were corroding our land rights and self-determination as the original people of our region. They harnessed the movement to reclaim our rights and our voice, creating the Committee of Original People's Entitlement (COPE). After fourteen years of tireless effort and against innumerable obstacles, presented by industry, governments and opposition from various aboriginal groups, the negotiation of the land claim was successfully concluded. The representation of Inuvialuit interests moved to organizations established through the agreement - the primary bodies in this regard being Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) and the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC).

The IFA is a living document. It is a blueprint which contains powerful provisions we can use to protect our identity and culture in a changing Canadian society, to be equal and meaningful participants in the world economy, and to preserve the land and wildlife we have always depended on. Today, our leaders continue to strengthen and practice traditional knowledge and represent us through the organizations and structures established by the land claim at all levels of interaction with governments, industry and other aboriginal groups. As our collective capacity grows over time, we are taking on the increased responsibilities that assist us in making good decisions and being good leaders.

As time passes, memories fade, and those of you who were born after the claim was settled might not know the exhaustive work that was required and the strong sense of dedication displayed by all those involved. When the claim was settled, it was not just for that moment; it was not just about money. The IFA is about the land, your future, and your ability to have a say in your future. It was to ensure that you could one day take your place as contributing and outstanding members throughout Canadian society.

The Inuvialuit are resilient. Throughout our history, we have proven our ability to stay united and adaptive, facing collective challenges as a people. We need each and every one of you meet and overcome these challenges. The land claims agreement has provided us with a strong foundation to build on. We ask you to be focused, determined, and proud. We need young people to get a good education. Only through education will we be enabled to achieve the full promise of the IFA.

Just like the IFA, this book was created as an instrument for you. We hope it will ground and root you in our culture and history; that you will experience and understand the passion behind the claim, its vision and its goals. In this book, we also celebrate our progress and achievements as a people over the past twenty-five years.

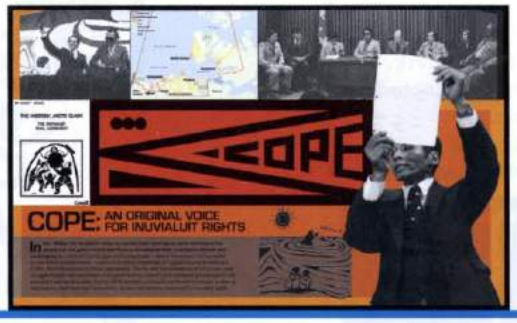
To all the elders, and all those who worked so hard in negotiating and implementing the land claim, quyanainni from our hearts. On behalf of the board of IRC and on behalf of all those who have gone before, we wish our younger generation every success, as they over time assume their rightful place as the future leaders of a proud and self-reliant people.

Happy 25th Anniversary Inuvialuit!

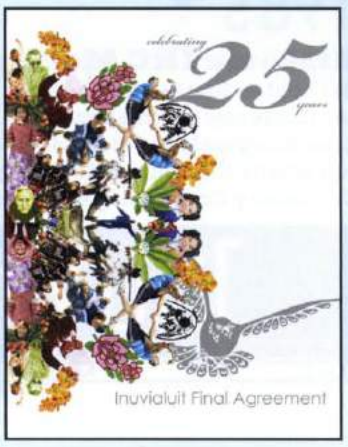
Contents

Inuvialuit Final Agreement/ Celebrating 25 years

Aklavik youth getting a balloon ready for the 25th IFA Anniversary celebrations.



COPE: An Original Voice for Inuvialuit Rights



Celebrate!

The cover graphic encapsulates the colour, vibrance and uniqueness of Inuvialuit history and culture, in the form of a kaleidoscope. It focuses on the strengths in the provisions of the IFA.

25th IFA Anniversary celebrations were held in the six Inuvialuit communities in 2009. Photos from these celebrations are found throughout this book.

COPE

Elder *profiles*

Wallace Goose Award Elder *profiles*

1985

Historic IRC Meeting

IRC held its first historic meeting on April 1 and 2, in Inuvik. Les Carpenter was the first Chief Regional Councilor elected. Kane Tologanak was elected Deputy Chief Councilor, and Wayne Gordon was Secretary Treasurer. The first Community Corporation elections were held a month earlier.

INUVIALUIT

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IRC Holds Historic First Meeting

The Inuvialuit regional corporation held its first historic meeting April 1 and 2 in Inuvik and its councillors elected Les Carpenter as their chief.

The IRC, with headquarters in Inuvik, takes its place beside COPE as representative for all Inuvialuit. It has been the major goal of almost a year's worth of work. Implementing the land claims agreement signed last June with the federal government.

The IRC council and the elected councillors of the six community corporations, acting for all Inuvialuit, are responsible for approximately $75 million and 35,000 square miles of land given the Inuvialuit in the final agreement.

The IRC council is made up of the chief councillors of the community corporations (Inuvik, Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Sachs Harbour, Holman Island and

They then elected their own executive. Joining Mr. Carpenter are Kane Tologanak as deputy chief councillor and Wayne Gordon as secretary treasurer.

Members of the implementation committee (the same provisional directors of the IRC plus Bob DeLury) also handed in their resignations the task of implementation will be completed by the IRC.

The councillors made appointments to various boards and committees established by the final agreement (see related story) and completed several housekeeping items such as approving the corporation's corporate seal and pointing its auditors lawyers official bank.

They also okayed minor amendments to the final agreement to correct errors which had shown up in the final version of the agreement and which were basically typographical in nature.

he first warm weather brought out the enjoyment of sleigh riding for SAHTI school children.

Clipping on 1st IRC meeting from *Inuvialuit* magazine.

Tuk men represent Inuit in protest

Tuk residents Roger Gruben and Eddie Dillon represented the Canadian Inuit in a protest over the American icebreaker "Polar Sea" being in Canadian waters.

The icebreaker entered Canadian waters in early August without a formal invitation from the Canadian government and was seen by some people as a test of Canadian sovereignty (whether or not Canada owns and controls the Arctic waters).

Canada has said that the Northwest Passage is an internal waterway and the USA has said it is international waters.

The Tuk men were joined by university students David Achten and Louanne Studer representing the Council of Canadians.

The Council of Canadians was recently formed to protect Canadian interests in matters of sovereignty and were joined in the protest by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada when it was first announced that the "Polar Sea" would be making the trip through the passage to Alaska.

The protest group chartered a Twin Otter August 7 and flew over the Prince of Wales Strait between Banks and Victoria Islands where the icebreaker was located at the time. They dropped mailing cartons containing Canadian flags and pamphlets condemning the voyage through national waters.

The group also put out a number of Canadian and territorial flags on the ice and set up a tent at Princess Royal Island along the route the ship is expected to take.

Inuit representative Gruben said, "The Northwest Passage shouldn't be open to international traffic." Mr. Gruben added, "We have different concerns about who travels in our waters and what kind of vessels travel through here because if there is going to be any kind of major mishap then we as occupants of this area are going to be hurt and we could be hurt very severely."

Opening, cont'd from pa

Inuvialuktun. This is in keeping with the goal of helping to preserve the language and to give young people a chance to see and

Kenn Borek pilot Ross Peden (far left) stands with preservers David Achten and Louanne Studer, of the Council of Canadians, and Roger Gruben and Eddie Dillon.

Kenn Borek pilot Ross Peden, Davis Achten and Louanne Studer of Council of Canadians, with Inuvialuit representatives Roger Gruben and Eddie Dillon protesting an American icebreaker in Northwest Passage.

Right: A cartoon published in the Edmonton Journal, depicting Prime Minister Mulroney being surprised by an icebreaker.

1985

The Polar Sea Issue: Arctic Sovereignty

A storm of controversy brewed over an American icebreaker in the Northwest Passage. The icebreaker, Polar Sea entered Canadian waters in early August, 1985, without a formal invitation from the Canadian government. The U.S. said it did not need permission because the Northwest Passage is an international waterway. Canada disagreed, and saw it as a test of Canadian sovereignty.

Roger Gruben and Eddie Dillon represented Canadian Inuit, joining in protest with the Council of Canadians. A plane was chartered, flying over the Prince of Wales Strait, between Banks and Victoria Islands, where the icebreaker was located then. Mailing cartons were dropped containing Canadian flags and pamphlets condemning the voyage. Canadian and Territorial flags, as well as a tent were set up along the route the Polar Sea was expected to take.

Roger Gruben said then, "The Northwest Passage shouldn't be open to international traffic. We have different concerns about who travels in our waters, and what kinds of vessels travel through because if there is any kind of major mishap, we as occupants of the area are going to be hurt, and we could be hurt very severely."

1986

Historic First Payout to Elders

Les Carpenter signed approximately 300 cheques as Chief Regional Councilor of IRC. These $500 cheques were hand delivered to elders a week before Christmas.

Beneficiary Rita Carpenter and her Elders One-Time Payment cheque of $2,500.

Andy Carpenter (L) shaking hands with a representative of the North Slope Borough after signing the Inuvialuit-Inupiat Polar Bear Agreement.

1988

Inuvialuit-Inupiat Polar Bear Agreement

On January 29, 1988, the Inuvialuit-Inupiat Polar Bear Agreement was signed between the Inuvialuit Game Council and the North Slope Borough Fish and Game Management Committee of Alaska. This agreement allows the users of the same polar bear population to share harvest data, and to better protect the species and to set harvesting / wildlife policies.

ghts

Inuvialuit Regional Corporation

1988

Opening of the Inuvialuit Corporate Centre

Right: IRC Chief Regional Councilor Roger Gruben and Agnes Semmler, who made significant contributions to COPE and the formation of IRC, at the opening ceremonies of the Inuvialuit Corporate Centre.

1988

First IRC Hockey Tournament

These tournaments proved to be immensely popular, bringing together hockey fans and players from the region. In 1999, there were two divisions for the first time: Deline Chiefs were 'A' division champions, while Paulatuk Darnley Bay Wolverines won in the 'B' division.

Roy Ipana (middle) organized the IRC Hockey Tournament in 1997.

First Bowhead hunt in 1991: Captain Danny A. Gordon, Harpooner Titus Allen and Billy Archie standing before the landed bowhead whale.

1991

First Bowhead Harvest after the Signing of the IFA

On September 3, 1991, the Inuvialuit successfully harvested their first bowhead whale in more than half a century at Shingle Point. This historic occasion restored an ancient tradition of large cetacean harvesting for subsistence purposes by the Inuvialuit. In 1996, a second bowhead harvest took place, also at Shingle Point.

1992

Inuit Circumpolar Conference

IRC hosts the 1992 Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) General Assembly (Inuvik), and Elders Conference (Tuktoyaktuk), bringing together Inuit from Alaska, Canada, Greenland and Chukotka, Russia. The conferences are significant for unity amongst Inuit, strengthening their voice nationally and internationally.

ICC's executives Mary Simon, Les Carpenter and Minnie Grey at the General Assembly in Inuvik.

1992

First Yukon North Slope Annual Conference

The IFA calls for the holding of a Yukon North Slope Annual conference to promote public discussion around the co-ordination of management of the Yukon North Slope amongst aboriginal people, governments and the private sector.

Since 1988, fifteen conferences have been held to address a wide variety of issues and bring together diverse perspectives for improved management. Each conference serves to advance the conservation of wildlife and the environment on the Yukon North Slope through the exchange of ideas, experiences and points of view.

The Inuvialuit delegation with their hosts from Chukotka.

1994

Inuvialuit in Chukotka

IRC sponsored an Inuvialuit cultural and education delegation to visit Chukotka, Russia for 10 days. IRC and Chukotka reached an agreement for specific areas of cooperation including commercial harvesting and processing of renewable resource products such as reindeer, development of oil and gas initiatives, and the promotion of cultural, educational and business opportunities. The delegation, led by Vince Teddy, met with the Governor of Chukotka and visited a reindeer herd camp, where knowledge was exchanged on herd maintenance.

Cathy Cockney said then, "The most interesting discussions were with the Elders Council and Native Association of Chukotka; especially discussions on Native Rights and land claims. One feels a sense of hopelessness for their struggle for land claims and recognition because they are not recognized as indigenous people by the government. Although they can present a land claims under the new constitution, there are no laws within the constitution for them to negotiate and implement a land claims agreement."

The Inuvialuit booth at the CNE.

1995

Inuit Spirit of the Arctic

Sponsored by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), *Illiqqusivut: Inuit Spirit of the Arctic* was a major cultural showcase housed in its own pavilion over 18 days at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto in 1995. The Inuvialuit display of 500 sq. ft. had 2 dominant themes: Tourism in the Western Arctic and the Inuvialuit Corporate Group.

This was a historic opportunity for the Inuit in Canada to introduce to the South their culture and economic development. It was voted the "best pavilion" by the Toronto Star. Visitors were treated to performances by the Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers, an Inuit fashion show, and a demonstration of Inuit sports.

John Carpenter recalled, "You can see our people involved in the arts, culture, business and the displays, you can see their commitment and professionalism in explaining and showing the Arctic to our guests. It was encouraging to hear young people say "why couldn't we put on a show like this every year" or "I did not realize there was so much culture in Canada."

Many visitors came to the Inuvialuit booth with questions. Cathy Cockney remembered, "Many people asked about: who are the Inuvialuit? Are we Inuit or Eskimo? What is the IRC? Are we part of Canada? Do we still live in snow houses? Is it modern in the North? How long did it take you to come to Toronto? Most of the people we met said that the pavilion was a terrific idea and a long time in coming."

1996

IRC Establishes Inuvialuit Harvesters Assistance Trust

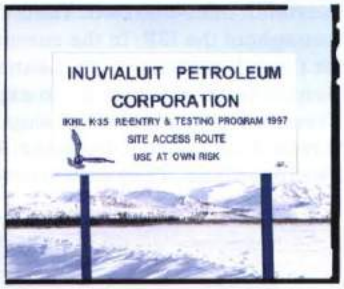
This trust received Inuvialuit funds and matching contributions from GNWT. The Trust's initial capital was invested, with its revenue used to fund annual contributions through the Inuvialuit Harvesters Assistance Program. During its first year of operation in 1988, $200,000 was provided to Inuvialuit harvesters.

1996

IRC Signs Agreement with DND

On February 12, 1996 IRC and the Department of National Defence signed a cooperation agreement for the restoration and clean-up of DEW Line sites in the ISR. The agreement outlined the environmental standards and the measures to be taken to provide for Inuvialuit involvement in the clean-up and restoration of DEW Line sites in the ISR.

Ikhil Gas Project site.



1997

Ikhil Gas Project

On September 10, 1999 Inuvik Gas, Northwest Territories Power Corporation (NWTPC), and the Town of Inuvik celebrated the first flow of natural gas from the Ikhil gas well. Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation (IPC) spearheaded this important economic development project commencing field activities in 1997.

IPC, NWTPC, and the Town of Inuvik have a gas sales/ franchise agreement.

2003

Ikhil Gas Project Arbitration

Prior to the IFA there was an existing SDL (significant discovery licence) on the Ikhil field. In the years after the IFA signing, the legislation that set the level of production royalties was revised with the result that the level of royalties payable by a producer was reduced. When Ikhil started production in 1999 IRC maintained that the royalty rate payable to IIC (via the federal government) should be under the old Canada Oil and Gas Act regime as per the IFA. Canada countered that it should be under the new revised legislation claiming a lower rate. This went before the Inuvialuit Arbitration Board. On April 29, 2003, arbitration determined that the IFA prevailed and the obligation was for Canada to pay a higher royalty rate to the Inuvialuit than it received. The Inuvialuit won its case!

Inuvialuit youth with Portuguese backgrounds on the Creoula Project.

1998

The Creoula Project

During the whaling period, many Portuguese whalers and Inuvialuit inter-married. Their descendants are scattered throughout the ISR. In the summer of 1998, IRC arranged for three Inuvialuit youth, Leanne Kuptana, Joel Amos and Dennis Raddi-Kuiksak Jr., to explore their ancestry on the *Creoula*, a four-masted tall ship. With 47 other youth, they traveled for a month, between Aveiro, Portugal and St. John's Newfoundland. They also visited Expo'98 in Lisbon.

Left: George and Martha Harry showing their marriage certificate.

Right: Martha Harry is featured on a Canadian stamp.

1998

Martha Harry appears on Canadian Stamp

Canada Post released the 1998 Scenic Highway Stamp Collection with one featuring Inuvialuit elder Martha Harry drum dancing in front of the Dempster Highway. She was one of Inuvik's most treasured elders. Her great aunt taught her how to drum dance while she was about four years old. She in turn taught her children.

Leonard Harry remembered dancing with his mother and siblings in his childhood. She was happy when she and her husband, George, were approached to teach drum dancing. Lessons were held at their home on Co-op Hill. She traveled nationally and to Alaska to perform, sharing generously her knowledge of the Delta tradition and culture. She was awarded Elder Role Model of the Year in 1997, by the Inuvik Elders Committee. She will always be remembered for her warm laughter, kindness and her ability to tell interesting stories.

2000

Record Bid on Inuvialuit Land, with $75.5 million in Bonus Payments

IRC approved bids from Chevron Canada Resources, Petro-Canada, and Anderson Resources Ltd. for oil and gas concessions in the Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk parcels offered in its February 2000 Bid Packages. The four parcels total 306,000 hectares.

Total bids conditionally awarded totaled $75.5 million in bonus payments – averaging approximately $246 per hectare.

The concessions were tailored to provide both long and short-term benefits to Inuvialuit - minimum work commitments, preference on employment and contracting, royalty payments, and the opportunity to acquire a 25% equity interest in any commercial discovery.

Paulatuk Drummers and Dancers with performers from Northern Ontario, at Expo 2000 in Hannover, Germany.

2000

Paulatuk Drummers and Dancers at Expo 2000 in Germany

Paulatuk Drummers and Dancers performed at the Canadian Pavillion at Expo 2000 in Hannover, Germany, and were a hit by all counts. The youth also visited schools and homes. The community of Paulatuk was 100% behind the dance group. The project was funded by Parks Canada as part of the Tuktuk Nogait National Parks Community Development Initiative and organized by IRC.

The group that traveled to Germany included Nolan Green, Esther Wolki, Tracey Wolki, Savanna Green, Warren Ruben, Mary Ruben Bennett, Debbie Gordon-Ruben, Brian Rogers, and Rosa, Drew, and Gerry Kisoun.

Duane Smith

2002
President of Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)

Duane Smith was elected President of the Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada (ICC) during the ICC Annual General Meeting in Tuktoyaktuk in June 2002. As President of ICC Canada, Duane also becomes Vice-President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.

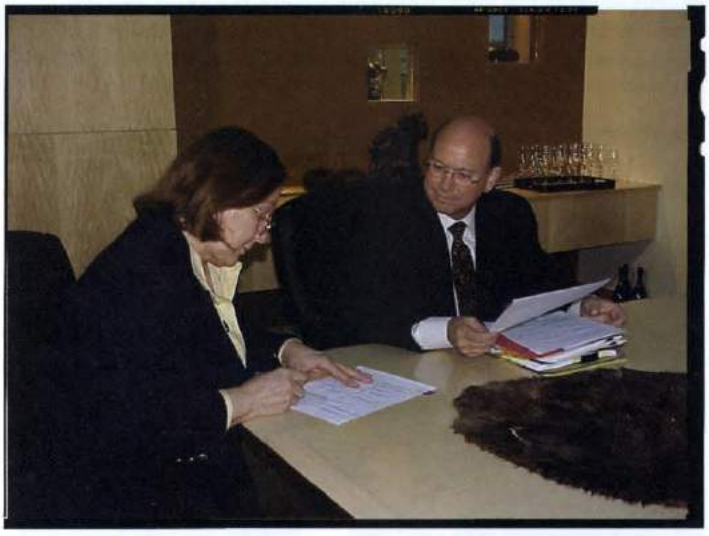
Duane has represented the Inuvialuit at all levels for many years on matters of renewable resource use and management, Inuit rights, language and culture and Arctic sovereignty. He was named to IGC in 1992. During his tenure as IGC Chair, his achievements include the official signing of the Inuvialuit - Inupiat International Beluga Management Agreement and a revised agreement on polar bear management.

Duane is also former Co-Chair of the World Conservation Union (IUCN) Arctic Specialist Group Sustainable Use Initiative, and Chair of the Inuvik Community Corporation.

2001
APG Formed

APG was formed as a result of Aboriginal leaders meeting in Fort Liard with the mandate to "build a business partnership to maximize ownership and benefits of a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

An Aboriginal Pipeline Group Memorandum of Understanding was signed between MVAPC and Mackenzie Delta Producers' Group (Imperial Oil, ConocoPhillips Canada, Shell Canada, ExxonMobil Canada) in 2003.



Left: Nellie Cournoyea (on behalf of APG) signing funding and participation agreements with the Producer's Group and TransCanada Pipelines Ltd. KC Williams, President and CEO of Imperial Oil Resources looking on.

2003
Across Time and Tundra

In celebration of a major Inuvialuit exhibit at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) in Ottawa, Inuvik Drummers and Dancers performed on opening night. Inuvialuit representatives included Annie Aleekuk, Donna Bernhardt, Lorna Elias, Debbie Gordon-Ruben, Nolan Green, Scotty Kasook, Hans Lennie, Brian Rogers, Wendy Smith and Abel Tingmiak.

The exhibition explored the history of the Inuvialuit, from their first arrival in the Canadian Arctic to the modern era. It highlighted materials collected by fur trader Roderick MacFarlane in the 1860s, and the photographic resources of the Anglican archives, dating from the 1890s.

Inuvik drummers and dancers performing at the Across Time and Tundra exhibition at CMC.

2004
Inuvialuit Ethnobotany Project

Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC) initiated the Inuvialuit ethnobotany project. ICRC announced elders from Ulukhaktok had successfully identified a plant used for the cure of red eye. Elsie Nilgak was credited for re-discovering the plant, arctic willow (Salix arctica).

Emily Kudlak, ICRC Community Language Program Officer said, "We had a big celebration, elders have been trying for the last few years."

Above: Elder Elsie Nilgak, who re-discovered the plant that cures red eye (below).

Participants at the Coastal Zone Conference in Tuktoyaktuk.

2006

Coastal Zone Canada Conference and Youth Forum in Tuktoyaktuk

This conference brought together 300 participants, including youth from all over Canada to discuss and gain knowledge on issues affecting coastal health and climate change. Inuvialuit youth came away from the conference with a desire to make positive choices to prevent climate change. The conference was organized by IRC, IGC, the Hamlet of Tuktoyatuk, and the Fisheries Joint Management Committee.

Billy Day (2nd left), 2006 NAAF award recipient with family and friends.

2006

National Aboriginal Achievement Awards

Each year 14 aboriginal Canadians are recognized for their outstanding career accomplishments. The awards are recognized both nationally and internationally as one of the highest honours the aboriginal community can bestow upon its own achievers. There have been seven Inuvialuit recipients of the NAAF award since its inception in 1993.

1994 Nellie Cournoyea, public service
1994 Rosemarie Kuptana, public service
1995 Noah Carpenter, medicine
1995 Frank Hansen, business and commerce
2003 Edward Lennie, heritage and spirituality
2005 Andy Carpenter, environment
2006 Billy Day, environment

2006

Qilalukkat! Belugas! exhibition

The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC), in collaboration with ICRC and IRC, created the *Qilalukkat! Belugas!* exhibition, which opened in Yellowknife on November 5, 2006. The exhibit included a life size replica of a traditional maktak stage (beluga blubber processing area), and stories and comments on what whaling meant to the Inuvialuit. The exhibit was updated in 2009 to include a beluga whale diaorama.

Richard Binder visiting the updated Qilalukkat! exhibit.

2008

Pihuaqtiuyugat: We are the Long Distance Walkers Exhibit

Another collaboration between the Inuvialuit and the PWNHC, this exhibit came from the Ulukhaktok Literacies Project. Emily Kudlak, ICRC Community Language Program Officer, was moved by the power of traditional song of her ancestors. She looked for a way to record these songs and found support from ICRC, NWT Literacy Council, the University of Lethbridge, and the people of Ulukhaktok. The exhibit was part of what they have discovered and learnt about the land routes and literacies of the Kangiryuarmiut.

"Literacy is in the land, the sky, the ocean – literacy passed on from our ancestors when they used stone markers and caches to mark the land, from how we use the skies and the ocean to read weather patterns – this exhibit is so there'll be all this material to teach the next generation about the tools that our elders used when they were traveling," said Emily.

An elder from Ulukhaktok at the *Pihuaqtiuyugat* exhibit.

Nellie receiving a standing ovation at the Northern Medal ceremony.

2008

Nellie Appointed to Order of Canada

The Order of Canada is the centrepiece of Canada's honours system and recognizes a lifetime of outstanding achievement, dedication to the community, and service to the nation. In 2008 Nellie Cournoyea, CEO/ Chair of IRC, and former Premier of the Northwest Territories, was appointed Officer (O.C.), the second highest level in the Order.

Nellie was the first aboriginal woman to lead a provincial / territorial government in Canada. Her contributions to the Inuvialuit included the successful negotiation of the IFA. Nellie was acclaimed to her seventh term as IRC Chair / CEO in 2008.

Throughout her career, Nellie has been awarded a prolific number of awards and honorary doctorates, including the Governor General's Northern Medal and the Aboriginal Business Hall of Fame Award in 2008. Energy Council of Canada named her Canadian Energy Person of the Year in 2003. In 2006 she was inducted into the Canadian Council of Aboriginal Business (CCAB) Aboriginal Business Hall of Fame.

2009

Inuit Participation in the 2010 Vancouver Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games

Through ITK, IRC is a member of the National Inuit Committee on Vancouver 2010 to maximize Inuit participation in the Vancouver 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. Partnered with the Four Host First Nations and the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC), it continues to pursue opportunities to "show the world the people behind the Inukshuk".

In February, Inuvik Drummers and Dancers performed at the 2009 Cultural Olympiad in Vancouver. There was a special performance at the headquarters of VANOC for its 150 staff.

NWT officially joined the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games Contributing Province/Territory Program. After the signing, the mascots mingled with the crowds in Inuvik and then visited Aklavik and Tuk the following day.

Inuvialuit beneficiary Deanna Shattler receiving her distribution payment cheque.

2008

IRC distribution payments to beneficiaries top $1000

In 2008, IRC made its largest distribution payments to beneficiaries to date. Inuvialuit Corporate Group reported a net income of $35.2 million in 2007 and shared its success with beneficiaries with distribution payments of $1,001.09 each. A total of 3,816 beneficiaries received payments.

IRC subsidiaries – IDC, IIC, ILC and IPC – contributed to the distribution. The IRC Distribution Policy is based on a formula that ensured sufficient reinvestment of profits to guarantee the preservation and growth of the land claim capital for future generations of Inuvialuit. These reinvestments fund programs aimed at enhancing education, as well as the social and cultural development of the Inuvialuit.

2010 Olympic Games mascots visiting the Mackenzie Delta.

Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games demonstrations with Craig Gruben in Tuktoyaktuk.

Why was June 5th chosen as Inuvialuit Day?

June 5th is the happiest time of the year for our people. After the long winter, spring arrives, and people in the delta are out in the bush hunting rats, while people on the coast are geese hunting. June 5th...would also permanently recognize the signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement in 1984, an event that historically changed our lives, and guaranteed us participation in determining not only our own future, but also that of the North.

Many cultural and special interest groups around the world have a day set aside for their own recognition, such as the Russians celebrating May Day, and of recent interest, the Black people of North America, for the first time in their suppressed history, being granted "Martin Luther King Day". While these special days may not be recognized by others, or even remembered for that matter, it is important to the race or culture that celebrates them.

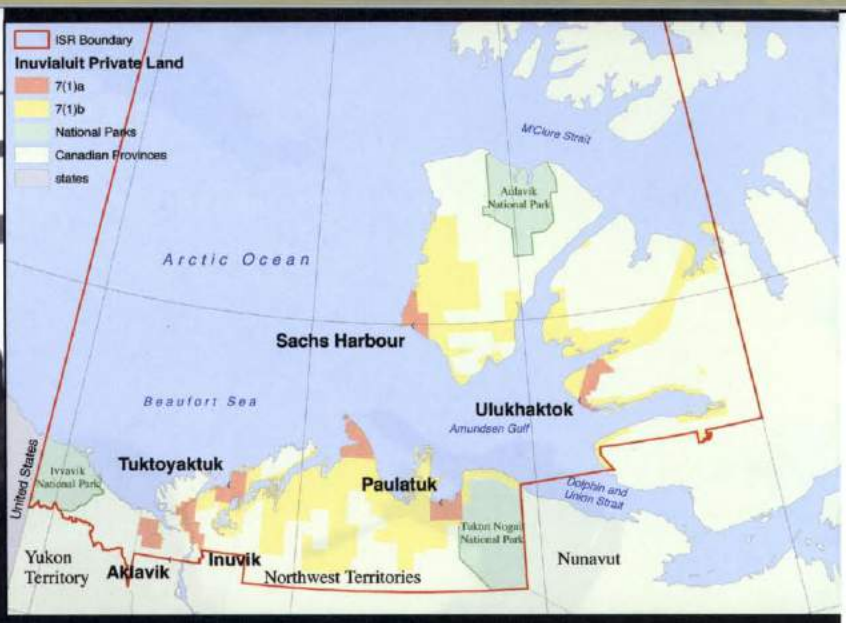
Les Carpenter
Former IRC President
May 21, 1986

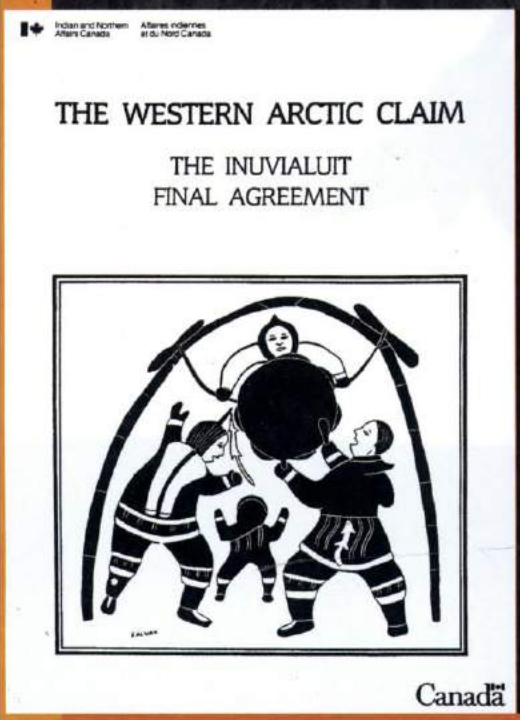
1st Goal of the **IFA**

To preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society

The Paulatuk Moonlight Dancers performing on a summer day at Rat Hill.

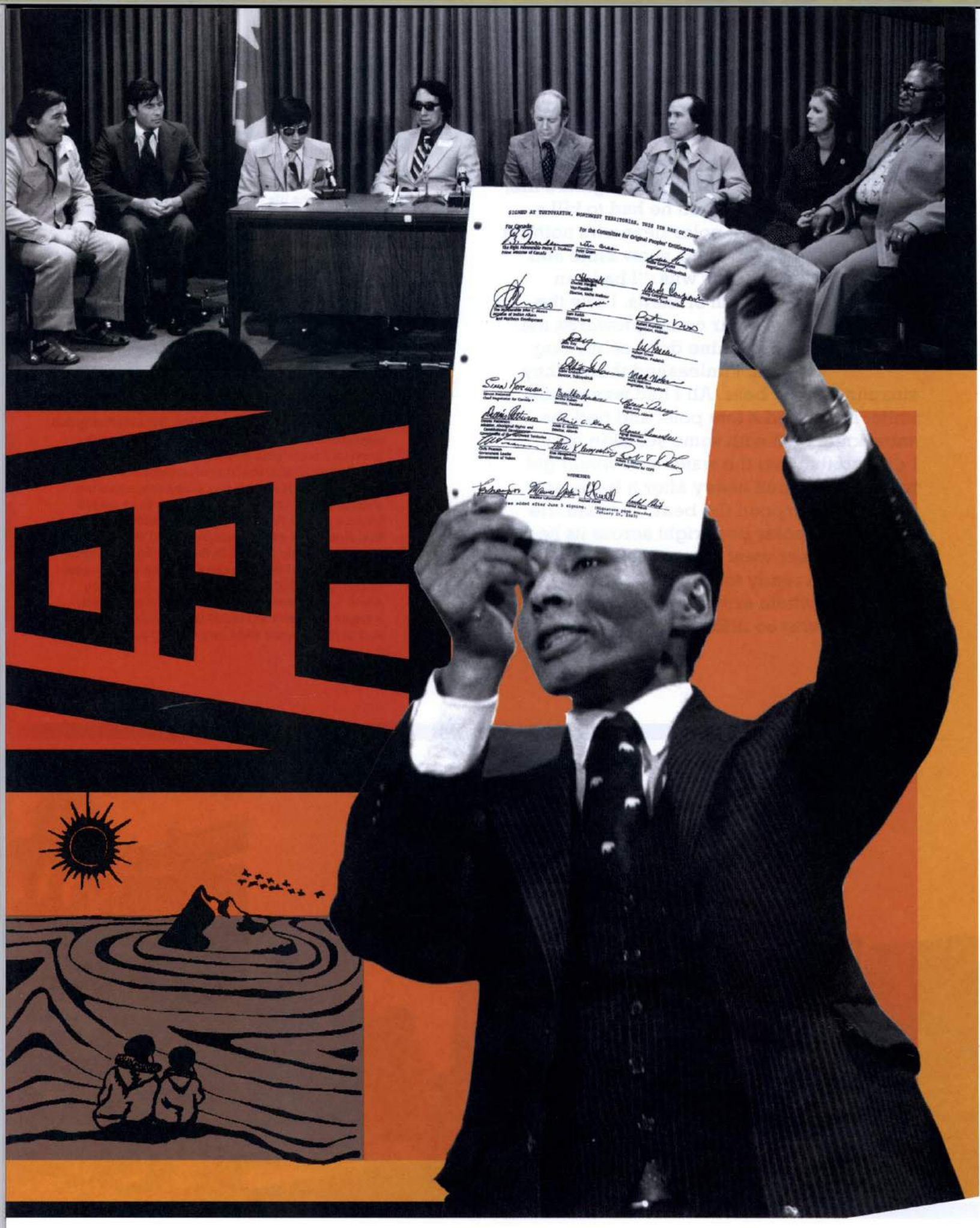

G Unit





COPE: AN ORIGINAL VOICE FOR INUVIALUIT RIGHTS

In the 1960s, the Inuvialuit rallied to reclaim their land rights when developmental pressures and government interference threatened their traditional lifestyle and sovereignty. Inuvialuit of diverse ages and backgrounds -- elders, harvesters, civil servants, broadcasters and politicians -- united to form the Committee of Original People's Entitlement (COPE), the first Inuvialuit political organization. The IFA was the culmination of a fourteen-year struggle fraught with opposition: from governments, industry, and aboriginal groups against the precedent-setting land claim. Former COPE members, who had contributed immensely in roles as negotiators, organizers and fieldworkers, recount this historic movement for Inuvialuit rights.


SIGNED AT TUKTOYAKTUK, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, THIS 5TH DAY OF JUNE
For Canada:
For the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement
WITNESSED

Life was in our own hands

There was a time in Jimmy Memogana's life, when he had to kill a polar bear with nothing but a snow knife and his wits. "I had run out of shells. I saw the bear coming towards me. I had nine dogs on my dog team. I unleashed them. They surrounded the bear. All I had was a snow knife. I grabbed a tent pole, and tied the snow knife on it with some sealskin rope. I dipped that into the water so it would get frozen. It became heavy after it froze, and I used it to harpoon the bear," he said. He slashed the polar bear right across its heart. "After the bear went down, I sharpened my knife, to get ready to skin it. Only then did I realize my whole arm, my body, was shaking, because it was so difficult," Jimmy laughed.

Jimmy is now ninety years old. He lived a traditional Inuvialuit life, deeply connected to the land. He traveled around the ISR, hunting, fishing and trapping according to the seasons. Wildlife was abundant in some years, and scarce during others, but Jimmy embraced the life of a subsistence harvester. There was pride in being able to provide for his family and for elders. "I really enjoyed the hunting and sharing my catch with others, it was a good life," he said. "That's why when things changed, and the land and wildlife were at risk, I joined COPE. I knew it was for a good cause."

The Beginning of Change

"The change" that Jimmy spoke of began its takeover gradually. In the 1700s, the first European expeditions came to Inuvialuit territory, but the Inuvialuit were able to keep these explorers at bay. By the 1850s, the Inuvialuit began trading fox pelts with the Hudson's Bay Company, traveling outside of their traditional territory to an inland trading post at Fort McPherson. In 1889, the first American whaling ship entered western Canadian arctic waters. In the next 25 years until the First World War, whalers frequented Herschel Island, Cape Bathurst and Franklin Bay, taking about 1,500 bowhead whales. Bowhead whales, a staple food for the Inuvialuit, were decimated, and caribou herds went into a steep decline.

Nomadic Inuvialuit: Big Jim Rogers, Roy and Susie Wolki at a camp with a harvested polar bear.

Charlie Klengenberg and family in 1915.

Photos
Pg 16 - 17 (L-R, top to bottom)
Robert Kuptana and Sam Raddi at the IFA signing ceremony in Tuktoyaktuk.

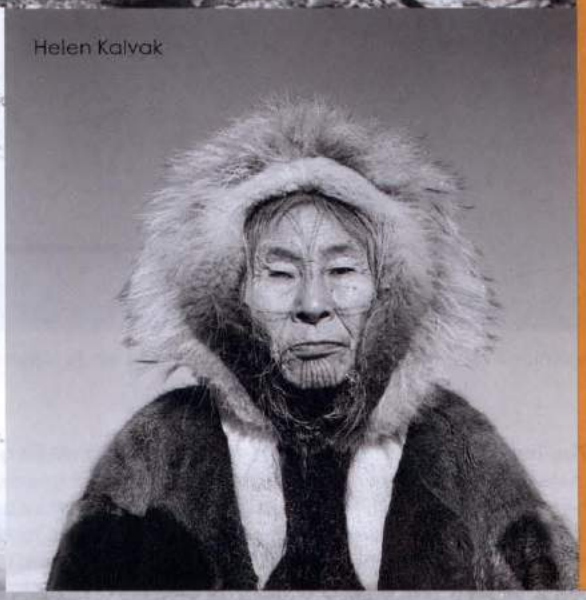
COPE negotiators submitting the first Inuvialuit regional land claim proposal *Inuvialuit Nunangat* to the Government of Canada.

Peter Green, President of COPE at the time of IFA signing, triumphantly showing off the page of signatures on the IFA.

Simone and Molly Goose hunting.

Fred Carpenter and Peter Esau with their harvest, a bearded seal.

Agnes Goose fetching water with her son Roy.



Helen Kalvak

Nora Memogana packing daughter Emma in her parka.

Ilaviniq, Wallace Goose's grandfather and Ole Andy with harvested fox pelts.

The Inuvialuit culture was changing: they used whaleboats instead of umiaqs, repeating rifles and southern goods became common. The whalers and traders brought diseases that peaked as two devastating measles outbreaks in 1900 and 1902, almost wiped out the Inuvialuit population. One survivor, Nuligak (Bob Cockney), wrote about this change. He said, "That summer the Kittigaryuit people fell ill and many of them died. Almost the whole Inuvialuit population perished, for only a few families survived. During that time, two of the Eskimos spent all their time burying the dead....Corpses were set on the ground un-coffined, just as they were."

Kittigaryuit and other villages were abandoned as Inuvialuit sought to leave areas contaminated by remains of the diseased. Police reports from this time show the Inuvialuit population fell from approximately 2,500 people in the early nineteenth century to 250 people in 1905. By 1910, only 150 Inuvialuit were left.

The Inuvialuit adapted. Their numbers rebounded, in part through intermarriage with the Inupiat and other cultures. "From the 1920s to 1960s, Inuvialuit families had the responsibility of re-populating, and making sure Inuvialuit customs and traditions were passed on. It was really important," said Randal Pokiak, an Inuvialuk who grew up in the 1950s. "It made people close knit. Inuvialuit interests were the priority, regardless of which community you lived in," he said. "The epidemics, the struggles, the history, these are the things Inuvialuit should understand. Mental strength, physical strength, being aware of your strengths and limits as an individual, these are the traits of an Inuvialuk harvester."

An illustration of Kiitigaryuit from 1909

Treaty

In the 1920s, the Government of Canada approached Mangilaluk, Inuvialuit leader at Kittigaryuit, hoping the Inuvialuit would agree to a treaty. Mangilaluk and his counsel refused. Instead, they countered that the government should provide reindeer from Alaska before the Inuvialuit would consider any discussions on treaties. Caribou populations were then in

Reindeer herders at work

Reindeer Station was established in 1932 as the headquarters of the Reindeer Project which introduced reindeer farming into northern Canada. Lack of caribou in the coastal area prompted the Government of Canada to herd 3,442 reindeer from Alaska to provide a supplemental food source for the Inuvialuit. Led by Sami, or Laplanders, the 1,500 mile "Great Trek", initially expected to take 18 months, stretched into a 5-year journey beset with perils of severe weather, high mountain ranges, supply shortages, wolves and other predators. In 1935, the surviving herd of 2,382 arrived in Kittigazuit, NWT. The Laplanders stayed to teach the Inuvialuit how to look after the reindeer herd. During its heyday, Reindeer Station had a population of 90 - mainly herders and their families. It was a self-sustaining community with its own post office, generating plant, school, church, and Hudson's Bay trading post. Situated about 30 miles down river from Inuvik, it also served as a supply centre for trappers operating in the area. Due to a short season for vegetation growth, movement of the herd closer to the winter range, and introduction of modern herding techniques, employment opportunities diminished and the population of Reindeer Station dropped drastically. In 1969 it was abandoned with buildings relocated and residents moved to Tuktoyaktuk or Inuvik. In 1974, the herd was sold to Canadian Reindeer Ltd.

severe decline. Mangilaluk wanted to ensure that his people had enough of this food supply. When the promised reindeer finally arrived in 1935, the concept of treaty negotiation was outdated.

Nellie Cournoyea, Chair and CEO of IRC said, "The Inuvialuit were close to the Inuit of Coppermine, who traded with people from Great Bear Lake. They said the treaty offered $5 a year per person. At the time, fur trading, especially of white fox pelts, was very lucrative. Inuvialuit harvesters made a lot of money, and as a result owned schooners.

Mangilaluk

So the treaty was of little value. We were lucky that they made an intelligent choice. They had gained experience dealing with whalers and fur traders, as well as missionaries who came to the Arctic. Not having been defined by others through a treaty, the Inuvialuit were able to determine for themselves who they were."

Losing control

Bob DeLury, COPE Chief Negotiator noted this about the government in the Northwest Territories,

Traditional Inuit qayaqs

The Cockney family on their schooner *Saucy Jane*: (L-R) Angus, Jimmy, Qinyuran and Lucy.

Hospitalization became common as outsiders brought epidemics to the region.

A group of aboriginal girls at residential school.

"In 1963 the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) developed a proposal for provinces to take over all responsibilities for native people. This was rejected. However, the policy was pursued in the NWT. The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) was set up like a huge reserve: jurisdictionally and operationally; dependency, welfare mentality, public housing, etc., no tax base, introspective, isolationist. Instead of 'Indian Agents' there were the Commissioner and his employees. DIAND turned over many responsibilities they had through treaty and 'Indian and Inuit' policy to GNWT: game, education and health. The size of GNWT grew rapidly from 75 employees in 1967 to 2,845 in 1979." It is notable that DIAND did not even mention "Inuit" within its name, an indication of the Canadian government's failure to recognize the Inuit / Inuvialuit.

When outsiders first came to Inuvialuit territory, they tried to adapt to Inuvialuit culture. Gradually, as trading posts gave way to government, and more southerners entered the area, the Inuvialuit found themselves subject to government regulations without prior consultation. International agreements such as the Migratory Bird Convention between the governments of the United States and Canada were signed into law without Inuvialuit input, even though such agreements impacted and restricted traditional Inuvialuit lifestyle.

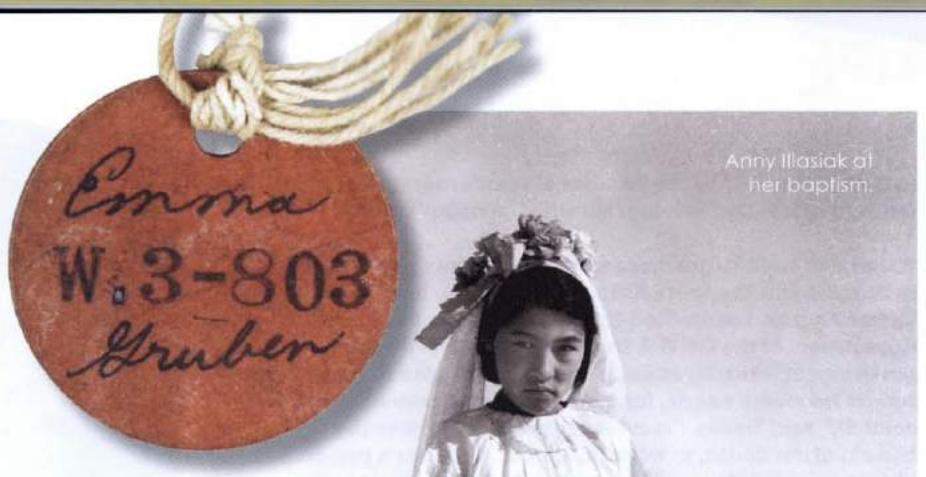
The government's view was that the British discovered all the land in the North about a hundred years before confederation, and had transferred their rights over these lands to the newly formed country of Canada. Government then believed assimilation of aboriginal peoples would be in the country's best interests. Families were torn apart as Inuvialuit children were taken from their parents to attend residential schools for years at a time. Peter Green, former President of COPE said, "Children like myself, who were living in coastal communities, were not allowed to go home. I lived apart from my family for eight years without a break. The impact of the residential school system was deeply negative, it created social disjoints and instability, leading to social problems."

"Our forefathers were proud, independent people. Then government imposed regulations on traditional activities contrary to traditional lifestyle and and often in conflict with traditional knowledge. For example, in the Delta, new laws required Inuvialuit to register their traplines. Such restrictions caused difficulty and hardship," said Joey Carpenter, Vice-Chair of the Sachs Harbour Hunters and Trappers Committee.

Inuvialuit were also encouraged to leave their nomadic lifestyle for permanent government settlements. COPE fieldworker Lillian Elias remembers moving from a small Inuvialuit community in the Delta, to the town of Inuvik. While there were clear rules based on mutual respect and sharing in her village, Inuvik was a confusion of economic hierarchies and social problems. Lillian was then twelve years old. Her father, previously a self-sustaining harvester, had to take on a janitorial job in town. Aboriginal people worked as labourers to build the houses that rich southerners would live in, while they lived in 'tent towns' without sewage, electric heat or running water.

"The Hudson's Bay Company, the mission, the police, the government, and the oil companies have always come to the North because they wanted something for themselves and they

used their legislative and regulatory powers to get it. Always, this meant changing the Inuvialuit in some way, like getting them to follow a certain religion, or follow certain laws, or to hunt and trap for certain animals instead of others, or to speak another language, or to run their lives by a clock instead of by the sun, the weather and the seasons. The Inuvialuit couldn't change the educational system, or the hospital system, or the housing program, or the oil company's activities, or the game laws. The government really only offers native people token power," noted Peter Usher, in his 1973 report for COPE.

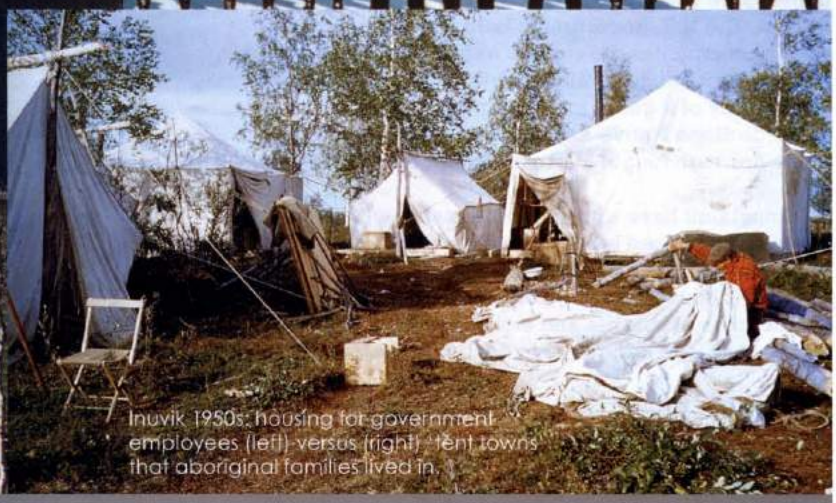



Anny Illasiak at her baptism.

Impetus

Change became impossible to ignore by the 1960s. The Government of Canada, viewing Inuvialuit lands as crown lands, gave away permits for exploration without consulting the Inuvialuit. Hunters and trappers saw their way of life threatened. Seismic exploration disrupted wildlife migration and trap lines. Neither Government nor Industry listened

Shopping at stores becomes common in the 1960s.


Inuvik 1950s: housing for government employees (left) versus (right) "tent towns" that aboriginal families lived in.

to their concerns. As the number of southerners grew, they felt less compelled to integrate with Inuvialuit society.

"Inuvialuit tried to get more aggressive. They participated in Hunters and Trappers Associations (HTA), but these were set up and controlled by the Renewable Resources Department of the GNWT. Inuvialuit tried to redirect government thinking so social programs for the region would reflect Inuvialuit needs, for example through the education council," said Nellie. "Inuvialuit always try to give the benefit of the doubt, to work things out, but after a period of time, more and more intervention in our interests in the region finally provoked us to find a way to deal with it."

Randal Pokiak remembered joining the Tuktoyaktuk HTA in 1970. "The government was giving leases for exploration, to Esso and Gulf on the East Side of the Mackenzie River. That was the designated group trapping area for Tuktoyaktuk, the only area where we were allowed to trap and hunt," he said. "Oil companies filled out an application for DIAND when they wanted an exploration permit. By the time the oil companies came to Tuk to speak to us, they had already been given their permits. So what good was our response to the application now? To me, it didn't make sense," he said. "We tried to bring this to the attention of Government and Industry, but by the time our mail goes out and we receive a response, Industry has already started their activity."

Beyond the impetus of exploration, Inuvialuit were also concerned about the erosion of their cultural roots. "There was a substantial gap for people, between their traditional roots and the modern society. It was not just about the alienation of land for exploration, but our culture, our traditional games, our language, and our drum dancing were disappearing. So the claim was not only about the economics but the social well-being of the Inuvialuit," said Nellie.

In 1968, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline was proposed in Canada. A government and industry organization, "Task Force on Northern Oil Development" was formed. Oil was discovered at Atkinson Point, near Tuktoyaktuk in 1970, and exploration began to happen at a frantic pace. The Government of Canada was alienating Inuvialuit lands for development, without any consultation with the Inuvialuit.

In the same year, oil was discovered at Prudhoe Bay in Alaska. The U.S. government held a lease sale to give energy companies the right to explore for oil. In one day, the government generated $1 billion in lease sale revenue, without any of it going to the Inupiat. Acting under the name of Arctic Slope Native Association, the Inupiat of the North Slope Borough fought to press a claim on their land.

The Inuvialuit have a strong relationship with the Inupiat. Eben Hopson, then leader of the Alaskan Inupiat, actively provided advice to the Inuvialuit based on experience gained from their land claim negotiations. He focused particularly on the areas of wildlife and environment, which he felt they were not able to adequately address in their settlement.

The idea of a native rights organization, run by and for native people themselves, was new in the North. The NWT Indian

Photos: (L-R, top to bottom) Charlie Thrasher working for the oil industry; An Inuvialuk looks at a new fuel storage facility in Inuvik; news clippings from Inuvialuit magazine in the 1981.

Oil Spills: *Can Industry Handle Them?*

All photos courtesy of Dome Petroleum.

On August 30, an oil spill took place in Tuk Harbour from a slops barge carrying a mixture of oil and water in its tanks. High winds caused the barge to swamp, and it partially sank. Dome Petroleum's oil spill response team had the barge towed to shallow water, where they pumped air into the barge to refloat it. In pumping air into the barge, they pumped some of the oil-and-water mixture out into the harbour, where attempts were made to contain it by booms. At first, they said the spilled mixture amounted to one or two barrels. Later they revised that estimate to 80 to 100 barrels, or about 4000 gallons, of the oil-and-water mixture.

This was a relatively minor spill, but it once again raised the question of industry's ability to handle oil spills. A June 1981 report prepared by Dome, Esso, and Gulf on Beaufort Sea oil and gas production to the year 2000 predicts massive activity. As such production increases in the Beaufort Sea, the likelihood of spills and blowouts will also increase. Industry is aware of these dangers and has conducted experiments to test their ability to handle accidents and to find out what happens when oil is spilled. One such experiment was Dome's Oil and Gas Under Sea Ice experiment conducted in the winter and spring of 1979 and 1980. The final report on that experiment was published in August 1981.

Dome Under Sea Ice Oil Spill Experiment

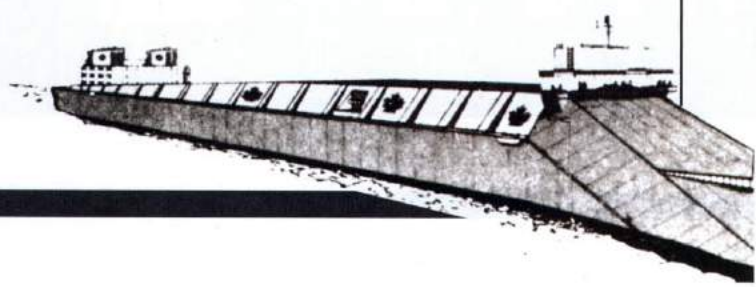
In the experiment, a mixture of crude oil and air (to take the place of natural gas) was released from the

Preparing the discharge sled for lowering to the ocean floor.

Dropping igniter into oil pool on the surface of the ice.

Igniter starting oil burning.

Oil Industry Plans for Beaufort Draw Criticism



Agnes Semmler

Habitat Conference 1975

Agnes Semmler, who would become the first President of COPE, said this at the 1975 Habitat Conference held in Vancouver. "This land is the basis of our life and society. We have depended on this land for thousands of years. This has always been our land. We never gave the land away in treaties, nor sold it for money, nor lost it through war. We freely share our land with the white people who came North. We shared the game, the fish, and the furs. Initially, there were only a few white people, and even though the native people began to trade furs for southern goods, life was not too different. We moved freely across the land following the caribou, the seals, the whales and the geese...Now that has changed, the white man has discovered far more than furs. He has discovered oil, gas and minerals under the land and in the sea. Suddenly we are told that this land is no longer our land, that it is "crown land" to be controlled and developed by Ottawa for the good of all Canadians."

"Oil companies filled out an application for DIAND when they wanted an exploration permit. By the time the oil companies came to Tuktoyaktuk to speak to us, they had already been given their permits. So what good was our response to the application now? To me, it didn't make sense. We tried to bring this to the attention of Government and Industry, but by the time our mail goes out and we receive a response, Industry has already started their activity."

Brotherhood had been formed shortly before, but in early 1970, it was active only around Yellowknife and Fort Rae. In 1969, Agnes Semmler and Wally Firth had attended a meeting with the NWT Indian Brotherhood in Fort Rae. Some Brotherhood members feared that including Metis and Inuit would dilute their treaty rights. There were no Inuit organizations at that time. The people in the Western Arctic needed to establish their own organization.

The Beginnings of COPE

Agnes Semmler remembered setting up covert meetings to determine an effective approach to resolve this issue. She said to Tusaayaksat in 1983, "We had Dene, Metis, everybody, on that first board. Nellie was working for the CBC and I for the government, so all the meetings had to be in secret. The Commissioner of GNWT found out right away," she said.

Nineteen native people met together in a craft shop in Inuvik on the night of 28th January 1970, for two and a half hours. Victor Allen made a motion for an

organization to be formed, to prevent further destruction of aboriginal rights. A lawyer, Brian Purdy, who was volunteering his services in secret, suggested that the organization be called COPE, Committee of Original People's Entitlement. Officers were then selected: Agnes Semmler, Victor Allen, Jim Koe, Bertha Allen and Jessie Amos. It was agreed that the main objective of COPE would be to provide a united voice for all the original people of the Northwest Territories. Kenneth Peeloolook then moved that the second aim should be to work for the establishment and the realization of native rights.

"We functioned as a group of activists, with links to the eastern Arctic, the southern Mackenzie and the central Arctic. It was unusual in those days, and disconcerting to the newly formed GNWT. The Commissioner appointed most of his officials. He had his plan, to set up hamlet councils and institutions, to set direction for the programs and services that would be brought in. And we had questions about whether his institutions had the right to make these decisions," said Nellie. "We established COPE because government only seemed to want to deal with institutions that were incorporated or legal bodies."

One of the first things COPE did was to help organize the Conference of Arctic Native People, in Coppermine (1970). This was the first time native people from all across the north spoke collectively to government about recognizing aboriginal rights. The delegates communicated to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, demanding that he recognize the aboriginal rights of Inuit in their land. DIAND's response was absolute disapproval.

COPE's initial membership included Inuit, treaty Indians and Metis. The membership was united, but due to the vast distances, travel costs were prohibitive, especially because members had to pay out of their own pockets. Metis then formed their own organization when funding became available from the federal Secretary of State. In August 1971, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), a national Inuit organization was formed.

Initial Successes

In 1970, the idea of actually stopping the oil companies seemed almost impossible. Sachs Harbour went against government and oil exploration company Demonex when seismic exploration threatened wildlife in the area.

Banks Islanders appealed to the government to protect them, but government took the side of the oil companies. Sachs Harbour people were members of COPE. Through the COPE connection, the people of Banks Island learned from the mainland experience. They hired a lawyer to represent them and were ready to take legal action against the oil companies. COPE publicized the case and put pressure on the government. As a result, then DIAND Minister Jean Chrétien went to Sachs Harbour to settle on conditions and terms requested by Banks Islanders. "Southern Canadians protested against the government handling of this case, and the government had to control exploration more strictly after that," observed Peter Usher in his 1973 report for COPE.

The federal Territorial Land Use Regulations were implemented a year after the Sachs Harbour seismic conflict, to manage land access in the territories. Two years later, when Esso Resources proposed a summer seismic program in the Cape Bathurst and Husky Lakes areas, the people of Tuktoyaktuk demanded an environmental protection plan. They were able to shut out oil companies for a year. Husky Lakes was a sacred traditional area, where Inuvialuit families have spring retreats. Tuktoyaktuk Inuvialuit knew about a similar seismic program that took place in the Mackenzie Basin and believed it had an adverse effect on wildlife. Contrary to Inuvialuit wishes, the government gave Esso Resources a permit to proceed, conditional upon having an Inuvialuit Environmental Monitor at the site. The Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) would also conduct inspections, with the ability to shut down the project if the environment was adversely affected. After the activation of the first seismic line, fish floated to the surface of the lake. The environmental officer contacted DFO, and the seismic operation was halted.

Concurrently, Gulf Canada sought land access close to Parson's Lake, where oil and gas reserves were being discovered. Gulf also wanted to establish a base camp on the edge of Husky Lakes, and to explore in the areas of Husky Lakes, Liverpool Bay and the narrows connecting the chain of lakes. Gulf's plans deeply

concerned Tuk Inuvialuit. COPE demanded the Minister of DIAND freeze oil and gas exploration in the area. The Minister complied and a land freeze was put in place until the Inuvialuit land claims were settled.

Exploration expanded from being land-based, to the waters of the Canadian Basin and the Beaufort Sea. Oil companies brought drilling platforms, artificial islands, drill ships, icebreakers and ice-class supply vessels into the Tuktoyaktuk area. Oil companies planned collectively to extend the Dempster Highway to Tuktoyaktuk, for convenient access to their base camps. Industry and Government made "sweetheart" deals, which gave them both the legal and financial powers to have the development they wanted on Inuvialuit lands. The proposed highway extension would alienate significant areas of land that were part of the Inuvialuit land selections. COPE had ITC represent the people of Tuktoyaktuk. It also used every possible means to draw attention to the social and environmental impacts on Tuktoyaktuk. It questioned publicly the lack of a social impact fund, which should accompany a government affiliated mega project. A moratorium was finally imposed on the extension of the Dempster Highway to Tuktoyaktuk, which lasted until the Inuvialuit land claims were resolved.

COPE later arranged for representation of Holman people at land use meetings, on behalf of ITC.

Until 1984, COPE continued stand up against unwanted industry and government land development in the Inuvialuit communities.

ITC or ITK?

The national Inuit organization for Canada, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) was formerly known as Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). Founded in 1971, the organization represents and promotes the interests of Inuit. In its history, ITK has been effective and successful at advancing Inuit interests by forging constructive and co-operative relationships with different levels of government in Canada, notably in the area of comprehensive land claim settlements, and representing Inuit during the constitutional talks of the 1980s.

Photos: (L-R) Top to bottom: AGM in Tuktoyaktuk -- COPE negotiators Renie Arey, Andy Carpenter and Peter Green; delegates Mona Felix and Freeman Kimiksana; negotiator Mark Noksana; (bottom row) delegates at 1977 COPE AGM in Holman: (left) Edward Ruben; (middle) Lena Selamio.

Outside influences on Land Claims

Robert Kuptana was twenty-four years old, and hunting seal in the Holman area when he met his wife Agnes. He had noticed changes brought by development to the land, and became politically aware when he moved to the settlement of Holman. "While we were nomadic, the only communications we heard was AM radio on "skip" from Edmonton or Dawson City," he said. "When we moved into the settlement in the sixties, we became aware of mining and oil companies having an impact on our world."

He remembers watching the Calder case closely as it was battled out in the Supreme Court of Canada. "Calder was an aboriginal person of Nisga'a descent," said Robert. "In 1968 he took the BC government to court, he wanted to provoke the government, to prove that he had aboriginal rights to harvest even though government said otherwise." When the case went to the Supreme Court of Canada, the judges were equally divided on whether the Nisga'a retained title of their land. The appeal was ultimately dismissed because four of the seven judges had found that the Nisga'a should have sought permission to sue. Nevertheless, this 1973 decision was highly significant, as six judges of the Supreme Court held that Aboriginal title is part of Canadian law, and that the Nisga'a had once held such title. "The government had won on a technicality, not on the merits of its case. This court decision surprised the Government of Canada. The Comprehensive Claims Policy was set up six months after, to prevent any more testing of aboriginal rights in court," said Robert.

Grassroots approach

The Comprehensive Land Claims Policy was created to achieve certainty with respect to lands and resources in Canada, where Aboriginal rights were not resolved by treaty or other lawful means. From 1974 to 1976, COPE was a regional organization in the broader ITC land claims process. COPE contributed immensely to the Land Use and Occupancy Studies required as evidence for the claim.

COPE rallied at the grassroots level, galvanizing many to become fieldworkers. The fieldworker approach was intensive. Visits were made to every household in the communities to ensure that people understood what COPE stood for, and that they supported the idea of a land claim. 24,000 interviews were conducted, where COPE fieldworkers and translators sought the views and knowledge of the people it wanted to represent.

Randal Pokiak was in his early twenties when he began working for COPE. Over a decade he was a negotiator and the first President of IDC. He remembered going to every community in the ISR for COPE. "COPE wanted to be ready for land selection. We had to find out what the Inuvialuit thought about land selections, what did they want to keep, and what part were they willing to give up?" he said.

"The families would say why they had established themselves in a certain area: there's fish, caribou, muskox, polar bears; they grew up there; they had family in a certain area. So when you put everything together, nobody wanted to give up anything," he laughed.

Delegates at COPE 10th AGM 1983.

Randal found that "COPE opened a door for me to get in touch with every home." The elders accepted and nurtured him, impressing upon him the importance of the land.

"They took me under their wing. They didn't need to explain to me how it felt to be out there," he said. "I know, the smells, the sounds, the feeling, the physical side of it, I was part of them. 'The elders, the ones that speak Inuvialuktun, said what's going to happen? I don't have much longer to live, what am I leaving behind?' COPE was trying to help get what they wanted for their children and grandchildren. The elders held so much hope, they were going after a dream. After our interviews, some elders would come to me. They looked at me, and said, 'Are you going to go all the way with us, are you going to commit yourself to the Inuvialuit, Randal?' I said yes," he remembered.

The commitment of COPE and the people who supported it was key, as the battle was uphill from then on. It took another ten years, before the Inuvialuit signed the IFA with the Government of Canada.

The Nunavut Proposal is withdrawn

In October 1975, Western Arctic delegates gathered at the Inuit land claims conference. "We went to ratify the Nunavut proposal in Pond Inlet. We were part of the team," said Randal.

On February 27th 1976, the Nunavut land claim proposal was presented by ITC to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Clarification meetings and workshops were held with government, and a response was expected

Eddie Gruben, Bertha Ruben and Mark Noksana at COPE AGM in Tuktoyaktuk.

COPE President Sam Raddi presenting *Inuvialuit Nunangat* to DIAND Minister Warren Allmand.

"That left me with no choice. I had to go back to the people of the Western Arctic and get votes on a regional settlement," said Sam Raddi, in a 1977 COPE land rights work progress report. Fieldworkers spent an average of two hours in every home explaining the situation."

within three months. In September that year, ITC's board decided the proposal needed to be withdrawn and rewritten. This was a shock for COPE, as the Western Arctic was facing more pressure to develop than the East. The reasons for withdrawal included concerns about defining beneficiary eligibility. Others were worried that the proposed Nunavut government would be no different than the GNWT.

In November 1976, Sam Raddi (COPE President from 1975 - 1980) and Garret Ruben (then COPE Vice-President) went to Ottawa for an ITC Board meeting, where they presented a ten-page statement explaining the feelings of people in Sachs Harbour, Paulatuk, and other Inuvialuit from Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. The people were upset that they had not been consulted before the claims were withdrawn. Sam asked that ITC re-present its proposal to the Government of Canada immediately. His motion was not supported.

"That left me with no choice. I had to go back to the people of the Western Arctic and get votes on a regional settlement," said Sam, in a 1977 COPE land rights work progress report. Fieldworkers spent an average of two hours in every home explaining the situation. Votes were then taken to determine if COPE had the mandate to pursue a regional land claim on behalf of the Inuvialuit. "There was a very high return of ballots, about 95% of eligible voters (Inuvialuit over 16 years old) voted. 98-99% of people voted in favour of a land claims settlement," Sam reported.

By then, the Inuvialuit had become highly politicized, as pressure for development built. The Canadian Arctic Gas Study Group had submitted an application to build the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, DOME had received approval for offshore drilling, and the NEB process for a pipeline in Alberta and Norman Wells had begun. Results from the Berger Inquiry were expected in 1977. COPE participated in the Berger Inquiry, conducting fieldwork to collect scientific and traditional knowledge. The North Slope Inupiat, who had achieved their land claims settlement in 1971, provided a loan to help the Inuvialuit pursue their claim. COPE recruited consultants who had worked on the Nunavut proposal.

Inuvialuit Nunangat

Inuvialuit Nunangat, meaning 'the land of the Inuvialuit', became the first Inuvialuit specific land claims proposal. The prep work that went into the Nunavut proposal was reassessed and used to prepare the first draft. From March to April 1977, the proposal was redrafted 16 times, as a result of intensive discussions undertaken by the fieldworkers in the communities, and the three workshops held in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik.

Former COPE President Peter Green recalls, "There are three goals to the IFA. We wanted to make sure there were provisions in the agreement to maintain and to keep what the Inuvialuit always stood for and where we came from: how we lived, what language we spoke, where we hunted, how we fished, and trapped. Our livelihoods must be preserved. The second goal was to ensure that we have equal and meaningful participation in the northern and the national economy and society. That meant we did not want to be treated differently, or in any way that would diminish our place in the Canadian economy. We wanted to be full partners in businesses happening around us, we wanted to ensure that we benefited when others were benefiting, from our lands. The third goal was to ensure that the environment and the wildlife were protected."

Inuvialuit Nunangat was presented to DIAND Minister Warren Allmand on May 13, 1977, the same day as the release of the Berger Report. This was not planned, but it was a strategic opportunity. Inuvialuit Nunangat opens with this message to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Minister Allmand, saying the Inuvialuit at this time "unequivocally ... do not want" a pipeline, and "we speak not as a people who

Negotiations resume in 1982: (Left) COPE chief negotiator Bob DeLury, Federal Chief Negotiator Simon Reisman and COPE negotiators meeting in Inuvik.

are desperate, but we hold no illusions. All we ask – and we implore you both personally – please understand what we are saying and meet with us to resolve any question, and give us the dignity of settling the question of our land rights before any further significant northern development."

The months May, June and July were spent by the negotiators meeting with the Office of Native Claims (ONC), Minister of DIAND, other cabinet ministers, and other government departments such as Finance, Energy, Mines and Resources, Environment and Fisheries to clarify and support the proposal.

Negotiations

There was a negotiator from each community. Robert Kuptana represented Holman. He remembered the intensive strategy sessions in preparation for the negotiations. "We had to set strong intention, to fight for the things that we wanted," he said. "We had strong leadership, with Sam Raddi, Agnes Semmler, Nellie Cournoyea, and our chief negotiator Bob DeLury. Fieldworkers were equally important, they worked to get direction from the people to the negotiators. Many of our negotiators have passed on: Sam Raddi, Nelson Green, Tom Arey Jr., Charlie Haogak, Wallace Goose—we all learnt to work as a team. The government came up with a lot of excuses to deny our demands, but they had a five-day workweek. We took advantage of the weekend to continue our strategizing. Our leaders would ask, 'What are you going to say if government says you don't have a right to that?' We practiced our answers and became stronger, 'I used to live there, I step on it, I hunt in it, I get my food from it, and it's my 'store'.' And if the government said, 'We need to preserve this land for Canada,' we had to say, 'Are you saying we are not Canadian? We are Canadian. We were the first Canadians.'"

"They told us we didn't need the claim. The government will look after you, they said. One of them went as far as saying, you don't know how to handle money, if you were given compensation, you will drink it up, you will buy chocolates, you will buy chips and pop, you are just going to blow it. And then you are going to cause the government more problems, because you will be in a worse state than when you started. That made us really mad, really upset."

A satorical cartoon from *Inuvialuit* magazine in 1982, showing Simon Reisman in a game of 'Mouth Pull' with COPE.

By the time of COPE's August 1977 Annual General Meeting in Holman, government had not given an answer. It came at a large meeting in September. In a presumptuous response, DIAND said that this proposal was not really what the Inuvialuit wanted and was not 'in their best interests'. The government was not prepared to give the proposal serious consideration. Finding this response unacceptable, COPE prepared to take court action on Aboriginal title. In November, a new DIAND Minister Hugh Faulker met with COPE.

The Minister and then President of COPE Sam Raddi agreed to set up a joint working group to try one more time to reach an agreement. After a month of negotiations, the first agreement was reached on wildlife and was made public on December 8, 1977. The Joint Working Group started a week later to work on the issue of Inuvialuit lands.

A Joint Position Paper was signed July 14, 1978. It was 106 pages long, and contained all the major elements of the final agreement. The Inuvialuit stated, "We do not see a Final Agreement as similar to the treaties of the last century, which functioned mainly to achieve a final solution to the surrender of native land in exchange for money, reserves, and interim services until the native people could blend into the mainstream of society."

Randal Pokiak, then COPE negotiator remembered, "We were in Ottawa to ratify the Agreement-in-Principle (AiP). It was suggested that we go to a government interdepartmental meeting in Ottawa the next day, to give these departments a preview of the Agreement-in-Principal."

"We had to put on a 'dog and pony show' to these departments, to get them to support our claim. We went through each section of the proposed agreement, and then we opened for questions. Finally one of the government officials said, 'Why do you want the claim? The government could look after you.' That was how he started off. There was a big audience there."

"They told us we didn't need the claim. The government will look after you, they said. One of them went as far as saying, you don't know how to handle money, if you were given compensation, you will drink it up, you will buy chocolates, you will buy chips and pop, you are just going to blow it. And then you are going to cause the government more problems, because you will be in a worse state than when you started. That made us really mad, really upset," Randal said.

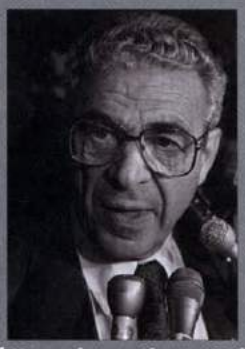
"It caught Sam by surprise, and he paused and could only say, 'Because'," Randal laughed. "What else could you say? 'Because'. To us, 'because' means a lot. It was everything we put in so much effort for. To them it was nothing. All this time, they did not get our message. The negotiators all got up at the same time and Sam said, 'We'll see you in court. I don't think you are negotiating in good faith.' So we walked out, we went back to the hotel. We were at a loss. Do we have to go to court now?"

COPE's lawyers flew to Ottawa immediately. A thorough case for court action to prove Inuvialuit title had been prepared over the last two years. COPE had been trying to conserve every cent, choosing the most economical travel and accommodation options, in case of a contingency like this.

"It seemed like an eternity as the COPE team considered their options in the hotel room. Then the phone rang. It was the Minister of DIAND. The government had presumably checked on COPE's finances and realized they had the resources to sue. "I guess the government felt that they had gone too far. Our consultants said there's a good chance to clean the table on the government's side. We agreed to go back to negotiations if some people were replaced on the government team. Then serious negotiations started, the government was finally ready to look at the clauses we had prepared," Randal said.

On October 31, 1978, the Agreement-in-Principal was signed in Sachs Harbour, between COPE and the Government of Canada. Land withdrawals and advance payments were made so the Inuvialuit could begin setting up structures to implement the Final Agreement. The Inuvialuit Development Corporation and the Inuvialuit Game Council were the first structures to be set up.

COPE negotiators Nelson Green and Andy Carpenter at an AGM in Holman (1983).



Federal Chief Negotiator Simon Reisman

Simon Reisman (June 19, 1919 - March 9, 2008) served the Canadian government in positions of high stature throughout his career. He was a member of Canada's delegation to the inaugural session of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in the late 1940s, and made major contributions toward the drafting of the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact. Reisman rose to senior positions in the public service, including deputy minister in the Department of Finance and the Department of Industry. In October 1982, he was appointed as Federal Chief Negotiator of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. His appointment was a clear indication to COPE that the government of Canada was finally serious about reaching an agreement on the Inuvialuit land claims. Following the election of Brian Mulroney, Reisman sent the new prime minister a memo advocating free trade negotiations with the United States. Mulroney accepted Reisman's plan and in 1985 appointed him to lead Canada's trade negotiations with the United States. The Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (FTA) was signed by Canada and the United States on October 4, 1988.

Sam Raddi speaking at the signing of the AiP in Sachs Harbour, 1978.

David Ruben signing the AiP;
Ralph Kimiksana drum dancing at the AiP ceremony.

Changing governments

It would be another six years before the IFA was signed. Negotiations started and stalled as federal and territorial elections took place. COPE found itself re-educating a new group of government officials each time. Joe Clark's Conservative government took over in 1979, a new DIAND Minister Jake Epp was appointed. He refused to continue negotiations in good faith.

"It was frustrating. COPE thought we were negotiating with the Government of Canada, not any political party," said Randal.

Peter Green was the President of COPE from 1982 to 1984. He said, "It took 14 long years and the succession of different governments, Liberals, Conservatives, back and forth. We went through six ministers of DIAND. So there were long periods in which we spent just educating people, the ministers, the public, the private sector, and the community people, native organizations, and the oil and gas industry. It was definitely a drain to our energy every time we had to adjust and re-educate."

Setting a precedent

Opposition mounted from other aboriginal groups seeking land claims when the AiP was signed. Only two other land claim agreements were signed before - the James Bay and Northern Quebec agreement in November 1975 and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement in January 1978. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement would be the first land claim agreement signed in the Territories.

John Amagoalik, director ITC Land Claims Commission gave an interview, saying, "I don't think the Inuit have gained anything, and I don't think the government gained anything. I think the multi-national oil companies gained it all. Originally COPE was asking for 165,000 square miles of area traditionally used by Inuvialuit, and they only got title, that included subsurface rights, to 5,000. All that other land is going to the oil companies." He went so far as to say ITC would not recognize the COPE agreement as a precedent, or model for their Nunavut claim. He suggested that there were many people in the Western Arctic who were afraid of COPE, and may have supported the proposed agreement out of fear. "I feel that someone in the Western Arctic should take court action to question the legality of the way COPE ratified the proposed agreement," he said.

COPE supporters understood the circumstances differently having faced at first hand the extreme development pressure. Andy Carpenter said, "We had to negotiate with the government on land rights that was the only way we could get government to the negotiating table. It was the only realistic approach."

"Each time things changed, we had to go back to the people to talk about it, and get their input on how to proceed. Some of them became bored, and did not want to engage anymore. Oh, I don't know how we survived. But when the government was sitting back, we did our own work. The Inuvialuit Game Council, IDC was started, and we started trying to implement programs in the Agreement-in-Principal," he said.

To preserve Inuvialuktun, COPE created the COPE Language Project (1980), training Inuvialuktun teachers and creating the Inuvialuktun Dictionaries. COPE was instrumental to the building of Ingamo Hall (1974), the revivial of the traditional circumpolar northern games (1970 onwards) and traditional drum dancing, the Inuvik Housing Co-op, and a study to assess health conditions and health services (1980). Inuvialuktun language programs were provided to CBC. COPE also arranged through the Minister of National Revenue to help hunters and trappers with tax matters. It sought to keep the Inuvialuit

"It took 14 long years and the succession of different governments, Liberals, Conservatives, back and forth. We went through six ministers of DIAND. So there were long periods in which we spent just educating people, the ministers, the public, the private sector, and the community people, native organizations, and the oil and gas industry. It was definitely a drain to our energy every time we had to adjust and reeducate."

Photos: (Top Left) Sam Raddi shaking hands with DIAND Minister Warren Allmand. (R) Mark Noksana and Allmand. (Bottom) Delma Kisoun at a COPE AGM; Leonard Harry teaching Tradtional Circumpolar Northern Games to children in school.

Swearing in of Nellie Cournoyea as Premier of NWT in 1991.

united by continuing with the grassroots fieldworker approach.

Nellie Cournoyea said, "Being the first to come out of the shoot wasn't easy, and we knew that, but we had people who were committed. We knew that we would stick together as a people, as we had in the past. We were always proud of our many young people who helped. Delma Kisoun was one of them. She was only thirteen when she started. She was willing to take on any task, including a variety of administrative duties. She developed a keen interest and involvement in the cultural and traditional games."

Working from the inside

In 1979, Nellie Cournoyea was elected as MLA of Nunakput, representing the communities of Sachs Harbour, Tuktoyaktuk, Holman and Paulatuk. "It was decided that I should go into politics because we were not getting any support from the territorial government," said Nellie. "The main purpose was to try to diminish some of the barriers that were thrown in front of us. It was not a full time job, I could still devote fifty percent of my time to the claim. I tried to build an understanding of the claims with everybody in government."

Andy Carpenter said, "Nellie was instrumental to the negotiation of the land claim. She was Minister of Renewable Resources and responsible for the Ministry of Information at that time, working from within the government to help us. We had to wait for the Liberals to come into power to start negotiating again. We lost some of our negotiators along the way. We had negotiators from each settlement, Agnes Semmler, Robert Kuptana, Nellie Arey, Renie Arey, Tom Arey Jr., Mark Noksana, Nelson Green and Edward Ruben."

From the excitement and promise of the AiP, progress toward a final agreement

came to a halt. The federal negotiator John Naismith was replaced. The election brought the Conservatives into power. The Yukon Territorial Government was enraged by the AiP and the provisions relating to the Yukon North Slope. It waged a vigorous media campaign against the agreement and those working on it. A different DIAND Minister was appointed.

Further government change

A year later, in 1980,the Liberals returned and John Munro was appointed the DIAND Minister. The Minister sought to get things going again. A new chief negotiator was appointed from outside the bureaucracy, but by December that year it became apparent that the negotiator and Minister wanted to gut key aspects of the AiP. On December 24 that year, the Minister wrote a letter to Senator David G. Steuart, revealing that the government's priorities were still with Industry lobbyists.

In the letter, John Munro said, "The AiP reached between COPE and the Government of Canada in October 1978 is in my opinion, a good agreement. It should be understood, however, that in the process of moving from the level of principles to practical implementation, compromises are essential in order for me to get the full support of my Cabinet colleagues. You will want to ensure that the Final Agreement could be readily implemented to protect the rights of the Inuvialuit but not unduly hamper development in the Western Arctic."

Negotiations broke down and remained so for a year and a half. Attempts were made to cut COPE's funding, to pressure COPE to give in to the government's demands. COPE focused its efforts instead on strengthening IGC and IDC and preparing for negotiations to resume. To counter the government's pressure, COPE sought to frustrate the issuance of development permits.

In December 1982, newly appointed federal negotiator Simon Reisman visited Inuvik, Paulatuk, Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik. He would meet with the COPE negotiating team and local representatives. The four-day visit marked the resumption of negotiations on Inuvialuit land rights, four years after the signing of the AiP.

Photos: (L-R) Top to bottom: Students learning Inuvialuktun; Rosie Albert teaching in the classroom; Inuvik Drummers and Dancers; Alec Gordon drum dancing at the opening ceremony for Ingamo Hall; COPE Language Project: Annie C. Gordon showing how to play traditional string games; Inuvialuktun Language Workshop: Seated, L-R: Donald Kaglik, Nehume Loague, Ronald Lowe, Annie C. Gordon, Mary Elias. Standing: Rosemarie Meyook, Mitsuko Oishi, Larry Osgood, Florence Stevens, Terry Lafoya, Wallace Goose.

Personal Sacrifice

COPE operated on a tight budget throughout, and had major achievements despite the limited finances. Nellie said, "Agnes Semmler rightfully insisted that COPE not take government money. It was important to build the organization from the grassroots, with volunteers who were totally dedicated and who wanted to do it for the sake of the cause, not for money. Once we started negotiating our claim we knew that every cent spent would be deducted from the eventual compensation. We were very frugal, we didn't want to use all the money in negotiations and have nothing in the end."

Andy Carpenter, negotiator for COPE and the first Chair of IGC said, "At first, we sent a team of twenty people to Ottawa. COPE didn't have much money when we started, so we had to keep the costs down, staying in cheap hotels, often paying out of our own pockets." COPE negotiators had a salary of $750 a month, in contrast to oilfield workers, whom Randal remembered were paid almost $4000 every two weeks. Family members of COPE were also affected.

Nellie Arey remembers having to choose between being with her husband Tom Arey Jr., who was a negotiator from Aklavik, and her children. "I used to travel with him a lot. Sometimes we were away for a week and my kids were at home. I missed them a lot because they were still young," she said. Many COPE meetings were held at members' homes, and Nellie remembers having to keep everyone fed and hydrated. Carol, their child, would help her father type and file notes. She followed in his footsteps and is now Chair of the Aklavik Community Corporation.

Randal remembers having to give up his ideal lifestyle as an Inuvialuit harvester, in order to fight for Inuvialuit land rights. He dedicated over a decade to COPE work. He remembered, "Once, I got upset with some of the trappers, I said, you should be more involved with what's going on. They smiled and said, you're talking for us. A trapper can't just come back to town because Industry or Government is going to have a meeting. I mean, the trappers won't be compensated for their time. In their mind, COPE is looking after them. The trappers decided, we will support COPE as long as they are helping us, we will support them."

Sometimes, entire families were drawn to the cause. Annie Goose remembers how hard Wallace Goose, her father-in-law, and Bill Goose, her husband worked for COPE. "Bill and Wallace were fieldworkers at first. My mother-in-law Agnes Goose was a fieldworker too," she said. "People attended meetings and started to understand that the land claim was the solution to their problems. Whatever services we were receiving at that time wasn't enough, or it could be better. When self-government was proposed then, it was called Western Arctic Regional Municipality (WARM), and my late husband Bill and Howard McDermitt, Charlie Haogak, amongst others were going to all the communities to help raise support." Annie said, "I think the biggest sacrifice for many of the IFA workers was having to be away from home — being away as a parent, as a grandparent away from the normal routine of hunting, fishing, eating their own country

food. They had to adapt their thinking to the southern way of doing things, in order to communicate with government. They only got to be home for a certain amount of time before they were off to Ottawa again. They were very committed to making the IFA happen. And I have to say thank you to them. Many are no longer here, but they are here in spirit. They worked hard."

Nunavut Constitutional Forum

In the late seventies, Annie Goose became a translator for COPE and the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA). Holman was in a unique position as the majority of its people had ties to the Eastern Arctic Inuit, who were represented by the KIA. The Eastern Arctic Inuit wanted Holman to be under the Nunavut land claim. The settlement had only recently been promoted to hamlet status, and government services were provided out of Cambridge Bay.

"In the middle of the process for the IFA was the proposed boundary split with the NCF (Nunavut Constitutional Forum). I found myself interpreting for many different groups. There were times I wanted to say my own piece but I couldn't as a translator. I learned about the process and what it meant. It became difficult when we had to choose between COPE and the KIA. Sometimes COPE and KIA would come in at the same time, to have different meetings. There was conflict at times."

"Once, KIA had a meeting in our community. My mother Agnes Nigiyok was in attendance. Two COPE fieldworkers came into the meeting, my father-in-law Wallace, and Robert Kuptana. They were asked to leave. I realized how passionate my mother was about the land claims when she stood up, and said to KIA, 'This is our community. You are visitors to our land too.' She wanted to stand up for our people, who were working for us. In the end the community chose to be with the Inuvialuit claim," she said. "I think the door-to-door fieldwork COPE did has a lot to do with it. People felt their ideas, comments, and direction was heard. It was a choice we made as a community. Today I am very happy to be part of the Inuvialuit claim."

The goal of a Western Arctic Regional Municipality (WARM) was not realized. "We had a network with the Eastern Arctic. Most people knew we were not trying to 'split the Arctic' or have a 'sovereign state of the Inuvialuit'. Regionally, we were trying to structure ourselves over and above the claim, as a regional municipality, like the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. We almost got it to happen, but some of the areas in WARM advocated devolution. We needed a bigger shot at decision-making. The territorial government as a whole did not object because we would still remain part of the territory. But it got to the point when people thought we advocated separating from the NWT. Enough fear amassed that WARM was never passed by the government even though we went through the whole process," she said.

Overcoming Opposition

At the conclusion of substantive negotiations, every other native group negotiating their claim, and their federal and territorial negotiating teams erupted in opposition, fanning public disapproval. In May 1983, Simon Reisman, Chief Federal Negotiator, delayed signing a Memorandum of Understanding, citing federal bureaucrats, the GNWT and the Dene Nation claim and overlap issues that had to be resolved before a final agreement for the Inuvialuit could be reached.

"I think the biggest sacrifice for many of the IFA workers was having to be away from home — being away as a parent, as a grandparent away from the normal routine of hunting, fishing, eating their own country food. They had to adapt their thinking to the southern way of doing things, in order to communicate with government."

Photos: This page (L-R) Top to bottom: Annie Goose working as a translator, Bill Goose speaking at the 1983 COPE AGM, Wallace Goose (second from left) at the 10th COPE AGM. **Next page:** (left) Billy Day telling MLAs Bob McQuarrie and Nick Sibbeston that they have five minutes to convince the Inuvialuit on territory boundary issues; (right) The Inuvialuit Action Group.

Holman or Ulukhatok?

On April 1, 2006 the community of Holman celebrated the hamlet's name change to Ulukhaktok. The hamlet is traditionally known to the Inuvialuit as Ulukhaktok, an Inuvialuktun word meaning 'the place where you get material for ulus'. European explorer J.R. Holman renamed it 'Holman' during the 1853 Inglefield expedition, and the Government of Canada recognized the community by that name. This changed when hamlet elections were held on a possible name change in December 2005. A majority of the voters voted in support of Ulukhaktok. Reclaiming its traditional name affirmed the community's cultural origins.

Bob DeLury denounced this as "a preposterous red herring, and a convenient excuse for those who wish to frustrate the settlement."

Peter Green remembered having to respond to such situations. "In 1984, fourteen people, Metis, and from other native groups opposing the agreement, were led by Stephen Kakfwi to Ottawa, where they presented a four points list to Munro. Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), KIA, the Town Council of Inuvik, the Inuvik Chamber of Commerce, the Inuvialuit Action Group were all against the agreement." Peter assured the public that the agreement had taken overlap issues into account. He said the Agreement recognized the need for other native people to continue to exercise their harvesting rights on the lands claimed by the Inuvialuit. The spirit of the Agreement was that once other native groups settled their claims, shared use of traditional lands could be worked out.

"I would like to see them settle their land settlement as quickly as possible. I think it'll be in their best interests, but as far as trying to use the alleged overlap and so forth to be an issue at this point in time, my suggestion to them is that they go out to Ottawa, get your land claim negotiations going, get a package and come back and let's sort things out," said Peter in a Jan 30th, 1984 CBC interview.

In January 1984, as a draft Final Agreement was finally reached, it was leaked to the press. The draft had yet to be reviewed and ratified by the cabinet or the 2,500 Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic, but it fueled opposition from other aboriginal, Industry and Government groups.

Chris Pearson, then Yukon government leader said Yukoners, both native and non-native, "remain adamantly opposed [to putting] the entire Yukon coastline under the control of COPE in respect to future development." The weight of this objection was further reinforced as it had the support of Eric Neilson, a long-term member of parliament representing Yukon.

TFN, the COPE counterpart representing the Inuit of what is now Nunavut, was also in opposition. Bob Kadlun, President of TFN, wrote a letter to COPE President Peter Green, citing concerns that the IFA "contains provisions which touch upon the legal rights and interests of Inuit represented by the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA) and the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN)."

John Munro felt opponents of the claims settlement wanted to exploit the conflicts and overlapping claims to their advantage. Northern businesses criticized the COPE agreement because they claimed, wrongly, that it granted the Inuvialuit a ten percent preference bid in all government contract bids.

Randal Pokiak said COPE adopted a media strategy, where they only spoke to the media through press statements. "We felt that the claim was between the Inuvialuit and the federal government, and nobody else. This was our region. This was where we lived. It was not a matter of the lifestyle—certainly there were Inuvialuit people in the wage economy, as there were Inuvialuit hunters and trappers, so we were considering both for the AiP."

"We were very cautious about these people trying to tear us apart," said Randal. "Some Inuvialuit were working for Government and Industry, and were scared of losing their wages, their contracts, so they couldn't support COPE publicly. There were some internal politics amongst Inuvialuit."

Inuvialuit Action Group

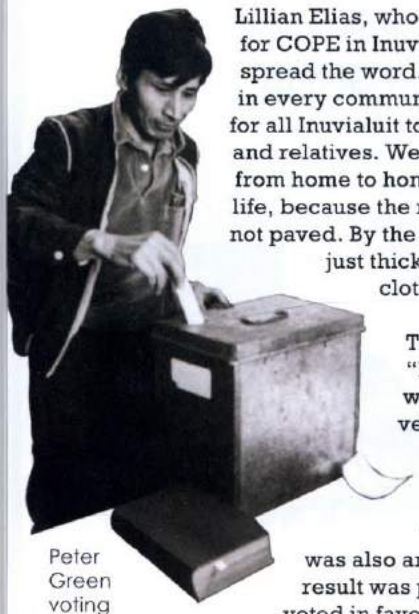
The Inuvialuit Action Group sprang up a few months before the Final Agreement was to be ratified by the Inuvialuit and Cabinet. Randal remembers how COPE stopped them in their tracks. He said, "The Inuvialuit Action Group began to question the AiP publicly. The members of the action group were mostly non-Inuvialuit who had northern businesses, some dealing with the oil and gas industry. Some of them were married to Inuvialuit women. They felt threatened. They said, 'This is a business deal you are talking about. Hunters and trappers put your deal together, they might have missed something. I think you need us, we should be involved'."

The Action Group wanted to drum up support by holding public meetings in all the communities under the . They began in Tuktoyaktuk. Randal happened to be home on a rare break from negotiations, when he received a phone call from Nellie Cournoyea. He was asked to go defend COPE against the Action Group's attacks.

"I was one of the negotiators. Ask me about any of the clauses in the agreement and I can tell you why it's worded the way it is. I walked into their public meeting and someone was trying his best to defend the fieldwork we had done. The Chairman said to him, "Well where is COPE? You said COPE is speaking for you, look around you, where is COPE?" And then I walked in," Randal laughs. "It was just like a drama. It is drama." By the end of the meeting, the people in attendance were on COPE's side. The Inuvialuit Action Group went back to Inuvik and cancelled its plans to spread its agenda further.

Voting

COPE worked hard to get Inuvialuit to come out and vote. The Inuvialuit Communications Society publication, Inuvialuit, advocated: The Final Agreement depends on a good turnout for approval by the Inuvialuit. Two thirds of those who vote must vote in favour.



Peter Green voting

Lillian Elias, who was a fieldworker and translator for COPE in Inuvik remembered the frenzy to spread the word. She said, "We had fieldworkers in every community doing this. We had to look for all Inuvialuit to go vote. We had a lot of friends and relatives. We sat in the back of a truck, going from home to home, sitting on the edge for dear life, because the roads were bumpy—they were not paved. By the time you got home, you were just thick with mud, your hair, your clothes, everything was covered."

To her it was worth all the sacrifices. "I had to let people know what would happen if we were bought out, versus what's going to happen if we negotiate a land claim," she said.

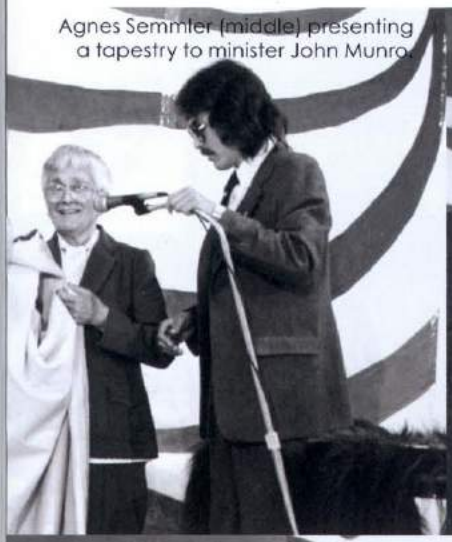
The turnout was high in the vote on the IFA. There was also an advance poll. The final result was positive — 1,193 Inuvialuit voted in favour and 258 against. Out of 1904 eligible voters, 1463 cast ballots.

IFA Signing

The IFA was signed in Tuktoyaktuk on June 5, 1984, between the signatories of COPE and the Government of Canada. Inuvialuit, dignitaries from the governments of Canada, the Yukon, and other native groups filled Kitti Hall in Tuktoyaktuk, to witness this moment in history. Les Carpenter was the master of ceremonies. Agnes Kuptana made a tapestry, 'Inuvialuit Nunangat' which was presented to Minister John Munro.

John Munro spoke about the challenges throughout the negotiations. "They were tough times, acrimonious times, they were bitter times between the federal government,

IFA signing ceremony on June 5th 1984 in Tuktoyaktuk.



Agnes Semmler (middle) presenting a tapestry to minister John Munro

John Munro

Sam Raddi signing the IFA, with Les Carpenter

Anniie C. Gordon and Les Carpenter

Elsie Klengenberg

"The elders were harnessing young people like myself. We were like a dog team. They put us where we were supposed to be, and they were the drivers, they loaded up the sled, and the final agreement was their destination. They were the ones commanding us to the destination, saying chi, cha, wo, whi, they were giving us direction."

myself, and some of the COPE negotiators, because they felt I was not seeing things their way, but there was also an exchange of respect, there was also a tremendous amount of determination—May I say to Peter Green, COPE and your President Sam Raddi, you have achieved something great for the North, something tremendous for the rest of Canada."

Nellie Cournoyea wore a dress that day. She opened with a joke, "I assure you, this is not my dress—I've always told them that you can't boss people around unless you are in pants and a little bit sweaty. I am doing this tonight, just for all the people who worked so hard, the negotiators, and I'll give it back to Frieda Lester when I'm finished with it."

Nellie then addressed the significance of the moment. "On behalf of people in Tuk and in the Western Arctic Region, I'll like to say to Canada and to our friends from nearby regions, we're important. The Arctic might be a frontier land, a very large area few people have seen, but this beautiful area is precious, and dear in our hearts. I don't know if it is possible to mention everybody who took part to achieve our claims, from the youngest person to the oldest person, in all the communities. We still have a lot of work to do, but in all the controversy and all the differences we tried to arrive at an agreement we could live with. I don't believe there was one person in the area who didn't participate."

She concluded, "We were never as an organization afraid of people who felt they had a different view. We learnt from that, it's the Inuvialuit way. People who worked at it really tried to reflect the total opinion of people."

Randal Pokiak remembers his relief as the signatures were laid to paper, and everyone in the room rejoiced. "It was a great feeling for me to know that we finally had it, we had the final agreement, it was an agreement between Canada and the Inuvialuit. I felt that the corporations we put in clauses within the IFA could protect the interests of all the Inuvialuit, from the harvesters all the way to creating business opportunities, training programs and that the youth would be able to develop, and seek respectable jobs within the organizations."

Randal reflects, "The elders, the trappers, they were the backbone of the IFA. They selflessly dedicated themselves

for the future generations. The elders were harnessing young people like myself. We were like a dog team. They put us where we were supposed to be, and they were the drivers, they loaded up the sled, and the final agreement was their destination. They were the ones commanding us to the destination, saying chi, cha, wo, whi, they were giving us direction."

Implementation

After the signing, Inuvialuit were ready to push forward on implementation. Billy Day, COPE board member, and later President, headed up the implementation process for COPE. A negotiator, and a strengthened community team began planning the funding and setting up of structures outlined in IFA. "Although negotiators have been working intensely for the past 8 years and are ready for a well deserved rest, they will help to train new people, to be selected by their communities, and to make sure that the plans follow the intent of the agreement," said an article published in Inuvialuit.

Peter Green was named to head up an interim-lobbying group to help get legislation through parliament. On June 26th 1984, the Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act, with all party agreement passed three readings in one day. The Act was proclaimed on July 25th, 1984. The first meeting of the IRC was on April 1 and 2, 1985. The temporary IRC board resigned, and elections were held to select IRC's first Chair and board, as well as positions in community corporations. By 1988, COPE had fully transitioned to IRC.

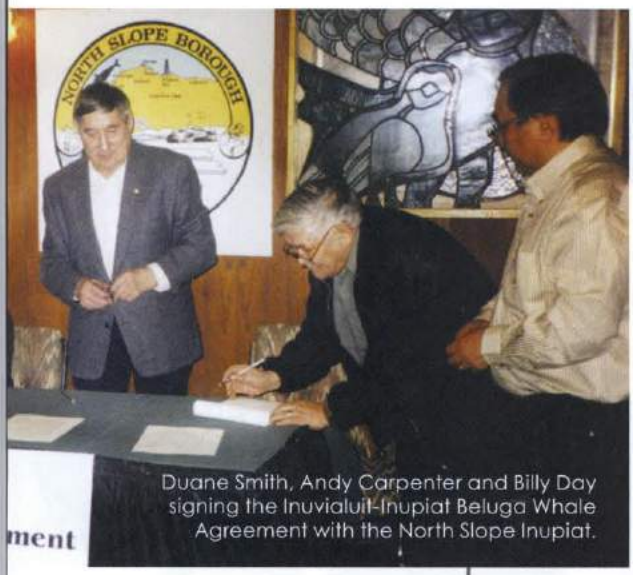
Les Carpenter was the first Chief Regional Councilor of IRC. In an interview with *Inuvialuit*, he said, "The Board and I are all a little apprehensive because everything is in the infant stage." Out of $152 million advanced by the government to the Inuvialuit, $9.675 million spent on negotiations had to be repaid.

IDC entered its first official business venture with DOME Petroleum, supplying a tug boat to operate offshore. Randal Pokiak became the first President and Chair of IDC. He remembered, "With the IFA, before the land claims, it was like we were trapped in a house, looking at all this development through our window, and IDC gave us the opportunity to go outside and look around. We prioritized going into joint ventures with expertise from the south to provide services. The joint ventures were made with us holding the majority of the shares, 51% to 49%," he said. Significant joint ventures include a deal with Nunasi to purchase Northern Transportation Company Limited (NTCL). Randal also helped negotiate with Esso to sell its equipment to Inuvialuit, so they could become contractors, in return for a new 30-year lease on Inuvialuit land. Ivvavik National Park was established as a result of the IFA as was Hershel Island Territorial Park. Through the co-management bodies, Wildlife Management Advisory Councils (NWT and North Slope) and the Environmental Imact Screening Committee and Environmental Impact Review Board, the Inuvialuit finally had a say in how their land was managed and used.

IGC and the co-management boards proved effective. Consultation with community interests was now the rule. Harvest studies were begun, and bartering programs were set up to help Inuvialuit who could not harvest for subsistence. Andy Carpenter was the first Chair of the IGC. He would negotiate the first Polar Bear Management Agreement with the Alaska Inupiat in 1988.

IDC in the early years.

Nellie Cournoyea raising her arm in celebration at IFA signing.



Duane Smith, Andy Carpenter and Billy Day signing the Inuvialuit-Inupiat Beluga Whale Agreement with the North Slope Inupiat.

COPE-IDC float at Inuvik's 25th Anniversary parade.

Far left and this photo: Inuvialuit youth re-enacting IFA signing ceremony in Tuktoyaktuk at the 25th anniversary celebration.

"On behalf of people in Tuk and in the Western Arctic Region, I'll like to say to Canada and to our friends from nearby regions, we're important. The Arctic might be a frontier land, a very large area few people have seen, but this beautiful area is precious, and dear in our hearts."

A beluga harvesting agreement based on this would also be concluded later. Andy said, "Alaska and Greenland even modeled their wildlife accords after the Polar Bear Agreement."

Today

The commitment to the intent of the IFA remains as clear today as it was 25 years ago. The Inuvialuit culture is alive. Both young and old practice drum dancing, and the traditional circumpolar Inuit games are going into their fourth decade, bringing together athletes from all over the circumpolar region. Inuvialuktun is now taught in all ISR schools. A second language curriculum with the goal of rooting Inuvialuit in their culture, language and history has been developed and is in the implementation stage, from kindergarten to grade 12. The Inuvialuit are in a position of strength, with opportunity and choices in harvesting, wildlife management, education, land access, subsurface rights, business and employment. There is independence, pride, comfort and security as landowners.

The institutions established under the claim are strong. The co-management bodies are respected and recognized internationally for their effectiveness. The business and investment corporations, IDC and IIC, are successful and financially very strong. IRC has evolved to a leading and enviable position among aboriginal organizations.

There are obstacles to the fulfillment of the claim, even today. Sheila Fraser, Auditor General of Canada reported to the Canadian House of Commons in 2007, that twenty-three years after the Agreement came into effect, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada had still not developed a strategy for implementing it. In her presentation to the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, she found that the Department had taken no action to monitor progress toward achieving the principles of the Agreement. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada had focused on the letter of its obligations, but had not taken into account the spirit and intent of the agreements.

On the 25th anniversary of the IFA, Randal Pokiak reflects, "It is inspiring that our elders who were unable to speak English could achieve the IFA. Imagine how far our younger generations can go today, with the level of education they have achieved? The future of the Inuvialuit is bright."

Happy 25th Anniversary to all Inuvialuit!


Eddie Gruben


Vince Steen


Pauline Gordon


Bill Goose


Bessie Erigaktoak


Sarah Raddi


Nelson Green

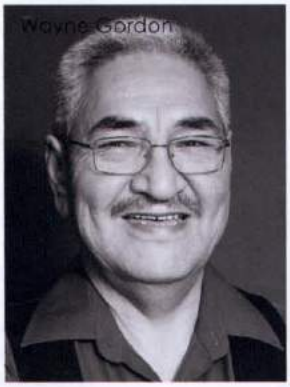

Lena Woiki


Jessie Amos


Emma Dick


Rex Goose


Debbie Gordon-Ruben


Wayne Gordon


Calvin Pokiak


Vince Teddy

PEOPLE IN COPE

Many Inuvialuit have dedicated time and effort to the struggle for Inuvialuit land rights. Sincere gratitude for their contribution to COPE.

AKLAVIK

Alice Selamio
Anna Illasiak
Annie C. Gordon
Annie Banksland
Barbara Allen
Bessie Erigaktoak
Colin Harry
Delma Joe Inglangasuk
Don McWatt
Dorothy Arey
Elizabeth Kowana
Eva Selamio
Frank Elanik, Jr.
Fred Joe
George Allen
Jimmy Gordon
John Banksland
Julie Thrasher
Knute Hansen
Lena Selamio
Lucy Joe
Maria Selamio
Martha Arey
Mary Ruth Meyook
Nellie Gruben
Peter Joe
Peter Thrasher
Renie Arey
Richard Papik
Robert McLeod
Roy Hansen
Sadie Whitbread
Sarah Dillon
Sarah Meyook

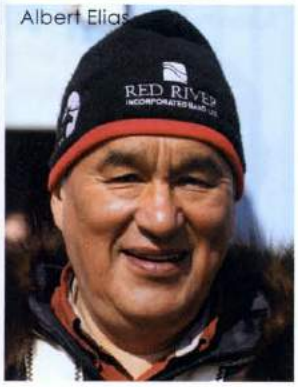

Edward Ruben


Elsie Klengenberg


Victor Allen


Annie Banksland


John Banksland


Albert Elias

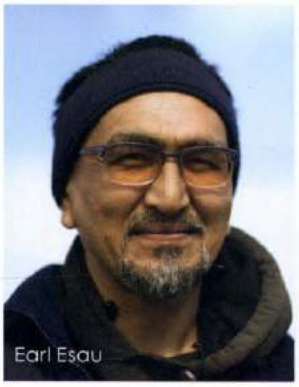

Annie C. Gordon


Dorothy Arey


Elizabeth Banksland


Eileen Thrasher


Jimmy Komeak


Earl Esau


Eddie Dillon


Billy Ruben


Agnes Goose

Sarah Tingmiak
Simon Bennett
Tom Arey, Jr.
Tommy Gordon
Verna Archie
Wayne Gordon
Winnie Cockney
Winnie Elanik

INUVIK

Agnes Semmler
Alma S. Raddi
Bertha Allen
Billy Day
Bob DeLury
Carol Dick
Connie Ballas
Delma Kisoun
Emma Dick
Ernie Bernhardt
Esther McLeod
Frank Elanik
Fred Joe Inglangasuk
Gloria Wainman
Jessie Amos
Jimmy Gordon
Johnny Lennie
Kenneth Peeloolook
Lillian Elias
Lily Elias
Lorna Moore
Mabel Allen
Marcy Tingmiak
Mary Kaglik
Mary Teddy
Nellie Cournoyea
Paul Kailek
Rosie Albert
Russell Newmark
Sam Raddi
Shirley Kisoun
Susan Peffer
Valerie Steffanson
Victor Allen
Winnie Dick

PAULATUK

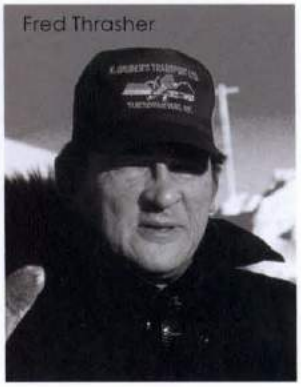
Adam Ruben
Albert Ruben
Bertha Ruben
Billy Ruben
David Ruben
Dennis Thrasher
Edward Ruben
Eileen Thrasher
Francis Ruben
Fred Thrasher
Garrett Ruben
Gilbert Thrasher
James Ruben
Lena Ruben
Lily Green
Lynn Ruben
Mary Evik Ruben
Nelson Green
Noel Green
Nora Ruben
Pat Ruben


Frank Cockney


Garrett Ruben

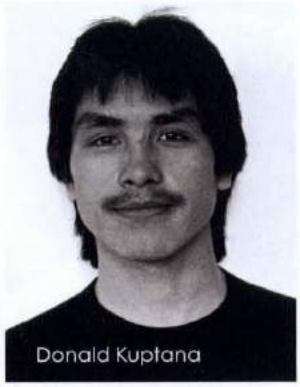

Charlie Haogak


Lily Elias


Fred Thrasher


Shirley Kisoun


David Ruben


Donald Kuptana


Betty Haogak


Susan Peffer


Sweeny Loreen


Billy Day


Jimmy Gordon


Mabel Steffanson


Sheila Nasogaluak

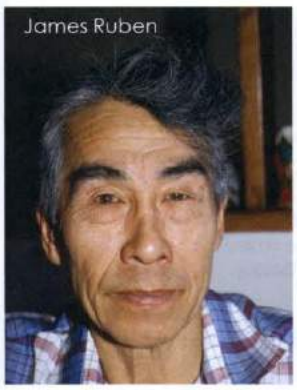
Peter Green
Ruben Green
Sam Green
Tony Green
Wallace Anikina

SACHS HARBOUR

Alexandria Elias
Andy Carpenter
Betty Haogak
Beverly Amos
Beverly Esau
Charles Haogak
David Nasogaluak
Ernest Pokiak
Earl Esau
Eli Nasogaluak
Frederick Raddi
Glen Carpenter
Jackie Kuptana
Joe Kudlak
Larry Carpenter
Lena Wolki
Les Carpenter
Martha Kudlak
Mary Elias
Mike Amos
Peter Esau
Rita Carpenter
Samantha Lucas
Sheila Elias
Shirley Esau
Terri Nokadlak
Winnie Carpenter
Yvonne Elias

TUKTOYAKTUK

Ada Carpenter
Ada Raymond
Agnes White
Andy Jacobson
Anne Ettagiak
Anne Noksana
Bert Kimiksana
Bertram Pokiak
Bessie Pokiak
Bessie Kuptana
Beverly Kimiksana
Bobby Chicksi
Bobby Gruben
Calvin Pokiak
Charles Gruben
Charlie Gruben
Charles Komeak
Christina Noksana
David Noksana
Eddie Dillon
Eddie Gruben
Eileen Jacobson
Emma Elias
Emmanuel Felix Sr.
Florence Avik
Frank Cockney
Fred Wolki
Freeman Kimiksana
Gayle Ovayuak
Henry Andreason
Irene Wolki
Jean Gruben
Jimmy Jacobson
Jimmy Komeak

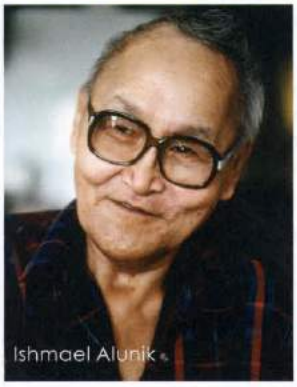

James Ruben


Jimmy Jacobson


Shirley Esau

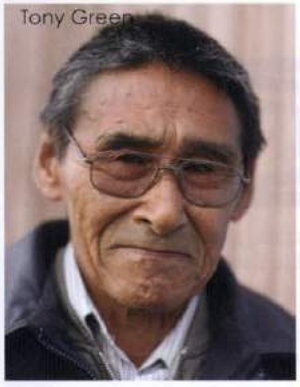

Peter Esau


Gilbert Thrasher


Ishmael Alunik


Lucy Cockney


Adam Ruben


Tony Green


David Nasogaluak


Harry Egotak


Sam Oliktoak


Joey Carpenter


Ida Kuneyuna


Mary Kudlak

Joseph Evik
Joseph Kotokak
Joey Carpenter
Jonah Carpenter
Lena Kikoak
Lucy Cockney
Mark Noksana
Mary Rose Ettagiak
Mona Felix
Persis Gruben
Peter Rufus
Randal Pokiak
Rita Green
Robert Noksana
Rex Cockney
Vince Steen
William Nasogaluak

ULUKHAKTOK

Agnes Goose
Agnes Kuptana
Albert Elias
Alice Omingmak
Annie Goose
Beatrice Goose
Bessie Inuktalik
Bill Goose
David Kuptana
David Omingmak
Elsie Nigiyok
Elizabeth Banksland
Eva Kagyut
Harry Egotak
Ida Aivik
Jean Ekpakohak
Jimmy Memogana
Joanne Oliktoak
John Kuneyuna
Kane Tologanak
Kate Inuktalik
Laverna Goose
Lena Olifie
Mark Ekootak
Mary Kudlak
Noah Akhiatak
Patsy Ekpakohak
Rex Goose
Robert Kuptana
Roy Inuktalik
Sam Oliktoak
Shirley Oliktoak
Stanley Klengenberg
Wallace Goose
Wilma Memogana

QUYANNAINI!
QUYANAQ!
QUANA!

Note: *This list is compiled from information found in selected Inuvialuit/ Tusaayaksat articles, COPE meeting minutes and newsletters. If there is a name missing from the list, please contact IRC. An updated list will be posted on the IRC website. Thank you!*

IFA CHRONOLOGY

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
	1968	Oil discovery in Prudhoe Bay, Alaska. Alaska Inupiat form Arctic Slope Native Association to advance the drive for native land claim across Alaska.
	1968	Yukon Native Brotherhood (YNB) formed
	1968	Mackenzie Valley Pipeline proposed
	1969	A Government and Industry organization, "Task Force on Northern Oil Development" created in view of a proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.
COPE, the first native land rights group in the Western Arctic formed in Inuvik	1970	Oil discovery by Esso at Atkinson Point
COPE organizes Conference of Northern Native People (at Coppermine)	1970	
	1970	Hunters and Trappers Associations formed in the Northwest Territories by the GNWT.
	1970	Group trapping areas imposed in Delta. Inuvialuit are restricted to specific trapping areas.
Banks Island Seismic Conflict between oil exploration company Demonex and Banks Islanders. COPE prepares court action, which leads then DIAND Minister Jean Chrétien to Sachs Harbour. Terms and conditions are negotiated by Banks Islanders before further explorations take place. This incident led to the establishment of Territorial Land Use Regulations.	1970	
	1971	Federal Territorial Land Use Regulations set up to manage land access in the territories, and to control environmental effects of development on crown land.
COPE is represented on the national level by ITC.	1971	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), a national Inuit organization formed.
Cape Bathhurst Moratorium declared, as a result of protests from COPE and Tuktoyaktuk Inuvialuit against exploration by Esso Resources and Gulf Canada in the Cape Bathurst, Husky Lakes area.	1972	

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
	1973	Significant Calder v. BC (Attorney General) decision in Supreme Court supports concept of aboriginal title to land. To prevent further testing of Aboriginal rights in court, the Federal government declares Comprehensive Claims Policy to determine land rights not settled by treaty.
	1973	Approval of offshore drilling (in concept) by federal cabinet.
ITC land claims work started in Western Arctic (Nunavut Proposal).	1973	Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study started
	1974	Federal government gives DOME approval-in-principal to drill for oil offshore.
	1974	Government invites pipeline application. The Canadian Arctic Gas Study Group submits the Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Proposal.
	1974	Appointment of Justice Berger to begin three-year Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger Inquiry), to determine impact of proposed pipeline on the North's people, economy and environment.
COPE assembled staff for traditional knowledge and scientific studies. Staff contributes fieldwork to Berger Inquiry.	September 1974	
Inuvialuit Land Use and Occupancy Studies completed	1975	
	March 1975	Berger Hearings began
	February 1976	ITC presents Nunavut Claim to Federal Cabinet
	1976	DOME receives permit from Federal government for offshore drilling
	September 1976	ITC withdraws Nunavut Claim when board decides that further worked is required. Due to greater developmental pressures in the Western Arctic, COPE seeks mandate from the Inuvialuit to pursue a regional land claim.
COPE receives mandate to start Inuvialuit regional land claim after voting process. 95% of Inuvialuit put in ballots, 99% voted for regional land claim.	October 1976	

Advance voting station

IFA CHRONOLOGY

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (Alaska Inupiat) advances loan to COPE, in support of Inuvialuit land claim work.	1976	
COPE presents Inuvialuit Nunangat land claim proposal to DIAND Minister Warren Allmand. Three months of clarification meetings follow.	13th May, 1977	First Volume of Berger Report released. The 240-page report recommends a 10-year moratorium on pipeline construction while native land claims are settled, and a permanent ban on any pipeline from Alaska across the northern Yukon.
Amendments made to Inuvialuit Nunangat proposal	13th July, 1977	
COPE finds Federal government's response to Inuvialuit proposal unacceptable	September 1977	
COPE prepares court action on Aboriginal Title	November 1977	Meeting between COPE and DIAND Minister Hugh Faulkner
Joint Working Group set up for Inuvialuit and Federal government to work together on Inuvialuit land claim proposal, reaches agreement on wildlife. Negotiations continue.	December 1977	
Joint Position Paper (JPP) signed July 14, 1978. 15,000 square miles of land is withdrawn in the Northern Yukon for a National Park and other conservation uses.	July 1978	
Cabinet approves JPP, authorizes Minister to sign Agreement-in-principle (AiP) with land selections in JPP -- (5,000 square miles (a) lands, 10,100 square miles of (b) land around Husky Lakes and 21,900 square miles to be selected in the Western Arctic Region).	14th July, 1978	
AiP is signed in Sachs Harbour. Advance payments, interim land and hunting provisions begin.	31st Oct, 1978	
IDC established	1978	
	February 1979	Appointment of new federal negotiator (M. Guisella). New internal bureaucratic process further delays negotiations.
85% of remaining (b) lands selected, "overlap" issues delays the rest. Government hires a fact finder.	May 1979	DOME examines harbour sites on Arctic coast (Wise Bay and Summer Harbour), injects its interests into land selection negotiations.
Old Crow abandons overlap agreement	1979	

Andy Carpenter and Sam Raddi at the AiP signing

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
Yukon government wages media campaign against AiP	1979	
Conservative government lets negotiations stall	May 1979	Liberal government is defeated, leading to appointment of new Conservative DIAND minister Jake Epp.
	1979	Nellie Cournoyea is elected as MLA for Nunakput. She promotes understanding of the Inuvialuit land claims within governments.
New overlap agreement with Old Crow	August 18th, 1979	
	February 1980	Liberal government returns, new DIAND minister John Munro is appointed.
	1980	National Energy Program legislation introduces "Crown Share". Lobbying against expropriation of oil and gas rights, the Inuvialuit successfully protects 7(1)(a) lands from legislation.
Munro commits to AiP and negotiations	March 1980	
Inuvialuit Game Council established	1980	
COPE language project started	1980	
Appointment of new federal negotiator, Chief negotiator is hired from outside DIAND.	1980	
Minister Munro writes letter to Senator David G. Steuart, which precipitates breakdown in negotiations. The letter outlines five required changes to AiP, COPE denounces government's lack of credibility.	24th December, 1980	
COPE elections: Sam Raddi is replaced by Peter Green as President		
COPE attempts to reinitiate negotiations	January to July 1981	
Minister Munro announces negotiations of IFA to be open again	September 1982	
Appointment of Simon Reisman, former high stature government official, as Chief Federal Negotiator. Reisman promises final agreement in '6 months'.	October 1982	

Guy Hologak reading *Inuvialuit* magazine in 1982

IFA CHRONOLOGY

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
	1982	Gulf, DOME and Esso announce oil production plans in the Beaufort.
Inuvialuit Final Agreement negotiations recommence	1982	
	1982	Beaufort Sea Environmental Assessment Review Process begins
Chief Federal Negotiator Reisman travels to Inuvik with staff	December 1982	
COPE offers Comprehensive package of tradeoffs for IFA to Reisman	28th February, 1983	
	17th October, 1983	Gulf wants Stokes Point, applies for Land Use Permit from DIAND
		Peter Kiewit and Sons applies for King Point quarry/ port development
		Project Review Group
		Minister Munro rejects applications on basis of ongoing claim negotiations and proposed national park.
Outstanding issues resolved and signed off in negotiator's package	December 1983	
	January 1984	Draft Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) leaked to press
Consolidation of changes in AiP, leading to final drafting of IFA.	1984	
Overlap agreements with Council of Yukon Indians	March 1984	
Cabinet approval of IFA	March 27th, 1984	
Ratification voting	May 7th – 28th, 1984	
IFA signing in Tuktoyaktuk	June 5th, 1984	
Parlimentary legislation passed, all party agreement permits three readings in one day.	26th June, 1984	
With senate approval, Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act is proclaimed.	July 25th, 1984	

Les Carpenter at the IFA signing.

Summary
Inuvialuit Final Agreement

Goals
The basic goals of the IFA expressed by the Inuvialuit and recognized by Canada are to:

- preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society;
- enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society;
- and protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife environment and biological productivity.

The IFA provides a land base, financial compensation, control of wildlife harvesting, and an Inuvialuit voice in the future development of the ISR. The IFA is an Act of Parliament protected under the Canadian constitution. It cannot be changed without approval of the Inuvialuit, and prevails over any other federal or territorial acts.

Compensation
In exchange for compensation in the form of land, monetary payments, environmental and wildlife management, and economic and social development measures, the Inuvialuit gave up exclusive use of large sections of their ancestral lands:

Land
Ownership of 35,000 square miles (90,650 square kilometres) of land in the Western Arctic, including 5,000 square miles (13,000 square kilometres) with subsurface oil, gas, and mineral rights.

Financial Compensation
Financial compensation totaling $152 million was paid by installments from 1984 to 1997.

Wildlife and Environmental Co-Management
Subject to conservation measures, preferential and/or exclusive wildlife harvesting rights were granted to Inuvialuit.

Inuvialuit Game Council, established under the IFA, represents the collective Inuvialuit interest in wildlife. Inuvialuit participate in overall management of wildlife in the Western Arctic through advisory bodies such as Wildlife Management Advisory Councils, and Hunters and Trappers Committees in each community.

The Agreement also established five joint advisory bodies with equal government and Inuvialuit representation:

Environmental Impact Screening Committee assesses whether proposed developments require detailed environmental impact assessments.

Environmental Impact Review Board carries out public reviews of development proposals deemed necessary by the Screening Committee.

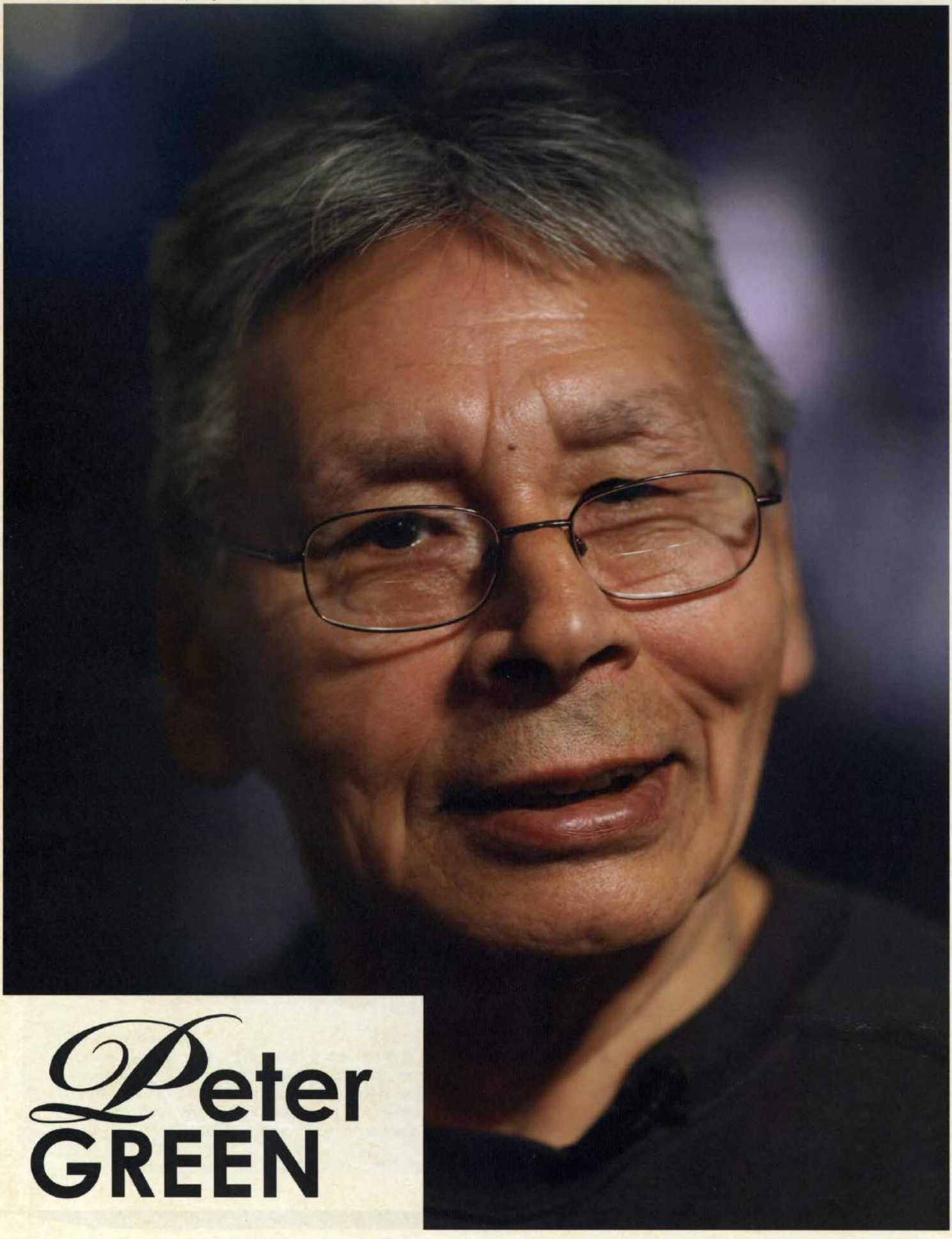
Fisheries Joint Management Committee advises the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans on matters relating to fisheries and marine mammals in the ISR.

Wildlife Management Advisory Council (NWT) advises government and other appropriate bodies on wildlife conservation matters in the NWT portion of the ISR.

Wildlife Management Advisory Council (North Slope) advises government and other appropriate bodies on wildlife conservation matters in the Yukon North Slope.

Economic & Social Development
The IFA contains measures to help Inuvialuit achieve economic self-reliance, build a solid economy, and participate fully in northern and Canadian society. The Government provided an initial Economic Enhancement Fund, and agreed to take reasonable measures to make economic opportunities available to Inuvialuit with respect to their resources, products, services, and employment within the ISR.

The Social Development Fund was established to help the Inuvialuit meet the challenges of social transition and to achieve community objectives relating to health, housing, education, and welfare; preservation of Inuvialuit language and culture; elders' concerns; and traditional pursuits.



Peter GREEN

"Even though I was President, I saw myself as part of the team. We had a staff of about 50 people, and everyone's participation and involvement are equal to mine. That approach has done me well. Even though their views might be somewhat conflicting, but you know, that's life."

"Well, over the years I've looked back a number of times and you know, if I had to do it all over again I would. There's no hesitation in that," said Peter Green, former President of COPE. "I was a young man, in my early 30's," he remembered, "I was living in Paulatuk and COPE was there to host an informational meeting in the winter of 1974."

"There were also resource people for COPE, and guests from Arctic Red River, now Tsiigetchic. They came to voice their issues, and I remember Hyacinth talking about the lack of food within the area of Arctic Red. It sparked an interest in me as to what this group was all about," he said. "They spoke about wildlife, about aboriginal rights, about the Inuvialuit, about Government, about Industry, about all the issues we needed to deal with. I wanted to be part of that group, because of what it stood for. I still believe in it today," he said.

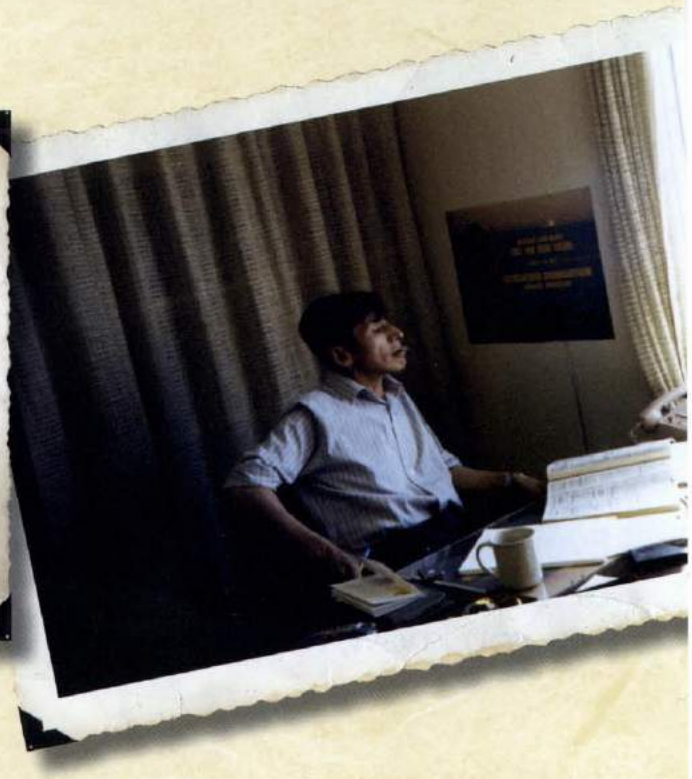
Peter had worked with an oil company shortly before. "I took on employment with Industry as a jug hustler. I carried the sound forms between shot holes. Believe me, I never forgot that kind of work. Some days it felt close to 50 below Fahrenheit and I had to work outside. It lasted for about a month. I learned on the job that Industry had very little regard for the environment. I had seen seismic lines caught up in the antlers of caribou, and dynamite blasting fish and marine life out of the water. The government put a lot of effort into subsidizing development, they even created an Act in parliament for that, but Inuvialuit needs were not a priority for them. Oil and gas people could come up here to do whatever they wanted, without consulting the Inuvialuit," he said.

"I had some education, I read, wrote and spoke well, and I thought I could help. I tried to keep up to date with important issues in the community, the area, the country and the world," he said. At the end of the meeting, Peter agreed to work for COPE. In 1977, he moved to Inuvik to work as then President Sam Raddi's assistant. Peter did not return to live in his home community until ten years later, when the IFA was signed. "Sam was handicapped, he couldn't see wall, so for many years I helped him carry out his functions as the President. Most of the time, it was dealing with incoming correspondence and preparing responses," he remembers. Peter gained experience politically, was elected to the board in consequential elections. In 1982, Mark Noksana, a respected elder and COPE negotiator, asked Peter to run for the position of President. He won.

"Even though I was President, I saw myself as part of the team. We had a staff of about 50 people, and everyone's participation and involvement are equal to mine. That approach has done me well. Even though their views might be somewhat conflicting, but you know, that's life," he said.

"It took fourteen years since COPE was formed till the signing of the IFA. Fourteen years of Inuvialuit lobbying, of advocating, of meetings, of conferences, of door to door visits, of community interactions, all

Photo (this page): Peter Geen holding a child at the IFA signing.



of these took many, many years to develop, and many people to participate," Peter said. "Each community had two members on the negotiating team. My late brother Nelson Green and my uncle David Ruben were negotiators from Paulatuk. Edward Ruben played a major role as well; he provided insight to the work that we were doing, with his experiences and knowledge of our community."

It was hard for some people to understand why negotiations were taking so long. "People within government and the private sector, even the Inuvialuit were questioning, why is it there a lack of progress, what were we doing with the money? This was not something I had control over, there were people in our communities suggesting that we go for a cash settlement, instead of any land rights. They would say, you know what's going to benefit me today? There were also different views in the newspapers, and what became a sore point was the question of extinguishment," he said.

"Our title to certain lands would only extinguish when we achieved the land rights settlement. It doesn't extinguish other rights that we have as aboriginal people. Aboriginal groups in southern Canada confronted me, saying that COPE was extinguishing aboriginal rights. They were misinformed. Without the extinguishment clause Canada would not have negotiated with us."

"There was a succession of different governments, Liberals, Conservatives, back and forth. We went through five or six ministers of DIAND, and it was the same with territorial officials. There was a long period in which we were just educating people: the ministers, the public, the private sector, the communities, native organizations, and Industry. I can see now that it was quite an achievement. I had a great team behind me, both at the negotiating level and at the community level. And 98% of the Inuvialuit who voted supported the claim," he said.

"It took a lot of effort to try to work through all these things, it was taxing on all of us. The issues were huge but we persevered and said, we are going to stick this out and face it head on. We were committed to get a resolution."

It has been twenty-five years, but Peter remembered the emotions that he felt when he put his signature on the IFA. "I was happy, and I was also nervous as hell. This is the only agreement the Inuvialuit have, we were setting a precedent with the first land claims agreement North of sixty," he said. Peter hopes the next generation will continue what COPE had started.

"The IFA is a working agreement," said Peter. "There are provisions in the IFA for every major aspect of your life. It empowers the Inuvialuit to become part of mainstream society. There are provisions for us to engage with Government and Industry, the people who make decisions that affect us. The claim allows us to participate in the law-making process whether at the federal, territorial or municipal level."

"An agreement always requires two partners, and I've noticed in the last few years that our partner Canada has been quite dormant. We have suffered. All this was identified in the Auditor General's report in parliament," he said.

Photos: (previous page left): Peter and Bob DeLury, COPE chief negotiator in discussion; (right) Peter Green working in the COPE office. This page: (left) Peter Green (3rd from left) as a child with playmates; (right) Peter Green at his wedding.

"It was wrong that I knew more about Christopher Columbus than I did about Mangilaluk, an Inuvialuit leader who said 'no' to treaty. Now I am taking back my culture and my language, I hope to speak Inuvialuktun fluently within a year."

"Our way of life went through a lot of changes in the last fifty years. At one time we did not even have electricity, and now we have an abundance of that, as well as shelter. Education wise we did not have a school until late 1960s, and we did not have education up to grade 12 in Paulatuk until a few years ago. So all these changes impacted people and as a result things change. Language is disappearing in many communities," he said.

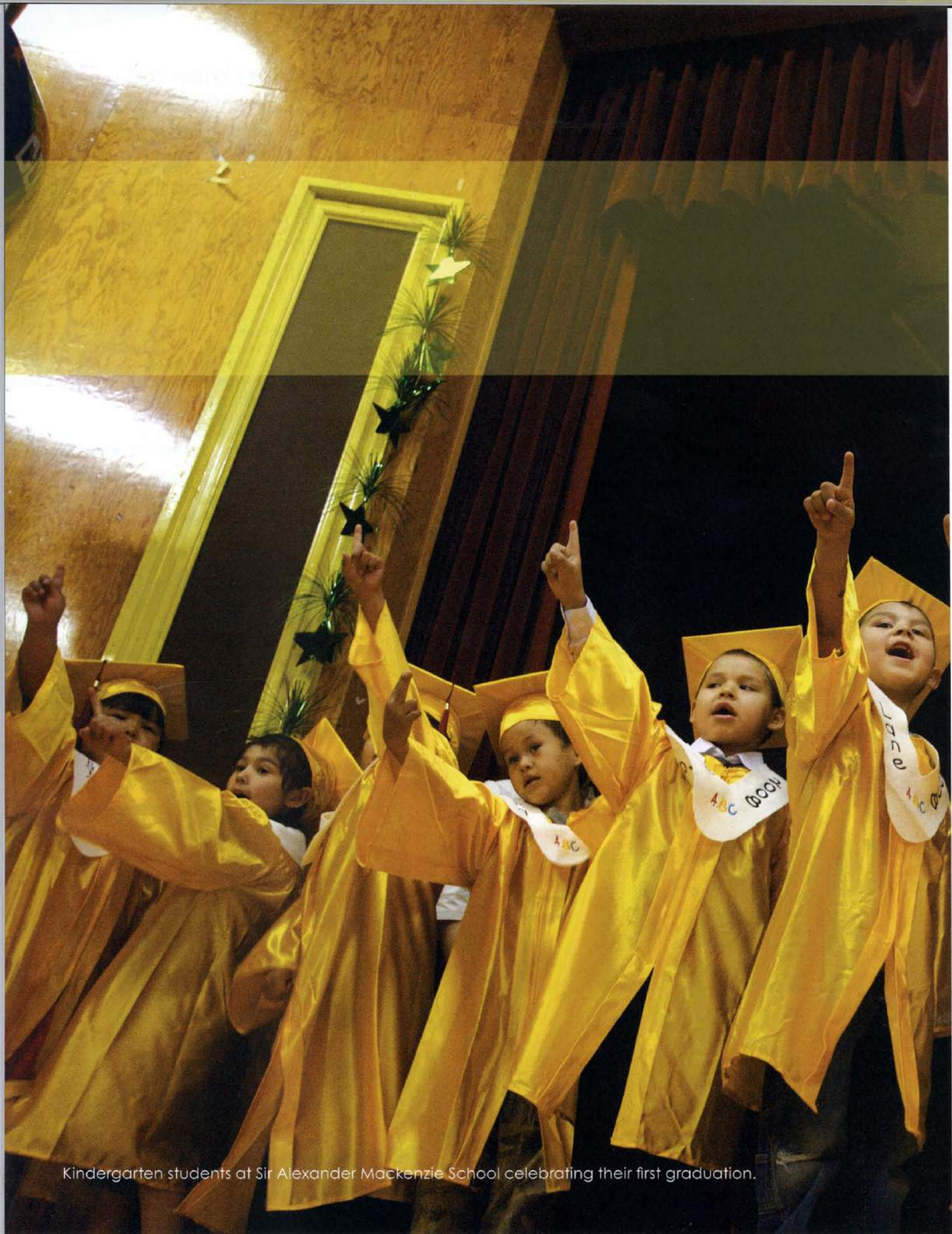
There were personal costs that came with his participation in fighting for land rights, such as constantly traveling and being separated from his family and home, but Peter believes it was worth every effort. Now sixty-five, he is happy he had the "tremendous satisfaction" of being involved in a crucial time in Inuvialuit history. He continues to be active in his community, taking part in local boards and governments. He was also integral to the establishment of Tuktuk Nogait National Park.

Peter has spent the last decade on resolving personal issues. He was born in Paulatuk, growing up in a large family that relied on subsistence hunting. He was one of seventeen children. He remembers being happy, learning to do chores for his parents, chopping wood and keeping the dogs healthy.

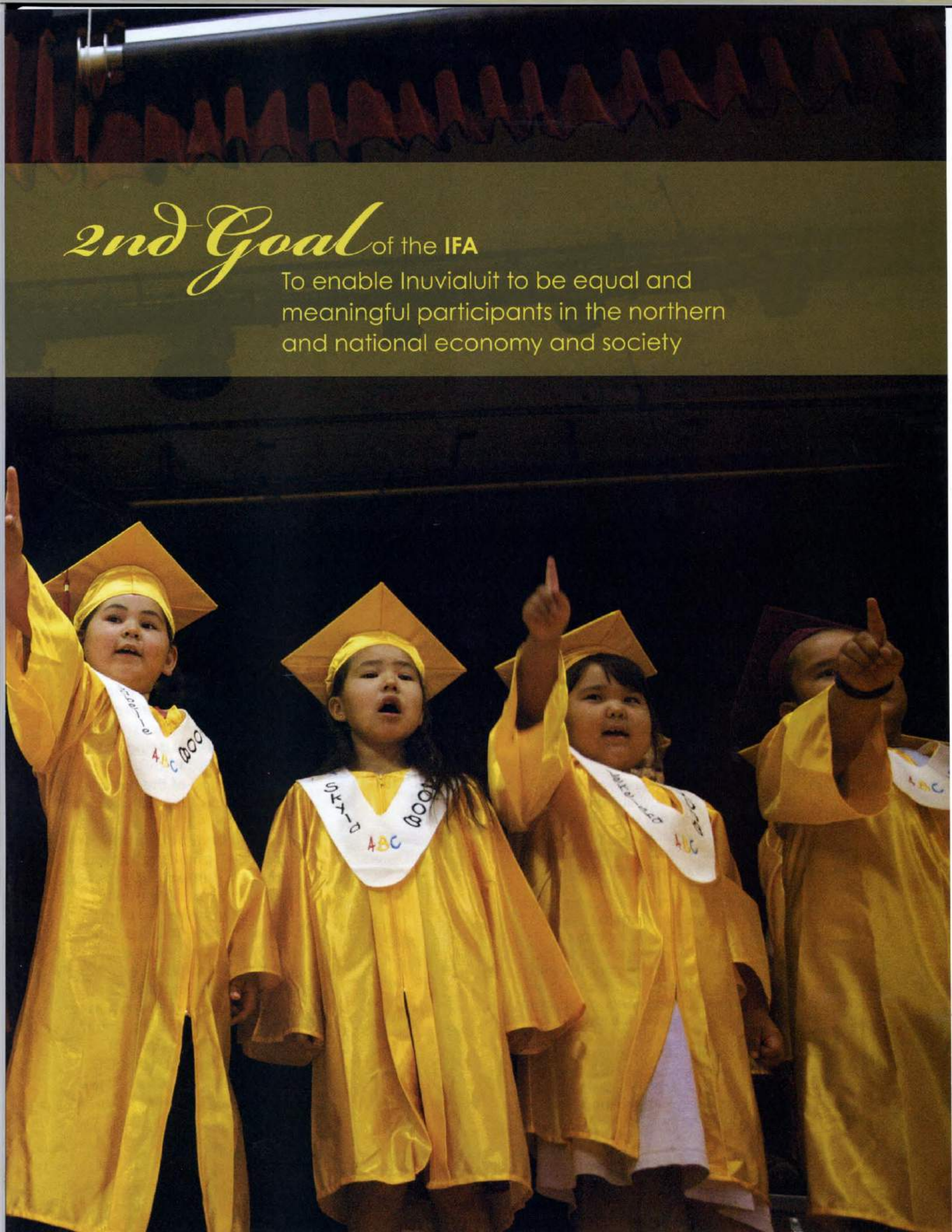
"I was taken to residential school and my world fell apart there," he said. "I learned all about violence there, physical, emotional, sexual, you name it. One thing we were not taught in school was self-esteem. I've always had issues with authority figures. I'm now going through psychological therapy and I'm taking those negatives and turning them into positives," he said.

Peter's plan to reclaim what residential school took away includes completing his high school education, and re-learning Inuvialuktun.

Twelve years ago, he enrolled in correspondence courses and continued his education in his spare time. This year, on June 5, the 25th anniversary of the IFA, Peter received his high school diploma from the Alberta Distance Learning Centre. He is now learning to speak Inuvialuktun using kits from ICRC. "It was wrong that I knew more about Christopher Columbus than I did about Mangilaluk, an Inuvialuit leader who said 'no' to treaty. Now I am taking back my culture and my language, I hope to speak Inuvialuktun fluently within a year," he said.



Kindergarten students at Sir Alexander Mackenzie School celebrating their first graduation.



2nd Goal of the **IFA**

To enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society

Inuvialuit Regional Corporation

Gyrfalcon History

The Gyrfalcon is an impressive and powerful bird whose swiftness and beauty have been admired for centuries. With a wingspan of up to 63 inches, it is the largest of the falcons, recognizable in three plumage phases of white, grey and black.

This most northerly of falcons, at home in the open terrain of the Arctic, can reach higher sustained speeds than any other bird of prey, and is the only falcon capable of successful ground level pursuit. Swiftness, combined with responsiveness to human attention, makes the Gyrfalcon unique. Although it rarely ventures away from areas of sparse human population, it has been the most prized of all falcons since medieval times.

To acknowledge the embarkment upon a period of regeneration and renewal, the Inuvialuit chose the Gyrfalcon as the symbol during the early days of land claims negotiations. This was a time when the bird's population was beginning to regenerate, and it would soon be taken off the endangered species list.

Extinction of the Inuvialuit had at one time also been a very real possibility. With the rise of the fur trade, contact with Tan'ngit (foreigners) had increased, resulting in a series of devastating epidemics during the early decades of the twentieth century. It is said that at the height of the epidemics, in Tunnuk, a tiny island in the Mackenzie River, barely enough children remained to join hands and encircle the island.

Like the Gyrfalcon, the Inuvialuit have proven their resilience. A new era began on June 5, 1984, when the Inuvialuit Final Agreement was signed and their cultural, environmental and economic aspirations were formalized.

Inuvialuit Corporate Centre

Established in 1984 to manage the settlement outlined in IFA, IRC represents collective Inuvialuit interests in dealings with governments and the world-at-large. IRC's goal is to continually improve Inuvialuit economic, social, and cultural well being. It achieves this through administration of the IFA and stewardship of Inuvialuit assets.

Inuvialuit beneficiaries directly control IRC and its subsidiaries through a democratic process: Each Inuvialuit community – Aklavik, Inuvik, Paulatuk, Sachs Harbour, Tuktoyaktuk and Ulukhaktok – has a community corporation (CC) with elected directors. The directors of the six community corporations elect the Chair/ Chief Executive Officer of IRC. The Chairs of each CC, together with the Chair of IRC, form the IRC Board of Directors.

42 Directors Meeting 2009

IRC Corporate Structure

IRC Subsidiaries and Divisions IRC has four principal subsidiaries which provide most of IRC's operational funding: Inuvialuit Development Corporation, Inuvialuit Land Corporation, Inuvialuit Investment Corporation, and Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation. Together with its in-house divisions of Inuvialuit Land Administration and Community Development Division, these organizations make up the core of the Inuvialuit Corporate Group.

Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC)

IDC is IRC's business arm and a major shareholder in over 20 subsidiaries and joint ventures in the following sectors: transportation; petroleum services; construction and manufacturing; northern services; real estate and property management; environmental services; and tourism and hospitality. Through its subsidiaries, IDC employs more than 1200 people, 350 of whom are Inuvialuit beneficiaries. Headquartered in Inuvik, IDC maintains a majority of its asset base in the Northwest Territories with the balance in southern Canada. From an initial investment of $10 million in 1977, it has grown its asset base to over $200 million by investing strategically in businesses that generate sustainable profits and meaningful careers for Inuvialuit.

Inuvialuit Investment Corporation (IIC)

Under a policy established by IRC, IIC received a major portion of the financial compensation flowing from the IFA. Today, IIC oversees a diversified securities portfolio that includes the Inuvialuit Heritage Fund as well as funds held on behalf of other IRC trusts and subsidiaries, the Inuvialuit Harvesters Assistance Trust, and the Community Corporations. The portfolio is managed by several institutional fund managers. IIC's mandate is to increase overall portfolio value using conservative strategies to preserve capital and benefit future generations of Inuvialuit. In order to balance risk and return, IIC has adopted an asset allocation model that sets permissible ranges of Canadian, United States, and foreign equity content as well as credit quality and risk concentration limits.

Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation (IPC)

IPC was created in 1985. Its objective was to become a profitable, medium-sized, diversified, and integrated petroleum company. IPC developed the Inuvik Gas Project, a natural gas production, and delivery, and distribution system serving Inuvik and continues to hold a major interest in the Project. IPC's portfolio of marketable securities, resulting from disposal of other producing assets, is earmarked for participation in northern oil and gas opportunities. Since its inception, IPC has supported traditional activities and provided educational and career opportunities for Inuvialuit beneficiaries. IPC established the Inuvialuit Education Foundation in 1990.

ILA team cleaning up mining exploration camp near Paulatuk.

CDD staff members Lucy Kuptana, Sandra Elanik and Diane Archie at the Inuvik Petroleum Show.

Inuvialuit Land Corporation (ILC)
ILC holds title to the Inuvialuit lands secured under the IFA. Inuvialuit have ownership of 35,000 square miles (90,650 square kilometres) of land including 5,000 square miles (13,000 square kilometres) with sub-surface rights to oil, gas and minerals. In 2000, ILC offered petroleum and natural gas rights through a competitive bidding process. The bid package provided a royalty regime, back-in rights to commercial discoveries, and a minimum exploration requirement. Four leases were awarded.

Inuvialuit Land Administration (ILA)
ILA is responsible for ongoing administration and management of Inuvialuit lands. Based in Tuktoyaktuk, with a sub-office in Inuvik, ILA:

- reviews and approves applications to access and use Inuvialuit lands,
- monitors land use to ensure protection of the land and environment, and
- ensures Inuvialuit benefit from business, employment, and training opportunities that flow from development projects.

Inuvialuit Human Resources promotes economic self-reliance through developing, implementing, and funding employment and training programs that enable beneficiaries to access and be successful in the work force. Each year approximately $1.4 million is invested in career planning, pre-employment, and job search programs.

Community Development Division (CDD)
Through CDD, IRC assists individuals, families, and the communities to set goals and develop solutions to cultural, economic, social, and health challenges. CDD also works with other regional, territorial, and national organizations to identify, develop, and deliver programs that benefit Inuvialuit. CDD's success is measured by helping Inuvialuit to achieve:

- higher levels of educational attainment
- growing economic independence
- enhanced physical, mental, and spiritual health
- increasing knowledge of Inuvialuit language and culture.

- **Inuvialuit Education Foundation (IEF)** offers programs and incentives that encourage Inuvialuit to pursue secondary and post-secondary studies. Programs include tutoring, scholarships, post-secondary supplementary funding and summer language camps.

- **Community Economic Development Organization (CEDO)** assists Inuvialuit individuals and communities to create and expand businesses in the ISR by providing business development, human resources, and financing services. The Sachs Harbour muskox harvest, Bessie's Boarding Home in Aklavik, and Kunnerk Resource Development Corporation have all benefited from CEDO's support.

  A notable achievement is the $4 million Paulatuk Centre that opened in April 2001. Building on commitments from the federal and territorial governments as well as support from CEDO, the Centre's objectives are to provide community infrastructure and promote tourism and employment opportunities associated with Tuktut Nogait National Park. The Centre contains a Parks Canada visitors centre, a Northern store, a hotel, and a multi-purpose room that is used year-round by the community.

The opening of Paulatuk Visitor's Centre in 2001.

- **Inuvialuit Child Care Program** works with Child Development Centres across the ISR, providing administration, support, and training to ensure programs comply with the NWT's Child Care Act and the guidelines of funding bodies. Funding is received from Inuit Child Care, Aboriginal Head Start, and the territorial Healthy Children's Initiative. To encourage daily use of Inuvialuktun, the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre also funds fluent-speaker positions in each centre.

- **Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre**'s mandate is to preserve the Inuvialuktun language, protect Inuvialuit heritage, and foster Inuvialuit culture. The Centre coordinates oral history and archaeology projects, summer language and culture camps. It has overseen publication of children's books in three Inuvialuktun dialects and development of associated teacher resource kits.

- **Community Wellness** is supported with funding from Brighter Futures, the Canadian Prenatal Nutrition Program, and the Urban Multi-Purpose Aboriginal Youth Centres Program. The Canadian Prenatal Nutrition Program, for example, improves the health of babies and expectant and new mothers by providing food supplements, nutritional counselling, and programs such as community kitchens and shopping groups.

- Other programs currently administered by CDD include Aboriginal Healing Foundation, Health and Environment, Mackenzie Gas Project Impact Fund Management / Planning, Residential Schools Settlement, and several National Health Initiatives.

Inuvialuit Self-Government In 1994, IRC, jointly with the Gwich'in Tribal Council, submitted a self-government proposal to the federal and territorial governments. An AiP was subsequently negotiated. Following these negotiations it was decided that the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in should have separate agreements. After approximately 15 years of negotiations it is anticipated that a detailed Inuvialuit Self-government Agreement will be completed in 2010.

Inuvialuit Trust Certificate

Sandy Adams, artist from Tuktoyaktuk, speaks about his inspiration behind his illustration for the Inuvialuit Trust.

"It is a picture of a girl and a boy looking at an iceberg, with geese flying by. That's what we used to do when we were young. My parents always traveled in the Spring, and I try to continue doing that with my four sons. It was a black and white picture I sent in, with blue ocean, and yellow sun. I am proud they used it for the Inuvialuit Trust. Every Inuvialuit who turns 18 will get my picture, it will still be there when I am gone," he laughs.

Past IRC Executives

Year	Chief Regional Councilor	Deputy Chief Regional Councilor	Secretary/Treasurer	President
1985	Les Carpenter	Kane Tologanak	Wayne Gordon	-
1986	Les Carpenter	Kane Tologanak	John Banksland	Les Carpenter
1987	Roger Gruben	Pauline Gordon Charles Haogak	John Banksland	-
1988	Roger Gruben	Charles Haogak Les Carpenter	Knute Hansen	-
1989	Roger Gruben	Les Carpenter	John Banksland	-

Year	Chairperson	Vice Chairperson	1st Vice Chairperson	2nd Vice Chairperson	Secretary/ Treasurer
1990	Roger Gruben	Les Carpenter	-	-	John Banksland
1991	Roger Gruben	Les Carpenter	-	-	Knute Hansen
1992	Roger Gruben	Les Carpenter	-	-	Knute Hansen
1993	Roger Gruben	Les Carpenter	-	-	Knute Hansen
1994	Robert Kuptana	-	Eddie Dillon Billy Day	Fred Bennett	Alex Aviugana Fred Bennett
1995	Robert Kuptana	-	Eddie Dillon	Earl Esau	Gilbert Thrasher
1996	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Eddie Dillon	Frank Hansen	Earl Esau
1997	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Frank Hansen	Evelyn Storr	Franklin Carpenter
1998	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Evelyn Storr	William Day	Patrick Gruben
1999	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Alex Illasiak	William Day	Patrick Gruben
2000	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Patrick Gruben	Donna Kisoun	Alex Illasiak
2001	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Patrick Gruben	Donna Kisoun	Clayton Gordon
2002	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Clayton Gordon	Patrick Gruben	Joseph Haluksit Jerry Lennie
2003	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Jerry Lennie	Joseph Haluksit Patrick Gruben	Donna Keogak Patrick Gruben Carol D. Arey
2004	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Eddie Dillon	Joseph Haluksit	Donna Keogak Carol D. Arey
2005	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Eddie Dillon	Joseph Haluksit	Carol D. Arey
2006	Nellie Cournoyea	-	Eddie Dillon	Joseph Haluksit	Carol D. Arey
2007	Nellie Cournoyea	Duane Smith	-	-	Carol D. Arey
2008	Nellie Cournoyea	Duane Smith	-	-	Carol D. Arey
2009	Nellie Cournoyea	Duane Smith	-	-	Carol D. Arey

Wallace Goose Awards

IRC first conceived the Wallace Goose Award in 1986. In a letter written by then IRC President Les Carpenter to then Chief Regional Councilor Roger Gruben, the recipient of the Wallace Goose Award should be "one who has shown beyond a shadow of a doubt, that he or she has unselfishly dedicated time, effort and sometimes blood, sweat and tears for the advancement and benefit of all Inuvialuit." It was hoped that the Award would help Inuvialuit understand those who sacrifice on their behalf, and that "...like the Order of Canada, [this] eventually be perceived as an award of prestige, with genuine respect afforded to those who earn it."

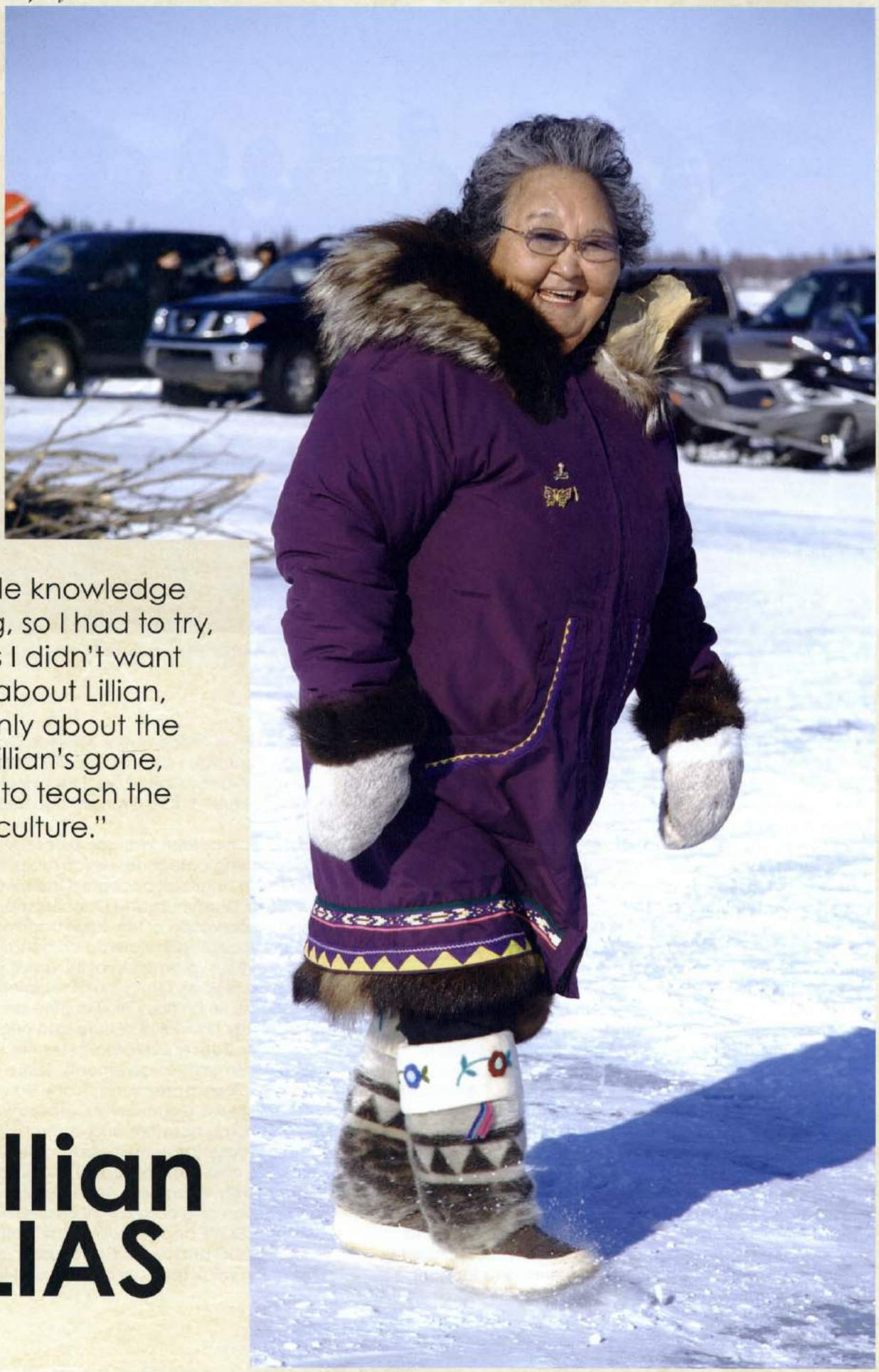
IFA Celebration 2009 in Tuktoyaktuk: Certificates of recognition were awarded to previous COPE members and Wallace Goose Award winners.

The award was named after Wallace Goose, to pay tribute posthumously to his life-long dedication towards achieving the IFA. In the years after the agreement was signed, Wallace Goose continued to contribute despite ill health. He established and chaired an Elders Committee in his community, and assisted with ISDP initiatives.

Past recipients included Nellie Cournoyea (1986), Andy Carpenter and Bob Delury (1987) and the Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers (1992). In 2004, to mark the 20th Anniversary of the signing of the IFA, communities honoured the following: Aklavik - Sarah Meyook; Inuvik - Rosie Albert, Lillian Elias, Winnie Cockney, Sandra Ipana, Clara Day, Donna (Allen) Johns, Leonard Harry, Beverly Amos, Marie Jacobson, Rhoda Esogak (Joe) and Gilbert Kasook; Paulatuk - Liz Kuptana, Annie Illasiak, Billy & Bertha Ruben; Tuktoyaktuk - Jean Gruben and Norman (Shepherd) Felix; and Ulukhaktok - Mary Akoakhion, Walter Olifie, Western-style Drum Dancers and Central-style Drum Dancers.

As part of the 25th Anniversary of the IFA, Wallace Goose Awards were presented. The IRC Board agreed that each Community Corporation would be able to submit up to two names for recognition of individuals who continue to contribute and promote Inuvialuit culture and language". In 2009, the recipients of the Wallace Goose Awards are: Aklavik - Alice Husky, Annie B. Gordon, Nellie Arey; Paulatuk – Charlie Thrasher, Tony Green; Sachs Harbour - Joey Carpenter, Frank and Martha Kudlak; Tuktoyaktuk – Eddie Gruben, and Mark Noksana.

In Inuvik, nineteen Wallace Goose Awards were given, recognizing categories which recipients contributed to: Sarah Tingmiak accepted the award on behalf of Inuvik Drummers and Dancers (performing arts and preservation of Inuvialuit traditions), and Tommy Smith accepted the award on behalf of The Northern Games Boys (promotion of Inuvialuit games and traditional skills). Other Inuvik recipients include Madeline Smith (Inuvialuit culture and language), Joe Teddy (Inuvialuit culture and original Inuvik resident), Sam and Margaret Lennie (Inuvialuit culture and community involvement), Jessie Colton (COPE and traditional practices), Frank Hansen (IDC, IPC, IIC and Inuvik Community Corporation), Verna Firth (church activities and community volunteer), Louie Goose (performing arts), William Gruben (fine arts, ILA and IFA), Roy Ipana (Inuvialuit culture and community volunteer), Anne Kasook (family violence prevention and community involvement), Shirley Kisoun (COPE and 1st Baby Born in Inuvik), Dennie Lennie (IDC and Inuvik Community Corporation), Abel Tingmiak (performing arts and Inuvialuit culture).



"I had a little knowledge of teaching, so I had to try, as much as I didn't want to. I forgot about Lillian, I thought only about the Inuvialuit. Lillian's gone, she's gone to teach the traditional culture."

Lillian ELIAS

In the early eighties, Lillian Elias began her career as an Inuvialuit culture and language teacher at Samuel Hearne Secondary School in Inuvik. The course was being offered for the first time, and no curriculum had been developed yet. Due to a lack of space, her classroom was the Home Economics room. Lillian decided on an alternative "textbook" for traditional knowledge – a frozen caribou.

"In the fall time, we were talking about making dry meat in class, so the students could see their culture. What we did was, we brought a whole caribou into the Home Ec. Head, legs and all, everything just laid down frozen," Lillian chuckled.

"That first year, the students wouldn't touch it. 'Try it!' I said. They tried some, and then the next year, it got a little better," she said. While students mostly watched the people brought in to butcher the caribou, they tried their hand at making dry meat the next year.

"I said, if you want dry meat, you've got to make it, I am not going to do everything for you," said Lillian. "That third year, guess who sat back and watched her students cutting it up, skinning it and everything?"

"Yes...it was beautiful, that's what we did," Lillian said softly. "They knew how, and they didn't say 'ack'...because they loved the dry meat so much."

Today, almost two decades later, Lillian has four freshly shot geese on the kitchen floor of her apartment. "And that's how we got geese today," she laughed. Her passion for traditional knowledge has come full circle, former student Isaac Lennie had shown up at her apartment after his hunt, and asked her to pick any she wanted from over seventy geese harvested.

When COPE trained the first cohort of Inuvialuktun teachers, Lillian was asked to sign up. The trainees of the COPE Language Program traveled and stayed in each ISR community for two weeks, under the guidance of Rosemary Meyook. Lillian hesitated. She had never thought of becoming a teacher. She was born at Panigavluk Lake, living on the land with her family. Her grandfather Harry Inukiqtaq taught her to respect Inuvialuit values and language. During her four years of attending residential school, Lillian would recite Inuvialuktun phrases to herself so as to not forget her language.

When Lillian was twelve, the government offered money for people living on the land to move to Inuvik. Her family left their camp at Alatkasik, but a janitor's position was the only work her father George Harry could find in town. ""It was a big change. I didn't like it because I suffered—we were the west side people, poor, and people on the east side were rich. It was really hard, we were living in two worlds—the white man's world and the Inuvialuit world."

"I'd always thought of becoming a translator. I really liked that because I used to translate for my parents and grandmother. If they wanted to go to the government office or hospital, I would go with them. It was fun for me." Lillian waited for her youngest child to grow up, before she took a interpreter / translator course. She was in her thirties then.

"The reason I became a teacher was to preserve my language. If I didn't try, we wouldn't have anybody else to try and do it. I had a little knowledge of teaching, so I had to try, as much as I didn't want to. I forgot about Lillian, I thought only about the Inuvialuit. Lillian's gone, she's gone to teach the traditional culture," she smiled.

There were no teaching positions open when Lillian graduated. She assisted Rosemary Kirby at the learning centre for two years before her position began at Samuel Hearne. "I taught for ten years at the high school and I was the first Inuvialuktun teacher there. It was hard. I quit three times," Lillian said.

Often she was both teacher and counselor, it was hard for her when two students chose to end their lives. Despite the difficulties, she stayed to deliver

Photo (This page): Lillian Elias with Inuvialuktun language instructor Rosemarie Kirby, during her training in the COPE Language Program.

"I said, if you want dry meat, you've got to make it, I am not going to do everything for you. That third year, guess who sat back and watched her students cutting it up, skinning it and everything?"

what she believes to be a crucial Inuvialuit value. "The most important thing I teach my students, from grade 7 to 12, is respect. Respect yourself and respect the elders today...you're all Inuvialuit...we used to do our work on the land, we didn't have a doctor, a corner store, TV...absolutely nothing. And today, you have all these beautiful things, you don't even have to work hard for it. You don't have to build a house or get water from the river, or chop wood, all these things that we used to do. If your great grandparents, and the people long ago didn't respect the land, didn't respect the animals, didn't respect themselves, and each other...today you wouldn't be standing here with me. You wouldn't be alive."

"I see my students today, at the college, finishing their schooling, and some of them, they make sure to let me know if they go to University, if they're doing this and that. It makes me so happy. It's not just me that taught, but I'm glad I helped."

During the early days of COPE, Billy Day was recruiting members, and Lillian signed up as one of the translators and fieldworkers.

"We knew what would happen to a lot of us if we were just paid out by Government. Even myself, at that time I used to drink heavily. I would rather be poor than be six feet under ground," she said.

"We [COPE] ran into a lot of things that we didn't expect. Some people would ask, why are you trying to do this? Money is better because we can spend it as we wished. We'd tell these people that the government would pay us out and then make us do whatever they wanted us to. We explained that we will end up with nothing at the end, we'll lose our life, our tradition and culture," she said.

Lillian said she never lost faith during the prolonged land claim negotiations. "I didn't worry about it, I know that being aggressive people, we were going to get there. I knew that we had good people that were working for us, like Nellie, Wally and my mother-in-law...strong people...we knew for sure that we were not going to let anybody rule over us."

Lillian's children were still young then, but she put in as much time as she could as a fieldworker. She said, "We had people in every community doing this. We had to look for all Inuvialuit to go vote, so we sat in the back of the truck, and held on for dear life. Because the roads were not paved, by the time we got home, we were just thick with mud, our hair, our clothes, our everything."

"But when the IFA passed, we were the happiest people, we knew we did our job," said Lillian.

At sixty-six, Lillian is more active than ever. She continues to protect Inuvialuit culture and language as Assistant Director of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference Elders Committee, and is on the board of the Senior Citizen's Society in Yellowknife. She often represents the Inuvialuit on cultural exchanges.

Last year she traveled to Nunavut and Alaska for ICC meetings, and to the North American Indigenous Games. She was also at the University of Victoria in BC with Rosie Albert to speak on Aboriginal Law with the law faculty.

Lillian teaches drum dancing to children attending Sir Alexander Mackenzie School three times a week. A few years ago, Lillian also began dedicating a few evenings per week to teach an adults' Inuvialuktun class with Sandra Ipana.

"We have 13 students and 2 teachers. Last year they learnt how to sing in Inuvialuktun already. We were only going to sing two verses, but they managed to sang the whole song. They were on CBC too," Lillian laughed. The teachers plan to work with people who understand Inuvialuktun but who cannot speak it next year.

Lillian was plucking geese as we did our interview. She said, "My priority has always been to look after my language and to keep my tradition alive. That's why today, you see me doing this. I don't have to. It's not a must anymore, you know? But I still do it because it's my tradition and it feels good. Beautiful, I love doing this."

Photo (This page): Lillian Elias(in red) at her graduation from the Aboriginal Language and Cultural Instructor Program.

IDC

25 years on

Photos: This page (L-R) Top to bottom: Inuvialuit staff at Stanton in Inuvik; Aurora Expediting, Mathilda Debastian and Frank Dillon at IDC, Shelly Gordon at IDC.

IDC is fulfilling its early vision of establishing a long-term and stable economic base. There has been growth through investment, proven both by the profits returned to IDC and the increasing level of employment and training opportunities for beneficiaries.

A meeting during IDC's early days.

IDC staff today.

The IFA 25 Years On

This year marks the 25th anniversary of the IFA. IDC predates it by 7 years. The Inuvialuit recognized early in the land claim process that they needed their own vehicle for investment in the region and beyond, if they were in the words of the IFA "to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society."

IDC today is an investment company owned by IRC with assets in excess of $200 million. It has investments in over 20 different businesses some wholly owned and some held jointly with others.

Mandate

IDC began its growth gradually. It received interest free loans from the Government of Canada against future financial compensation under the land claim settlement. In that phase, IDC tended to view its role as that of a community economic development agency. This changed with the settlement of the claim. IRC was established as the principal agency responsible for the settlement and the parent corporation of IDC. Perhaps most importantly, the IFA clearly set the mandate of IDC as:

"A corporation to receive a portion of the financial compensation and to carry on business either directly or through ownership of shares in, or participation in ventures with, other businesses."

This mandate contained two elements which have been critical to IDC ever since. One is that IDC is to engage in active businesses, and the other is that IDC received a share of the financial compensation under the settlement. While the amount was not specified, it was recognized that if IDC was to exercise the mandate it needed money to invest.

The clear understanding that IDC was to engage in profit making ventures, and not to be an agent to fund economic development was a critical factor in setting its course for the future. This fundamental extinction enabled IDC to focus its strategic direction on profit earning investments. IDC was and is expected to earn income in order to help support the activities of IRC and to contribute to annual distributions to beneficiaries.

At the same time, IDC has always been committed to and mindful of the goals of the IFA and its responsibility to foster employment and business opportunities for Inuvialuit. Its investments, in Aklak and through NorTerra,

IDC Properties.

Staff of IDC Properties.

Staff of Aklak Air.

Northern Transportation Company Limited (NTCL) and Canadian North, have provided critical transportation links to the people of the region.

Money to Invest

Money to invest is a prerequisite of a successful business. The IFA provided financial compensation — $152 million — to be paid to IRC and invested by IDC and IIC. Early on IRC established the principal that IDC's share would be 10%. In addition to a share of the financial compensation, a $10 million economic enhancement fund was provided to IDC as a term of the IFA. This approximately $25 million was a crucial first step in establishing IDC as a viable and credible business.

Investment Partners

IDC recognized early on the value of partnering with successful businesses. Experience has taught IDC the importance of choosing the right partner. Fundamental to this is a common objective and the capital to achieve it. Inherent in the ability to realize on objectives is the capacity of each party to contribute to the venture and a positive relationship between the partners. Two examples show the benefits that result from the right relationship.

IDC and Nunasi Corporation, IDC's counterpart in Nunavut, came together in 1985 when the federal government was seeking to privatize NTCL, a shipping company serving both eastern and western Arctic communities. Together they purchased NTCL in a bank financed transaction. It became the core of NorTerra, an Edmonton based investment holding company which has been the key to other acquisitions in transportation, manufacturing and services. NorTerra has bought and sold businesses over the years and in addition to NTCL currently owns Canadian North, Weldco-Beales Manufacturing Inc., Braden-Bury Expediting Ltd. and Northern Industrial Sales. NorTerra has been instrumental in the success of its two shareholders, it has paid for the initial acquisition of NTCL and other investments and generated cash for its shareholders to pursue their individual strategies.

Even older is IDC's relationship with Akita Drilling through Akita Equtak Drilling Ltd. The company was founded to enable the partners to participate in the oil exploration activities of the 1980s. At the end of that exploration cycle, the assets were sold and the company wound down. However, the strong foundation built between the partners provided the natural springboard to renewed investment with the latest cycle of gas exploration in the Western Arctic. IDC and Akita together own four purpose built drilling rigs which they operate north and south through Akita Equtak.

Akita Equtak

In the latter part of the 1980s IDC invested heavily in real estate both north and south. Commercial buildings in Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik and real estate in BC provided challenges for many years. Northern real estate seemed an appealing investment offering an opportunity to invest visibly at home. The ability of the local markets to absorb the space was limited and it was some years before occupancy levels rose to permit profits to be earned from these investments. In recent years, IDC Properties, focusing on northern commercial and residential property, has proven to be a solid performer.

What has been learned is the importance of diversification and understanding the nature of the risk inherent in the investment. Moreover it is not just the initial investment but the staying power, the ability to sustain the cash outflow through to a satisfactory conclusion. All investment has risk but devoting a significant proportion of the corporation's capital to non-performing investments with the hope of significant but speculative future profit is inappropriate for a corporation such as IDC which is investing heritage moneys for long-term cash flow.

IDC is fulfilling its early vision of establishing a long-term and stable economic base. There has been growth through investment, proven both by the profits returned to IDC and the increasing level of employment and training opportunities for beneficiaries.

Diversification

IDC tries to diversify its investments both geographically and by industry sector. In order to fulfill its mandate boom and bust cycles need to be recognized. Investments are made to help balance those cycles and provide a base level of cash flow. This is easier said than done.

IDC has the expertise of operating in the North and also distinct advantages from economic provisions in the IFA. This has been the case in recent years with the gas exploration activity in the Mackenzie Delta.

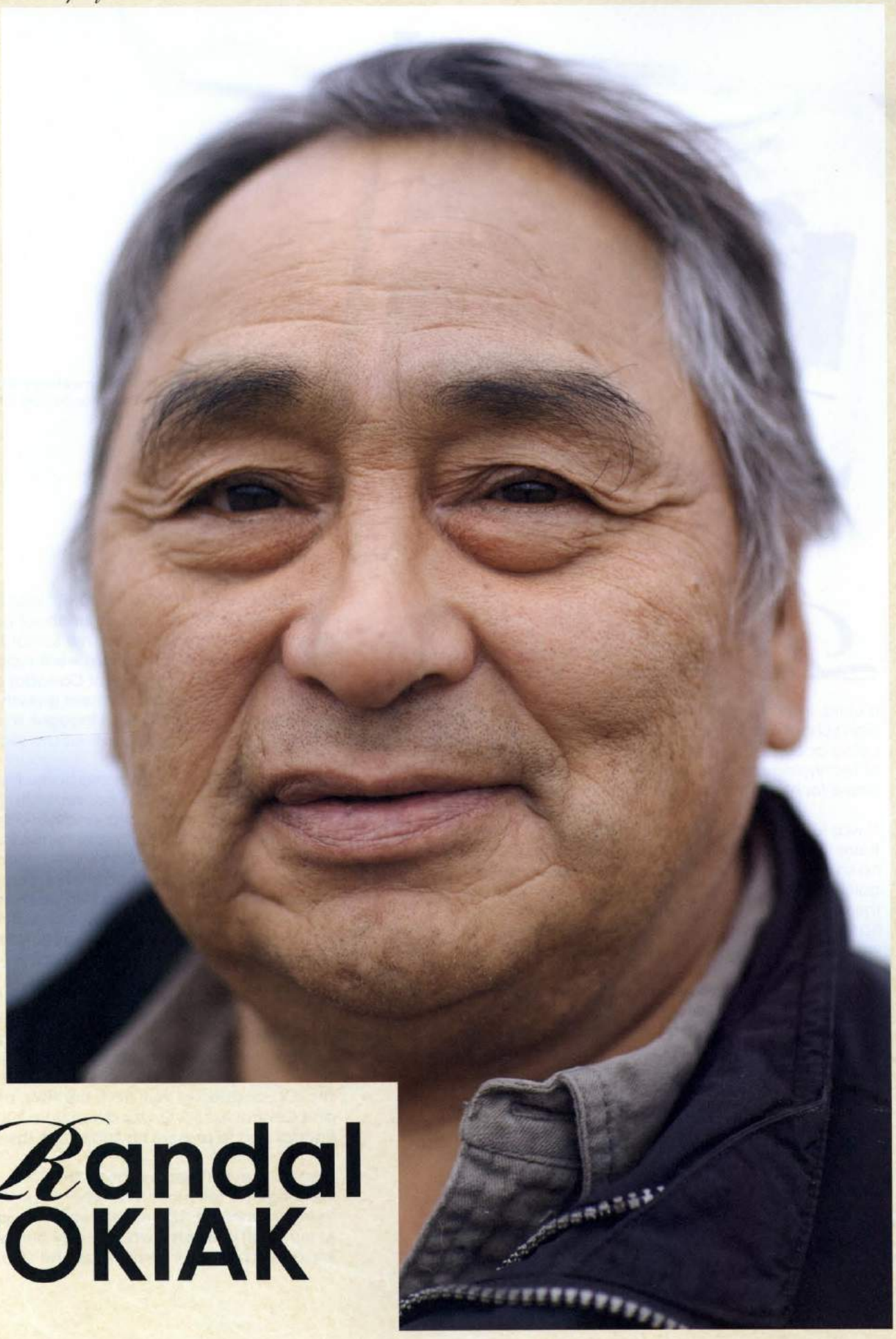
Between 1999 and 2003, IDC entered into a number of strategic joint ventures enabling the provision of a suite of services to the oil and gas industry in the Western Arctic and beyond. At the same time IDC must recognize the cyclical nature of the industry and structure its participation to take account of the inevitable slowdowns. This requires sufficient flexibility in the investment activity that it can profit during the good times and scale back the operations during periods of lower activity.

Companies within the IDC group are not simply business leaders but are responsive to community needs as well. In 2004, IDC launched the Arctic Youth Leadership Expedition. Companies within the group as well as customers and clients have joined enthusiastically to support leadership training for young Inuvialuit.

Conclusion

With the settlement of the Inuvialuit land claim, IDC had a great deal going for it but it was a start-up business faced with the challenges of putting capital to work. It has had successes and failures. It made mistakes and not all of its investments yielded the hoped for results. Fortunately it has learned from more than 25 years experience.

IDC has been able to move from a position of frequent losses to consistent profitability. This has allowed IDC to selectively expand business investments and explore new possibilities for the future with confidence. The conservative business principles followed by IDC fit the nature of the organization as a land claim institution with a very long investment horizon — Inuvialuit have a long history and longer future. The lessons learned over 25 years have been valuable and important contributors to the institutional maturity which IDC has achieved and should allow it to approach the future with a realistic expectation of continued success.



Randal POKIAK

Photos: Randal Pokiak at a COPE meeting in the early 1970s. (Right) Randal Pokiak as first IDC Chair.

Randal Pokiak always knew he wanted to be a hunter and trapper. He loved the land as a child. In 1971, his first thought upon completing high school was to return to the land, despite being accepted into the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology and his father Bertram Pokiak's desire for him to work in the wage economy.

"I was just 21, so I wanted to see if I could survive out there like my dad, my granddad and other Inuvialuit," he said. Most trappers prepared for months before going out on the land. "I decided to test myself to the extreme," he said. "It was a late start so I was hanging the 8 ball. If I could make it through there was a good chance [for surviving next year]."

He survived the first year, gaining experience and learning from other trappers, even though his father refused to teach him. Randal tried to re-learn Inuvialuktun so he could communicate with elders. The elders told him important information, such as what kind of snow to use so his traps did not freeze up.

The next year, Bertram realized Randal was serious about his vocation as a harvester. "We became really good friends," said Randal. "Before, he was just a father, always telling me what to do." Bertram began teaching his son. They pored over maps together, discussing routes and preferred hunting spots.

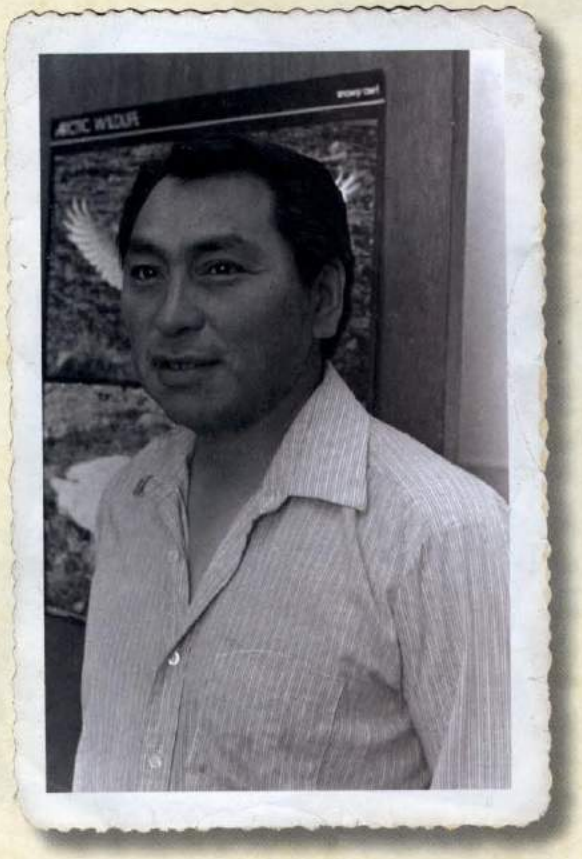
"My dad was involved with COPE," said Randal. "We never talked to each other about political issues. Teachers taught me in my Social Studies class that native organizations were supposedly slowing down the progress [of Canada] and Northern development, northern growth. So when I came out of school, I thought, this is a free country, and these organizations are socialists."

One day in 1972, Randal came home from the trapline, and overheard a conversation between his father and Charlie Smith, another elder who was involved with COPE. "I said to myself, these guys are not communists, they are just concerned as trappers, about the impact of oil companies and government on wildlife, and on their habitat. That's my life, and COPE is trying to protect that. So we can continue to not only generate revenue and income, but also food for the table."

The elders knew Randal wanted to be a full-time trapper, so they asked him to take on political involvement gradually. Sam Raddi, President of COPE invited Randal to represent the Inuvialuit on the board of the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI). The ICI consisted of Inuit from the NWT, and Eastern and Central Arctic. On his return from ICI meetings, Randal had to present his findings to the COPE Board.

This was Randal's first exposure to COPE meetings. He felt moved by what they were trying to achieve. "Especially when it came to Inuvialuit interests. I was already being impacted by the oil companies," he said.

"They took me under their wing. They didn't need to explain to me how it feels to be out there. I know, the smells, the sounds, the feeling, the physical side of it, I was part of them."



"I was traveling on the trap line in November, and roads were being built, rigs put up. Trappers like me had our traps run over. I know that COPE was working on all of this, but it seemed to be taking so long. I decided to get involved."

Randal knew his education and ability to speak both English and Inuvialuktun would be an asset for the elders in COPE. "A lot of the elders at that time couldn't read and were signing an 'X' on their cheques. They had a great deal of knowledge, but they needed help. They could hire southern consultants, but if they could have somebody Inuvialuit, that could speak, and read and write documents...well, I had that training in high school."

Before he could put his decision into action, Randal went back to the trapline to overcome a personal barrier. "I wanted to work with COPE but not with the white men," he said. COPE had many southern consultants, and it bothered Randal.

"Crossing the harbour, I was thinking about my attitude, just because I felt so much hate. We knew all about the land and the environment, but we also had to deal with the government, documents. Writing up stuff, getting motions."

"The consultants could put our thoughts to paper in a way the government would recognize. And they know how to maneuver through the levels of the government. It's like if you wanted to maneuver through the land, I could take you through. I knew we needed somebody to maneuver us through the government," he said. Randal was ready to work with COPE after that. As he got to know the consultants, he realized that they cared about COPE. "It softened my heart," he said, "My prejudice was gone. So I started to enjoy life more. Because you don't have these barriers anymore, you don't have to say things, do things to protect yourself."

Randal found a deep emotional bond to his culture and elders while doing fieldwork in the communities, in preparation for land selection.

"COPE asked if I could meet with all the households, the hunters and trappers to create maps and documentation on where they grew up; where they used the lands, the waters; in what the times and seasons; where denning areas are for polar bears, for grizzly bears, for foxes...and so I gained all this knowledge. About my culture, and my people, and the environment, which I was interested in." he said.

Randal found that "COPE opened a door for me to get in touch with every home." The elders accepted and nurtured him, impressing upon him the importance of the land.

"They took me under their wing. They didn't need to explain to me how it felt to be out there," he said. "I know, the smells, the sounds, the feeling, the physical side of it, I was part of them."

"The elders, the ones that speak Inuvialuktun, said 'what's going to happen? I don't have much longer to live, what am I leaving behind?' Oil companies were just going offshore, they went from the Delta to the mainland, and into the Mackenzie basin, building artificial islands, and then the government gave them rights in deep sea waters. COPE was trying to help get what they wanted for their children and grandchildren. The elders held so much hope, they were going after a dream. After our interviews, some elders would come to me. They looked at me, and said, 'Are you going to go all the way with us, are you going to commit yourself to the Inuvialuit, Randal?' I said yes," he remembered.

This promise sustained Randal over the next decade, he took on whatever role necessary to make good on it, until the AiP was signed. COPE paid meager wages, about $750 a month, compared to the $4000 bi-monthly pay cheque received by a worker in the oil industry. "I think the hardest part was leaving what you loved doing, to do something you have no choice but to do," said Randal.

He became a negotiator, and later was President and the first Chair of the Inuvialuit Development Corporation. He was a key figure in COPE's transition to IRC and the implementation of the IFA.

COPE wanted a reliable individual to spearhead IDC. Randal was asked to take on the responsibility. It was a difficult decision for him. He had looked forward to returning to the land as a harvester. At that point, IDC was in place with a President, a board and the COPE bookkeeper, but there was news that some of IDC's investments were made on the stock market.

"You don't play with stocks," said Randal. "The $9.6 million could be gone in a flash. IDC needed a Chair that won't stash money into his own account. The image of Inuvialuit was very important to us, at the time there was so much opposition with not only the Government, but also Industry and the non-Inuvialuit who live in the North. They were scrutinizing the corporation."

"Also the government's attitude was we didn't need a land claim, they can look after all native people. They said we will use up our monetary compensation and that we didn't know anything about running a corporation or land administration. So there was a fire put in my heart, a challenge to prove them wrong."

Randal remembered trying to balance raising his family on the land, while still working with COPE and IDC. "It got to the point where I could see a plane circling, following the trail to my trap line, landing in

"We would sit at the banks waiting for hours, even though we had made an appointment. When it was our turn, when the bank manager saw that we were native, we were told that the bank could not see us."

the lake I was going to, because the office needed me," he said. Randal requested his wife's permission to devote himself to IDC full-time for three years.

"They had to put up the consequences of our commitments, whether economic or family wise, and their lives were put on hold," he said. "My wife at the time sacrificed without me. In those three years I was home for three months."

"I was just a trapper, I had no business experience of any kind but you could hire consultants, lawyers, accountants, people who know the system and who can report to you. I then apply the Inuvialuit mindset to their reports," said Randal. During his tenure, IDC grew and gained experience, developing protocols.

Randal remembered IDC being rejected by banks in the early days. "We would sit at the banks waiting for hours, even though we had made an appointment. When it was our turn, when the bank manager saw that we were native, we were told that the bank could not see us."

"When I left we had 16 business investments. And we still had over $10 million in IDC's account. We could show it to banks as capital so they would back these deals. I think we came a long way in a short time," said Randal.

Randal hopes youth will be able to understand the importance of the IFA and that they can take charge of their future. "After 25 years, the Inuvialuit have progressed immensely. If our youth knew our history, the background to the IFA, and especially the economic measures in the IFA, they can be proud of who they are."

He continued, "Our next generation has a lot of potential. The final Agreement is full of opportunities, some of which we still have to implement and develop, but if you are young, and you are dissatisfied with what's going on, you think you can do a better job...well, go in there and do it. The best people to make change are the people that want change."

Photos (previous page, left) Randal in his hometown, Tuktoyaktuk; (right) Randal and his daughter. (This page) Randal (extreme right) visiting the Inupiat to discuss land use on behalf of IDC.

3rd Goal of the **IFA**

To protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife environment and biological productivity

Maureen Rogers and her daughter preparing maktak harvested at Baby Island whale camp.

Inuvialuit Game Council

By Dr. Norm B. Snow

(L-R) Frank Pokiak and Duane Smith representing IGC at the signing of an updated Inuvialuit-Inupiat Polar Bear Management.

Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) was incorporated as a Society under the Territorial Ordinance on April 20, 1983. It pre-dated the signing of the IFA, and was the first "Inuvialuit" land claim organization to be officially created, along with IDC.

By 1986, IRC was in existence. IRC worked closely with IGC and a complex financial reporting system began to develop. At that time both organizations were located in the Professional Building in Inuvik. The Joint Secretariat was incorporated that year.

One of IGC's noteworthy achievements was the negotiation of a landmark user group agreement between the Inupiat of Alaska and the Inuvialuit, to jointly manage their shared polar bear population. This agreement was signed in 1988, re-affirmed in 2000. It is the first ever co-management conservation agreement. Andy Carpenter, the longest serving IGC Chair and IFA negotiator, feels that this is his most significant contribution to wildlife management.

IGC was instrumental in reviving the Inuvialuit cultural pursuit of hunting bowhead whales. Its efforts resulted in the successful landing of two whales, one in 1991 and the other in 1996, at Shingle Point.
IGC recognized early on that the attitudes and actions of others outside of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region affected Inuvialuit traditional pursuits. Emotive and irrational activists and lobbyists, from animal rights organizations and other protectionist groups, influenced some governments to create policies that endangered the rights of Inuvialuit to carry on traditional harvesting economies and activities. IGC therefore became engaged in international meetings, often at United Nations level, to counteract the anti-harvesting movements, and to promote the sustainable use of wildlife.

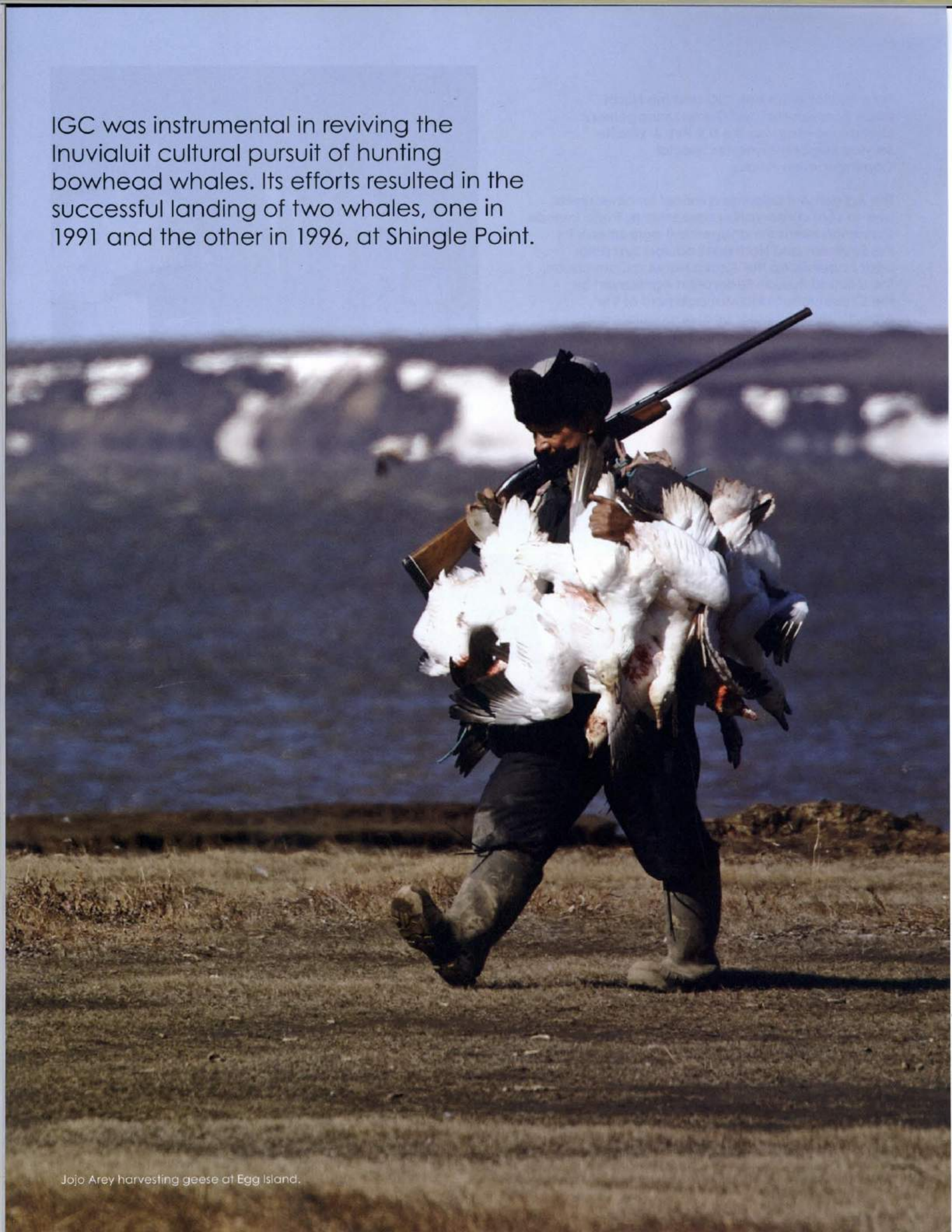
One of the approaches pursued was community-based management and IGC worked with indigenous peoples in Africa and South America in this regard. IGC's international involvement did not detract from its role regionally and nationally. Wherever IGC has been engaged, the remaining footprint has been positive with IGC members proving to be staunch ambassadors for the Inuvialuit.

Polar Bear Management Agreements

At the time of its ratification, the Inuvialuit-Inupiat polar bear user-group management agreement was unique. The governments of Canada and the United States were reluctant to pursue this agreement. The Inuvialuit and Inupiat were able to bypass bureaucratic processes, communicating and ratifying the agreement in record time; unusual and precedent setting.

With this milestone agreement, the Canadian and United States management agencies (Canadian Wildlife Service and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service) became involved in the development and subsequent ratification.

IGC was instrumental in reviving the Inuvialuit cultural pursuit of hunting bowhead whales. Its efforts resulted in the successful landing of two whales, one in 1991 and the other in 1996, at Shingle Point.



Jojo Arey harvesting geese at Egg Island.

For their achievement, IGC and the North Slope Borough Fish and Game Management Committee received the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service Regional Directors Special Commendation Award.

This Agreement became a model for other similar user-to-user conservation agreements. These include Canadian internal management agreements for the Southern and Northern Beaufort Sea polar bear populations; the Alaska Nanuuq Commission; the U.S. and Russian Federation Agreement for the Conservation and Management of the Alaska-Chukotka polar bear population; and the Inuvialuit-Inupiat Beaufort Sea Beluga Whale Agreement. This is indeed a legacy to be proud of.

Andy Carpenter as IGC Chair (far right) and his Inupiat counterpart from North Slope Borough Game Management Committee receiving the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service Regional Directors Special Commendation Award.

Larry Carpenter (far left) with David Ruben (centre) at the signing of Tuktuk Nogait National Park.

Conservation Areas

An important component of IGC's integrated wildlife management regime is the maintenance and creation of protected areas.

Ivvavik National Park was the first National Park created by a land claim settlement. It was established primarily to protect the calving grounds of the Porcupine Caribou Herd in Canada. The Vuntut Gwich'in National Park, which is contiguous with the southern boundary of Ivvavik National Park, has extended the caribou's protection.

In addition to Ivvavik National Park, the Inuvialuit worked with Environment Canada in maintaining four migratory bird sanctuaries and with other Inuvialuit organizations and Parks Canada in creating two more National Parks (Aulavik at the northern end of Banks Island, and Tuktut Nogait in the vicinity of Paulatuk).

IGC, in collaboration with FJMC, IRC, Fisheries and Oceans and other parties, actively participated in the establishment of a Marine Protected Area that will give legislative protection to the three Beaufort Sea Beluga Management Plan Zone 1areas. The establishment of a second Marine Protected Area near Paulatuk is currently under consideration.

The total amount of conservation protected areas within the ISR is higher than the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's target of 10%. It proves the Inuvialuit commitment to the conservation of wildlife and its habitat.

The second Bowhead Whale harvest at Shingle Point.

Bowhead Whale Harvesting

The community of Aklavik had an ancestral tradition of harvesting bowhead whales. After the signing of the IFA, it expressed an interest in re-vitalizing this tradition.

In the late 1980s, the Aklavik Hunters and Trapper Committee,with the able support of Dodie Malegana and Renie Arey, were able to develop a plan to harvest the first bowhead whale since the last hunt half a century ago.

IGC tried to work through the International Whaling Commission to facilitate this harvest but that organization was reluctant to support such a harvest. Lobbyists from activists groups influenced its decision. This attitude prevails to the present day.

IGC decided that a regional body had to be created to support subsistence whaling by Indigenous peoples. It therefore assisted materially in the creation of the first regional science-based marine mammal management organization - the North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission.

Inuvialuit Harvest Study

Prior to the signing of the IFA there had been several wildlife harvest studies in arctic Canada, conducted with varying levels of success and of short duration. In 1986, the IGC decided to establish a harvest study that would learn from, and build upon these earlier harvest studies.

This became the Inuvialuit Harvest Study under the guidance of its first coordinator. The study produced a ten-year comprehensive record of Inuvvialuit wildlife harvesting which remains a model for other similar studies.

Alex Aviugana

PAST IGC CHAIRS

Andy Carpenter
(1987, 1988 - 1995)

Alex Aviugana
(1987 - 1988)

Larry Carpenter
(1995 - 1997)

Duane Smith
(1997 - 2004)

Frank Pokiak
(2004 - present)

Inuvialuit representatives Chuck Gruben, Frank Pokiak and their Inupiat counterparts Taqulik Hepa and Benjamin Nageak co-signing the new declaration on Polar Bear management.

Andy CARPENTER

"That's when the territorial land use regulations started. When oil companies go out after that, they couldn't just use their quads, they had to use 'shoes' on their bulldozers. After that they started meeting with the people before exploration of any kind."

When Andy Carpenter looks back on his life, he is content. "I think I had a good life," he said, "I never thought that would happen when I was young. I guess you never know." Andy was born on a boat to Fred and Lucy Carpenter, at Sea Otter Harbour, about fifty-five miles from Sachs Harbour. Andy's mother passed away when he was very young. His father sent him to the Anglican residential school in Aklavik for five years. Andy remembered being a bit of a "brawler" then. He was taller and stronger than most youth. "I was wild, always getting into trouble. Never big trouble, but I got into a lot of fights," he laughed.

"My dad wanted to take me to school in Edmonton, but I wanted to come back here to hunt and to trap. I was fifteen, I didn't want to go down south. Later in life, I realized I wanted to go back and learn more. I was too young to tell at that time. Things were changing even at that time, we had to know a bit of English, before we could get a job anywhere."

Andy's formal education ended at grade five. "My dad had a white father. It was a bit different growing up. We used to be called names and get beat up. But my dad and granddad taught us to try our best in everything we do. We lived a traditional life. I can speak Inuvialuktun. We wintered in Sachs Harbour to trap, and traveled in the summer by our schooner, the North Star, to pick up supplies in Aklavik."

His parents had first traveled to Sachs Harbour with Fred Wolki, on the North Star. They found wildlife to be abundant in the area, and his father built the first house in Sachs Harbour. The second house to go up was Paul Adam's. The RCMP set up in Sachs Harbour in 1954, after it became a popular sealing area. With the intention of helping others, Andy's father ran the first co-op there. The family's schooner was often used to help other families travel.

Andy met his wife Winnie in Aklavik. It was love at first sight. "It was 1954, we went up there to get our supplies and one day my brother brought her to the boat. I came back to Sachs Harbour to trap. She went to Tuk. We stayed in touch and got married in 1956." They had twelve children. Andy worked to support his growing family. "I started trapping, and did well. I worked hard, my brother Frank and I got together most of the time and were always competing to see who was a better hunter." he said. He was also a reliable worker. "Even at our summer jobs, in Tuk, David Nasogaluak and I, we used to be the first ones to be hired as labourers. We would show up for work every time. The pay was 50 cents an hour at that time in Tuk, sometimes you worked twenty hours straight. There was never any overtime pay. During the rush to get the boat ready to go, you had to work until the job is done. Sometimes you get a couple of hours sleep and that's it," he said.

The young boy who used to pick fights grew to use his strength wisely. Andy was a natural leader. "I was outspoken then," he said. "I dealt a lot with government as President of the Hunters and Trappers Association, and as community leader." As exploration activity started to increase around Sachs Harbour, Andy attended meetings and asked questions that reflected the concerns of community members.

"This was the smallest community, but it was at the forefront when it came to the land claims agreement. Sachs Harbour used to be a booming trapping area. It used to be the White Fox Capital of the world. All the people wanted fox furs from Sachs Harbour, because people here handled them well, they cleaned them well. At one time Sachs had over two hundred people, in the 1960s," he said. In 1970, the government was going to allow Demonex, an oil company to carry out seismic exploration around Sachs Harbour.

Andy said the Inuvialuit had observed oil companies going into treaty lands without any consultation with the people who lived there. "When they came out here, they were going to do the same. We knew what was going to happen on the land. COPE met with us, and we decided we wanted to change all that. So we stopped them," said Andy. Federal regulations were put in place after COPE threatened legal action. "That's when the territorial land use regulations started. When oil companies go out after that, they couldn't just use their quads, they had to use 'shoes' on their bulldozers. After that they started meeting with the people before exploration of any kind." Andy became an obvious choice for COPE when

Photos: (page left) Andy Carpenter with his NAAF Award; (this page) Andy Carpenter as special constable for Sachs Harbour.

they were looking for a negotiator from Sachs Harbour. "I was still a trapper then," said Andy. "It was the end of the trapping season, in 1976, when COPE needed someone to be a negotiator. My wife Winnie was a fieldworker for COPE. Each community picked a negotiator. I wasn't planning on working with COPE full-time. Once trapping season started again, I planned to go back out. That wasn't how it happened. Once I started out I didn't have much time for trapping anymore."

Traveling as a negotiator lost its novelty in a short time. "I started traveling a lot to the mainland and sometimes to Ottawa. It was good for a while to see cities. But you get tired of it after awhile and want to come back home...Every time we went to the government, things would change and we had to go back and tell the people about the changes. After awhile people became bored and didn't want to listen. They thought, it's always changing, so why come to us again? We had to do that, to let people know what the changes were, and if people could live with it," he said.

"We didn't get paid very much, about $50 a day. I was lucky, I had money from trapping, so I had a little cushion put aside. Some of the negotiators didn't have any money and it was harder on them. COPE always made sure half of what they paid us went straight to our families. We tried to stay at the cheapest hotels, sometimes when we stop at Edmonton, we wouldn't get a hotel, we stayed right at the airport and slept on benches till the next flight."

Each negotiator specialized in a section of the IFA, and Andy's specialty was wildlife. "I didn't have a lot of schooling, but wildlife was my part," he said. Andy's passion for wildlife made him take on all the reading and learning he needed to become an effective negotiator. After each negotiation, Andy and other COPE negotiators would strategize and examine details of the meetings with Bob DeLury, chief negotiator for COPE.

Andy often had to travel alone to negotiate with other native groups on overlapping issues. "Most of our problems are with the North Slope," he said. "The two governments, the Feds and the Yukon, wanted different things. The Yukon didn't want to give up harvesting rights for their native people...A lot of the overlap agreements had to do with caribou herds. I was on the caribou commission, made up of representatives from NWT, Yukon and Alaska. We had to get all the people together. You start talking to native groups, native to native. It was easier. It's when government gets involved that it's a bit hard. Native to native agreements, like the one we have with Alaska, that went really smoothly."

Andy remembered how he felt on the day of the signing. "I felt good. I thought after the signing I can get back to what I was doing, to be a trapper," he said. "But we found out, once we signed the claim, that's when it starts. We did some implementation before the claim, but once it was signed, then the real implementation started."

The implementation of the IFA, setting up boards such as for IGC, and representing the Inuvialuit at WMAC (Wildlife Management Advisory Council) meant Andy no longer had personal time. "It was a huge life change. I didn't trap anymore. I had to travel all over the world. At first, it was exciting. Sometimes, I was not able to come home to my family for a month. But my family was supportive, and I had the support of the communities when I was in these positions, so I felt welcome in every settlement I visited."

Photos: (page left) Andy Carpenter with his family; (this page) Fred Carpenter (Andy's father), Andy, David Bernhardt and 'Old Man Wolki'.

Andy remembered how he felt on the day of the signing. "I felt good. I thought after the signing I can get back to what I was doing, to be a trapper. But we found out, once we signed the claim, that's when it starts. We did some implementation before the claim, but once it was signed, then the real implementation started."

Andy served as founding Chair of the Inuvialuit Game Council for ten years, and also as Vice-Chair and acting Chair of WMAC.

"When I was Chair of the Game Council, my greatest accomplishment was the Polar Bear Management Agreement with the Inupiat from Alaska (1989). Ian Sterling, our negotiator, could not come to an agreement with the Inupiat. We then went to Barrow. The Council of Point Barrow met us in a big room, where they all sat in a circle above, looking down at us." "Ian and I looked at each other, and he said, 'We look pretty small, I wonder what is going to happen now?'"

There used to be friction between the U.S. and Canada regarding polar bears. "They thought we weren't protecting the bears in Canada. We made a good presentation and from then on we started getting their respect. They learnt that we had a quota system, and that not many bears were taken. The Inuvialuit and Inupiat started managing the bears together, this has a long-term influence on the maintenance, use and conservation of this resource," said Andy.

Today, Andy's son Larry is the Chair of WMAC. Duane Smith, President of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference cites Andy as his one of his mentors. Duane also modeled the Inuvialuit - Inupiat International Beluga Management Agreement after the Polar Bear Management Agreement.

Andy was also instrumental in the establishment of Aulavik National Park, an area of 12,000 square kilometers on the arctic lowlands. He contributed to preserving the calving grounds of the Porcupine caribou herd, and areas spanning the Northern Yukon and Mackenzie Delta, by advocating for the establishment of Ivvavik National Park through the IFA. Non-native activities that could harm the wildlife were thus kept to a minimum, and the Inuvialuit could still carry out subsistence hunting.

At seventy-six years old, Andy has dedicated over three decades of his life to Inuvialuit land and wildlife harvesting rights. The walls of his living room are covered with prestigious awards in recognition of his lifetime of contribution. The highlights of his career can be tracked, beginning with the Wallace Goose Award, given to him in 1987 for his work as land claims negotiator, and IGC Chair. A plaque from the Joint Secretariat commemorates his "unrelenting and selfless efforts to conserve wildlife for future generations" from 1976 to 1994, while another honours his mayorship of the hamlet of Sachs Harbour from 2000 till 2006. National and international accolades include the Roland Michener Conservation Award, the ITK Lifetime Achievement award, the Parks Canada Award, and a commendation from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services. In 2005, Andy received the NAAF award for Environment.

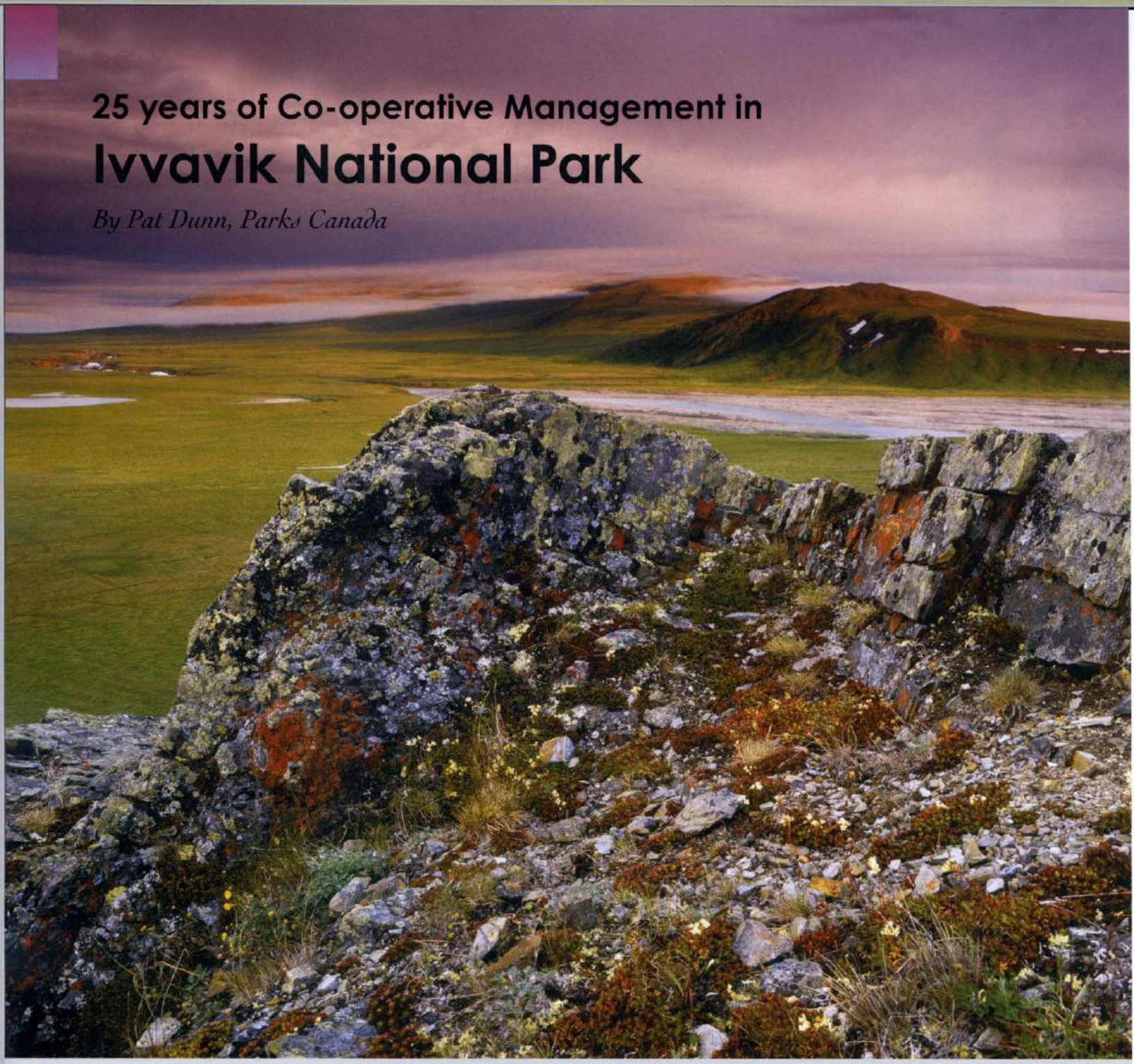
Andy understands how crucial it had been for the Inuvialuit to struggle for rights as a people, having gone through it first hand. "Before the claim, we had no say in anything that was done up here. If government wanted changes to wildlife, they would make the change without consulting anybody. After we started working on the claim, we had a say in what was being done. It's really a working claim, you have to work to keep it," he said.

He encourages younger generations to revisit the IFA. "I think people should look at it again. Things change through the years, and the agreement is a living document that can be adapted, but we have to know how to create change. We knew people should go to school, to learn how to run the claim. It would be good if more people could understand and get involved. When you are working, and you go forward with confidence, you will be rewarded. People should get more involved in what's going on. There are a lot of boards for them to get involved in for the IRC corporations, like the game council."

25 years of Co-operative Management in

Ivvavik National Park

By Pat Dunn, Parks Canada



"A land richer in wildlife, in variety of landscape and vegetation, and in archaeological value than any other in the Canadian Arctic."

These were the words of biologist George Calef, quoted by Justice Thomas Berger when he recommended the creation of a wilderness park in the northern Yukon. The park would protect the calving grounds of the Porcupine caribou herd and be a home for many other species of wildlife and migrating birds.

Photos: (this page) Firstlight at Engigstciak in Ivvavik National Park; (next page) Siberian Phlox flowers; (beneath) caribou crossing.

When the IFA was signed in 1984, Canada agreed to establish a national park on the Yukon North Slope, to "protect the wilderness characteristics of the area, maintaining its present undeveloped state to the greatest extent possible, and to protect and manage the wildlife populations and the wildlife habitat within the area."

Originally called Northern Yukon National Park, it was later named Ivvavik, the "birthing place", by Sadie Whitbread from Aklavik. The IFA also led to the establishment of the Wildlife Management Advisory Council North Slope, which works with Parks Canada to cooperatively manage Ivvavik National Park. It was the first Canadian national park to be created through a modern land claim agreement.

Ivvavik National Park shares its western boundary with the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska, and a southern boundary with Vuntut National Park, which is cooperatively managed by Parks Canada and the Vuntut Gwitchin. To the north is Herschel Island, a Yukon Territorial Park.

PINGO: a canadian landmark

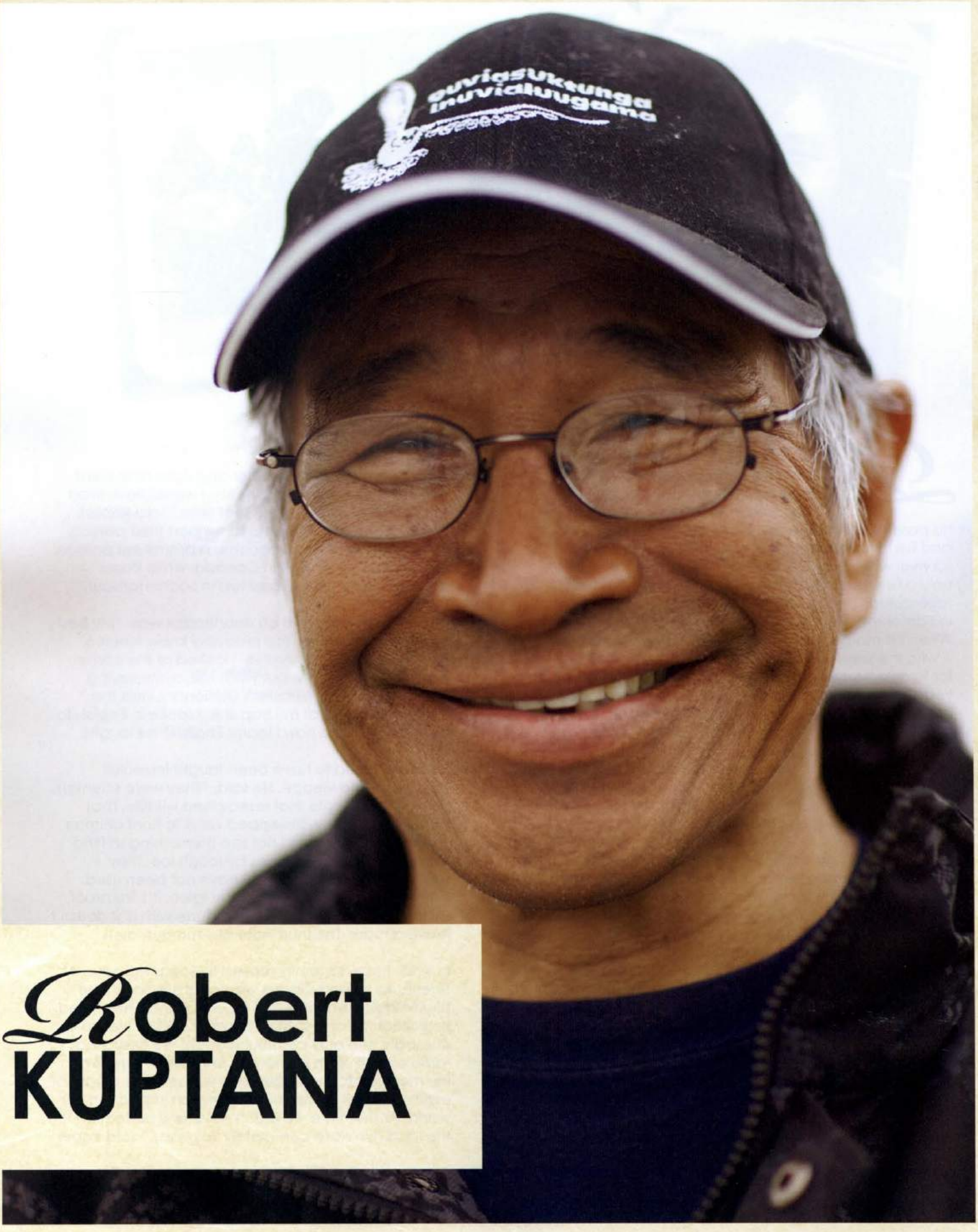
The IFA also provided for the establishment of the Pingo Canadian Landmark near Tuktoyaktuk. Pingos are ice-cored hills unique to permafrost environments. The Landmark is managed under the National Parks Act, in consultation with the ILA and the people of Tuktoyaktuk. The Landmark program began and ended with the Pingo Canadian Landmark – it is the only Canadian Landmark in the country. It contains eight pingos, including Ibyuk, the second tallest pingo in the world at 49 meters. The Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula contains about one-quarter of the world's pingos, approximately 1,300 in total.

Wildlife such as porcupine caribou, dall sheep, grizzly bears, moose, wolves and more than 100 species of birds share the park with a spectacular array of wildflowers. When the rest of Canada was covered in ice during the last ice age, Ivvavik was barely touched by the glaciers. This part of the Yukon was a refuge for many species of plants that today are found nowhere else in the country.

For thousands of years the land in the western arctic has provided for all the needs of the people who have lived and travelled there. Hundreds of archaeological sites in Ivvavik National Park, dating back at least 8000 years, are silent witnesses to the lives of people whose descendents still live and travel there. The "birthing place" – Ivvavik National Park – provides a strong foundation for the protection of Arctic wildlife, and the continuance of Inuvialuit cultural identity, as the IFA intended, twenty-five years ago.

At the signing of Aulavik National Park: (L-R) Charlie Haogak (back row), Peter Esau, Andy Carpenter Sr., and Larry Carpenter.

Photos: (below) Clouds at Joe Creek; (L-R) Gerry Kisoun (far right), Parks Canada Community Liaison Officer at Babbage Falls; (right) Tuktuk Nogait Management Board in 1999.



Robert KUPTANA

Robert Kuptana was born to Sarah and William Kuptana in the Minto Inlet area in 1943. He traveled with his parents around Banks Island, Ulukhaktok, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, learning from them the ways of survival while living off the land. When Robert was only a few years old, his mother was diagnosed with tuberculosis. She traveled by schooner to a hospital in Edmonton, where she spent five bedridden years. When his mother returned, Robert's father became ill with the same disease. He was sent to Edmonton for two years. His family was finally reunited seven years later. They moved to Walker Bay, where Robert's brother Roger, and sister Rosemarie were born soon after. Robert remembers taking on responsibility while he was still very young. "I was only about 9 years old. My parents were disabled after their illness. I decided to stay home and not go to school, so I could look after my mother and father. I used to hunt for them, take care of them," he said.

He maintains a good sense of humour about the situation, remembering how he got his first caribou, at a time when his family really needed the food. He was not much taller than the .22 rifle he carried, a gun that habitually misfires. "I was watching the caribou, and finally, I took a shot. It misfired. Thankfully, the caribou did not run away. I shot again. The gun misfired again. The caribou started running away. I thought all was lost. I had a sinking feeling. Suddenly the caribou keeled over in the distance. I had managed to shoot it behind the legs, through its heart. I ran up to it, and when I got close, I realized it was too big for me to carry home. I remembered my mother talking about how the Inuvialuit would make food caches in the ground. I dug one, stored the meat, and cut off the lower part of one leg to take home, to show I had gotten a caribou," he said.

"I am happy that my brother and sister both went to school and then to university. I would have liked to go but couldn't do it at that time," said Robert. With their brother at home to support their parents, Rosemarie went on to become a prominent political representative for Inuit in Canada, while Roger runs a thriving tourism business in Sachs Harbour.

Robert is self-taught in an unorthodox way. "My best teacher was Archie. You probably know him too, Betty and Veronica, Archie. I looked at the comic book, trying to figure out what they were saying. Later on I studied Webster's Dictionary, and the Bible. I read a lot at my trap line. I spoke in English to my friends. That's how I learnt English," he laughs.

Robert is proud to have been taught Inuvialuit traditional knowledge. He said, "They were scientists, geologists, people that researched wildlife. That must be how they developed ways to hunt animals even when they could not see them, using sniffing dogs, to identify seal holes by rough ice. They developed techniques that have not been used anywhere else in the world. The igloo, it's fire proof," he laughs. "And when you are done with it, it doesn't leave a mark. The Inuit were environmentalists."

In 1955, Robert's family moved to Sachs Harbour. At twenty-four years old, he went seal hunting in the Ulukhaktok area, and met his wife Agnes. He stayed in Ulukhaktok and started a family. "While we were nomadic, the only communications we heard was AM radio on SKIP from Edmonton or Dawson City. When we moved into the settlement, we became aware of mining and oil companies having an impact on our world. At that time we didn't have any protection for the land, we were completely voiceless," said Robert.

Photos: (previous page, left) Robert Kuptana as COPE fieldworker; (right) Robert (then IRC Chair) and his wife Agnes drum dancing at the 10th anniversary of the IFA. (This page) Robert (far left) speaking at an IRC meeting in 1997.

He became interested in aboriginal rights. "I was just starting to learn English," said Robert. "I kept hearing people say, "We have a claim, and this land is ours." But we didn't know we had aboriginal right. A lot of things were in transition then. We were just coming out of being nomadic, we were just learning what a settlement council was. There were no hamlets then. We had to learn fast. There was nothing in place that show us what to do."

"We found out the planes coming into our community were hired by mining companies. They did whatever they wanted on our land, we could not stop them. When they were done, they left fuel oil, lube oil, old materials, automobiles etc. at the campsites. We were also worried about oil spillage from exploration in the Beaufort Sea. We still depended on the sea ice to make our living."

Robert decided to join the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA) in the early seventies, before working for ITC and COPE. "In the beginning, most of the settlement's administration was looked after by Cambridge Bay. There was only one administrator and we went through him for any services. We had scheduled flights from Cambridge Bay and Yellowknife. I was part of KIA. COPE and ITC were already working together on the Nunavut proposal," he remembered. "My role was to be a fieldworker, finding out what people thought about a land claim. We started a land use study."

"We found out that our ancestors from Prince Albert Sound and the Minto Inlet area used to walk to Victoria Island, and cross Hedley Bay... My granny Tiktalik and others would walk all the way across Banks Island, to Melville Island to hunt," he said. "People had never heard these stories before. We learnt that they used every bit of this land, and the ocean."

Through his political involvement, Robert became educated about land claims litigations by other aboriginal groups, including the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in the United States, and the Calder vs Attorney-General of BC case, the first time the Supreme Court of Canada was challenged to recognize Aboriginal rights to the land and its resources.

"The Berger Inquiry was also happening then. During the sessions, I heard very strong, and emotional statements about how this land is ours, and we should own it," he said. "It really hit home. After the inquiry it was recommended that there should be no oil exploration until the land claims are completed," he said.

"They developed techniques that have not been used anywhere else in the world. The igloo, it's fire proof. And when you are done with it, it doesn't leave a mark. The Inuit were environmentalists."

Robert was chosen to be a COPE negotiator. He remembers the intensive strategy sessions in preparation for the negotiations.

"We had to set strong intention, to fight for the things what we wanted," he said. "We had strong leadership, with Sam Raddi, Agnes Semmler, Nellie Cournoyea, and our chief negotiator Bob DeLury. Fieldworkers were equally important, they worked to get direction from the people to the negotiators. Many of our negotiators have passed on: Sam Raddi, Nelson Green, Tom Arey Jr., Charlie Haogak, Wallace Goose—we all learnt to work as a team."

"The government came up with a lot of excuses to deny our demands, but they had a five-day workweek. We took advantage of the weekend to continue our strategizing. Our leaders would ask, 'What are you going to say if government says you don't have a right to that?' We practiced our answers and became stronger, 'I used to live there, I step on it, I hunt in it, I get my food from it, and it's my 'store'.' And if the government said, 'We need to preserve this land for Canada,' we had to say, 'Are you saying we are not Canadian? We are Canadian. We were the first Canadians.'"

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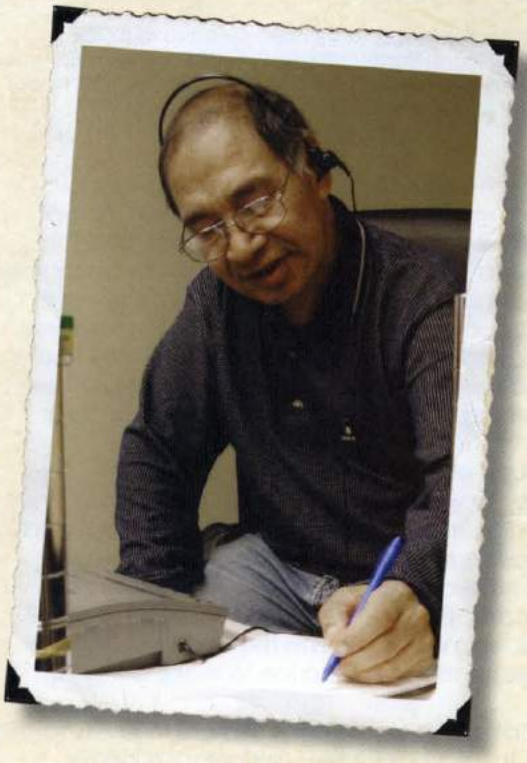


He remembers the challenges of having to be away from home. "Often we were in Ottawa for about six weeks. I found that difficult, because in the spring and fall time, that's when we fish, hunt caribou, duck and geese. I remember Sam Raddi and Nellie telling us, 'you can go hunting anytime after this, but this is the only chance we've got, we have to give it our one shot.'"

"When we signed the agreement itself, in 1984, we felt a wave of relief. We got what we were aiming for. I felt that our people really understood the claim, with the background work we did. We listened to what they wanted, we got their advice," said Robert.

After the signing, Robert was on the implementation committee of the land claims, and IRC's Enrollment Commitee. He was also on the DIAND Land Use Planning Commission. He was on the temporary board of IRC until its first meeting in April 1985, where elected chief councilors of community corporations took over board membership.

In March 1985, Robert moved to Inuvik with his wife Agnes, and their three children, to take on the position of announcer-operator CBC Inuvik. A month later, he began hosting the early afternoon mid-week show, Tusaavik, a regional and local news and current affairs program broadcast mainly in a Western Arctic Inuit dialect. Robert's shows were in Kangiryuarmiut and Siglit. He would also receive more broadcast training at CBC Rankin Inlet.

In 1994, Robert re-entered politics as Chair of IRC. He assumed the position with the intention to ensure IRC became more accountable to the communities, and to give the community corporations more say, "in line with the final agreement which states community corporations would be controllers of IRC."

He held the position for a term. "Once we achieved the claim, implementation became the hard part. At the regional corporation, we had to be strong in order to overcome many challenges. I am very grateful to the board members and also to people who encouraged us to keep going. We began new investments, and worked on contracts with IDC and with IPC," he said. "Implementation was also hard because the government still tried to make decisions without us. It created a big gap towards terms of fulfilling the promises of the claim itself."

Robert retired from politics in 1996. Today, he has a translation services business. "About five years ago, I realized I no longer want to be in politics," he said. "I still do small projects, and interpreting. I purchased interpreting equipment so I can be involved in that way." His work includes translation of the Nunavut Final Agreement. He was also a translator at the Joint Review Panel Hearings in the ISR.

He has no regrets about the years he worked on the claim. "Our way of life has been validated because of the claim itself. We have more freedom to promote our way of life. We can take young people out on the land, and teach them about our culture in the schools. The IFA was a gigantic step for the Inuvialuit and also the Inuit, in terms of negotiating with the government of Canada," he said. "Our rights have become law in Canada. It made us feel we are a part of Canada. This is why each year, we celebrate the signing. We want our younger people to remember June 5th 1984.

Photo: Robert at work, using his translating equipment.

"I wanted to teach, and I got my language back by reading. By listening. I pray that other people do the same, read...and listen. If you learn the vowels, the consonants, you can speak in our language. Anyone can learn."

Liz KUPTANA

Photos: (previous page - left) Liz Kuptana as a young woman, in her drum dance regalia; (right) Jessie Green, Liz Kuptana's mother holding a baby; (far right) Liz Kuptana dancing at the 25th IFA celebrations.

When Liz Kuptana walks around her home town, Paulatuk, her former students call her nanan, a name that brings a smile to her face. Nanan is Inuvialuktun for 'granny'. Liz taught at Angik school in Paulatuk for twenty-years before retiring two years ago. She is a captivating storyteller, a talent the children loved.

"Nan...they call me, Nanan...story time! They put down the blinds in the classroom. They want to hear scary stories! They all love it," said Liz. She infused young children with her passion for Inuvialuit culture, telling them stories about shamans, the nomadic lifestyle, and ingenious Inuvialuit inventions like the qayak and seal stomach food storage bags. She remembers sending chills down her students' spines when telling these stories out on the land. "The Kleenex falls down, they think it's a shaman, it's just the wind moving the tent," she laughs.

Liz has great respect for Inuvialuit traditional skills, and tried to demonstrate these skills to her students. "At language camp one year, bad weather came along, and we ran out of Parma stove oil. My sister and I went around the island looking for a dead seal. It was rainy and windy, but we still went out. We did! The people who were at the camp before had left seal...they put it in the water so the sun wouldn't cook it. The bad weather brought the seal up, and we got lucky. We packed the seal and cut it, we made good heat from the fat. It worked well. Nice and warm, and everybody had breakfast."

Liz remembered her childhood to be a simpler time. "Sometimes they traveled just with a kayak and an oar. Flat-bottomed, they got us everywhere to fish. They were easy to handle. People made their own tools, like chisels, all the main hunting tools. No one spoke English in those days... I only knew a few who did...Joe Thrasher, Nora (my aunty) and father. Everyone else spoke Inuvialuktun. Then we went to school. We came back and were just like 'dannik' [southerners]," she said. Liz's father, Sam Green spoke English because he hunted and fished with the missionaries, and also worked for the DEW Line.

When Liz came home from residential school, she wanted to re-learn her language. "I tried really hard," she said. At first she made little progress. "I tried to learn from my parents. I tried to use my tongue, but it didn't come out right. After you lose your mother tongue, even things that you used to say start to sound different."

During the oil bust, Liz became a language teacher. "Rosemary Kirby taught us to teach, and I picked it up right away," she said.

"I wanted to teach, and I got my language back by reading. By listening. I pray that other people do the same, read...and listen. If you learn the vowels, the consonants, you can speak in our language. Anyone can learn." As the education requirements to be a teacher changed, Liz upgraded her education and became a certified teacher.

Liz understands the challenges to keeping Inuvialuktun alive. "Kids nowadays are different," she said, "As they get older they want to be on their dannik's side...We hear so much English. I hope we get our language back. We are trying really hard. It's very saddening when you sit with someone and you can only talk in English."

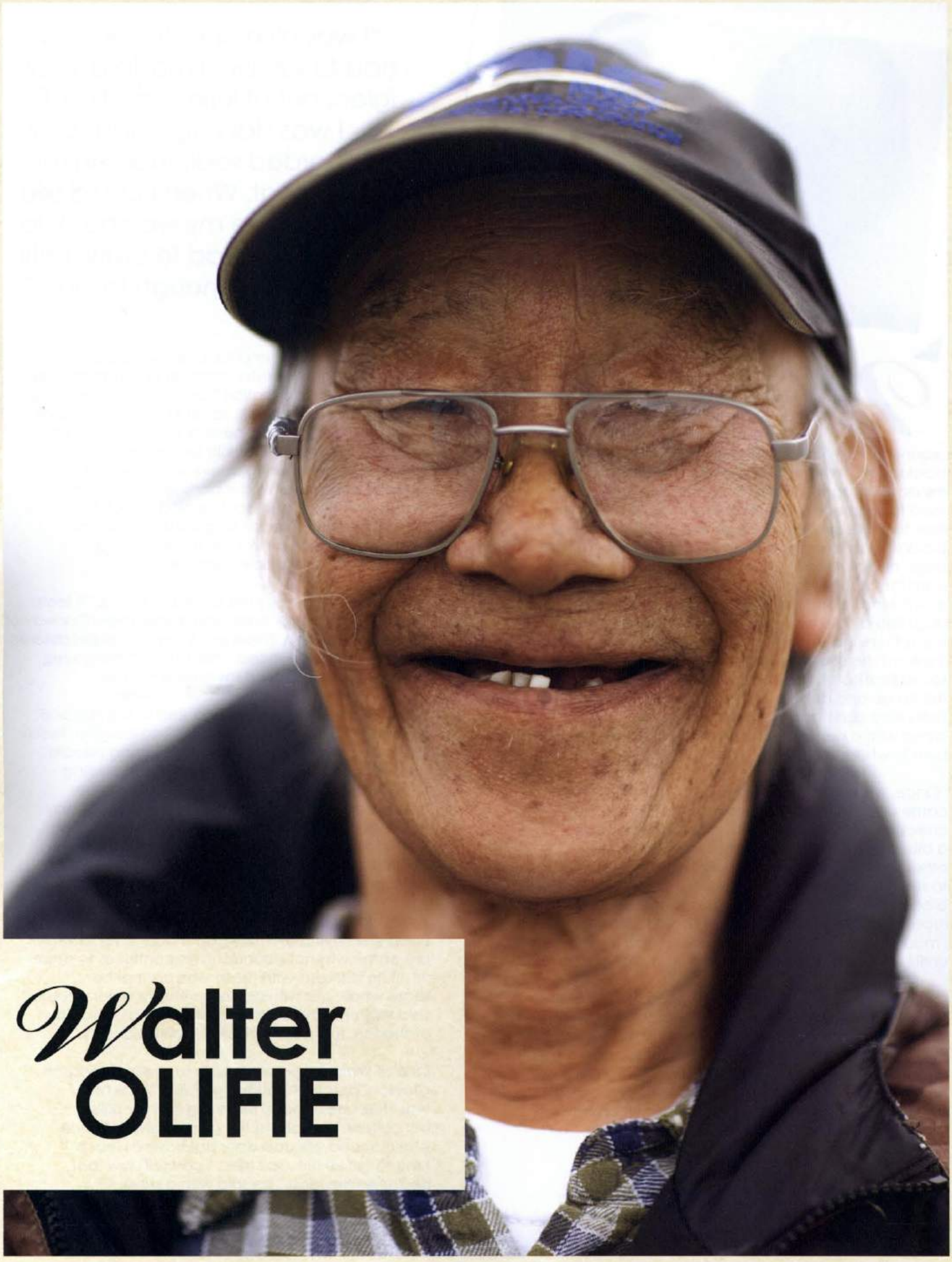
Liz retired two years ago when her aging father needed her help. He passed away a year later. She attributes her passion for her heritage to him.

"He showed us [his children] everything. We are still following his footsteps, his ways, the sharing. Everything that we learnt, we shared it with the others. My two brothers were really involved in fighting for land rights. Nelson, Peter, Noel, Tony, all of them got involved," she said.

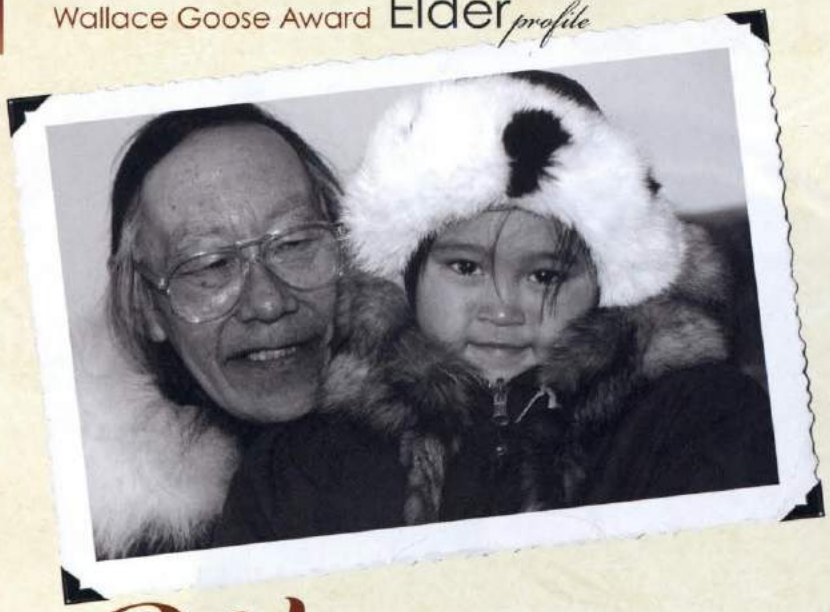
Liz still remembers vividly the reasons for the Inuvialuit to seek their land claim. "Government was moving in, and the oil and gas companies were exploring, doing things to the land without speaking to Inuvialuit. They didn't even ask," she said. "The Inuvialuit said this is not right. And that's why they went for land rights. The only way to fix this problem was to go for land rights. We have to have it in writing. Now all of our rights and our way of life, our lands, wildlife harvesting, and the way we do business are protected by the land claims."

"We now have power to say what happens to our land. It's in the IFA. We now have an agreement that says we own Inuvialuit land. It's in the IFA. We have a say on how wildlife is managed. It's in the IFA," she asserted.

Even though Liz is now seventy, she is still going strong, adapting to the needs of today's youth in order to help Inuvialuit culture grow. "I put in a proposal to go out on the land [with the students] again. They call the language camps 'science camps'... it really gets students to sit up and listen, when they hear the word 'science'. I'm really looking forward to it," she smiled. "My proudest moment of teaching is when you see students willing and smiling, and they are trying to say, good morning, they say 'Ublami'. It gives me a really good feeling to see all their pride, smiles, and laughter."



Walter OLIFIE



"I was all alone for two days. I had to survive. I made a small igloo, out of little snow blocks. I was starving. I had ugiuk (bearded seal) rope on me, so I ate that. When I could see outside, I made my way back to Nadloayok. I had to crawl until I was warm enough to walk."

Walter Olifie has had many close calls, growing up on the land. Many of his stories happened around Prince Albert Sound, which the Inuvialuit call Nadloayok. "When I was young, I was learning from my dad, Potogak, how to hunt and trap. My parents used to tell me that I can't hunt without first knowing how to make an igloo. I remember cutting tiny little blocks of ice to make igloos. We used to take sniffing dogs, negiaktiitaak, to look for seal holes. Our family used the blubber for heat and to cook with. We walk down wind, along the edge of rough ice, when the dogs find a hole we use our Unnak and scrape the ice. If there is a smooth sound, and the water is clear, it means the seal has been using the hole. When we found seal holes, the hunters would set up hooks in the holes, and depending on the situation, wait for seals they can harpoon. I used to help by walking along with a negiaktiitaak, to make the seals swim over to where someone is waiting with a harpoon."

"Once, while we were out looking for seals, a storm came up, and it started blowing. I had gone to check my seal hooks, and the weather became a blizzard, I could not find my parents and the other families. I was all alone for two days. I had to survive. I made a small igloo, out of little snow blocks. I was starving. I had ugiuk (bearded seal) rope on me, so I ate that. When I could see outside, I made my way back to Nadloayok. I had to crawl until I was warm enough to walk," said Walter.

"There were many dangerous situations. I tried not to worry, so that I could focus on overcoming them. Once I fell through ice, when I wasn't able to climb to the top, I sank to the bottom of the water and walked to the land along the bottom. From there I got out of the water," he remembered. His tales of overcoming the odds while hunting delight youth in his community, many of which he had taken to summer camp. Walter is well known for his volunteerism in his home community, Ulukhaktok.

He is a board member of Ulukhaktok's Elders Committee, and a vestry member of his church. He was also on the education board for his community. The Mayor of Ulukhaktok, Janet Kanayok applauds Walter for taking young people to summer camps, where he teaches them skills like drying fish and Inuvialuit values. During community events like the Kingalik Jamboree, Walter participates in many events and helps to keep it running smoothly. He goes to church early, to get it warm before the congregation arrives. He is a deserving recipient of the Wallace Goose Award.

"I feel encouraged by the award," he said. "It feels good to pass on our traditional knowledge. Our way of life is disappearing. These are things my grandchildren have never experienced. I tell it to as many young people as I can, not just my grandchildren."

At age 22, Walter went by dog sled to the sea and ice hunted a polar bear with a .22 calibre rifle. Today, life in the hamlet is busy and many young people are seduced by modern technology, preferring to live virtual lives on the Internet. "I remember how my parents and relatives used to say our way of life, our culture, will change. But we should try not to forget. Our culture is vanishing fast, but we could pass on our oral traditions. Even though I am getting old, I want to keep on going," he said.

While Walter has experienced the hardship of going hungry, surviving on small game during years when big game was not abundant, he continues to share what he harvests with those who cannot hunt. "I share what I get with single parents or older people," said Walter. "I try to practice the Inuvialuit tradition of sharing, to try to treat all Inuit with equality."

One of Walter's greatest joys is to see his grandson, Clayton, practice traditional skills. "Since he was little, I have been teaching him my skills, our culture, and about the geography of Prince Albert Sound. His dad does not have as much time to teach him, so I tried. I can tell now that he knows the land," he said with a smile.

Photo: (this page) Walter Olifie and his grandchild.

Integrated Ocean Management in the Beaufort Sea

By Kelly Eggers, DFO

The ocean has played a vital role in the shaping of the culture, identity and economy of the Inuvialuit. Since time immemorial, the ocean has been a significant source of food, a transportation corridor and a provider of other renewable resources. Today, the ocean is still valued for these reasons; however it also it is also an evolving source of economic opportunity as the ever increasing North American demand for energy pushes the search for new sources of recoverable hydrocarbons well into the Canadian Arctic regions.

Photos: (top left) Inuvialuit crew and Alaskan scientist live-capturing a ringed seal in a specially designed trap set in the sea ice near Paktoa in spring 2006; (top right) Aaron Schweitzer (DFO), Raymond Ettagiak and Roger Memogana releasing a ringed seal back to its breathing hole after applying a satellite tag; (bottom) part of the core field crew from the 2006 seal survey and live capture effort, near Paktoa.

Photos: (this page) During Community Objectives Workshops in March 2007, community members in all six ISR communities work together to provide input into the objectives of the Integrated Ocean Management Plan.

New economic opportunities also bring new challenges. When combined with the broad range of impacts from global climate change, it is critical that there be a plan that will ensure a sustainable future for this vital yet environmentally sensitive area. A plan that will provide for the use of Beaufort Sea resources for subsistence and economic development, while maintaining a healthy environment and healthy communities for generations to come.

Sustainable development is defined as development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the needs of future generations. The Inuvialuit have lived off the land and ocean this way for centuries and resolve to continue doing so.

Integrated management planning is a way of making decisions and developing management plans that consider economic, ecological and social/cultural needs. In 1996 the Federal Oceans Act came into force, requiring DFO to adopt an integrated approach to managing Canada's oceans. The approach had to be based on the principles of sustainable development, the precautionary approach and ecosystem-based management.

The Inuvialuit agreed to work with DFO on integrated ocean management in the ISR. The Beaufort Sea Integrated Management Planning Initiative (BSIMPI) was created. It was a partnership among the Inuvialuit, co-management organizations, government and industry, promoting an approach of working together on ocean management issues and using both traditional and scientific knowledge. It focused on the marine and coastal areas of the ISR, planning for healthy communities and a healthy marine environment.

In 2005 the Government of Canada announced funding to create Integrated Ocean Management (IOM) Plans for Large Ocean Management Areas. BSIMPI evolved and became part of a formal planning process for a more comprehensive IOM Plan. Aboriginal and co-management organizations, the federal and territorial governments, industry, academia, and other non-government organizations came together to form the Beaufort Sea Partnership. Their collective vision: "The Beaufort Sea ecosystem is healthy and supports sustainable communities and economies for the benefit of current and future generations".

Since the 1970s, numerous research and monitoring programs have been undertaken. Strategies and plans have been created to address environmental, economic and social issues in the Beaufort Sea area. The IOM Plan links all such initiatives together, so Partners can work cooperatively and avoid overlap. This Plan also allows these Partners to decide in advance how to work with, adapt to, or benefit from activities with the potential to change the Beaufort Sea environment, economy and culture. Factors considered include climate change, mineral exploration, the development of oil and gas, and possible shipping routes.

Tuktoyaktuk

Oceans Day Paulatuk 2005

Photo: (this page, far right) Two boys on Oceans Day 2005 wearing sweatshirts with a logo by Kyn Will Gordon-Ruben.

The Beaufort Sea ecosystem is healthy now, and the Integrated Ocean Management Plan aims to keep it that way while ocean development opportunities are pursued to boost the economy. Achieving the vision and goals of the IOM is the work of all of the organizations that form the Beaufort Sea Partnership. The IOM Plan goals include keeping the ecosystem healthy, keeping traditions and culture alive, using traditional knowledge, developing the economy, and putting together a way of doing things collaboratively.

The IOM Plan goals were broken down into a number of objectives. Many people and groups had input into what the objectives should be. Working groups were tasked with developing objectives for the Plan. The Working Groups were: Traditional Knowledge; Social, Cultural, and Economic; Ecosystem; Geographical Information; and Community Consultation. Each Working Group was made up of representatives from partnership organizations that have a role in that area, including government, Inuvialuit, industry and non-government organizations.

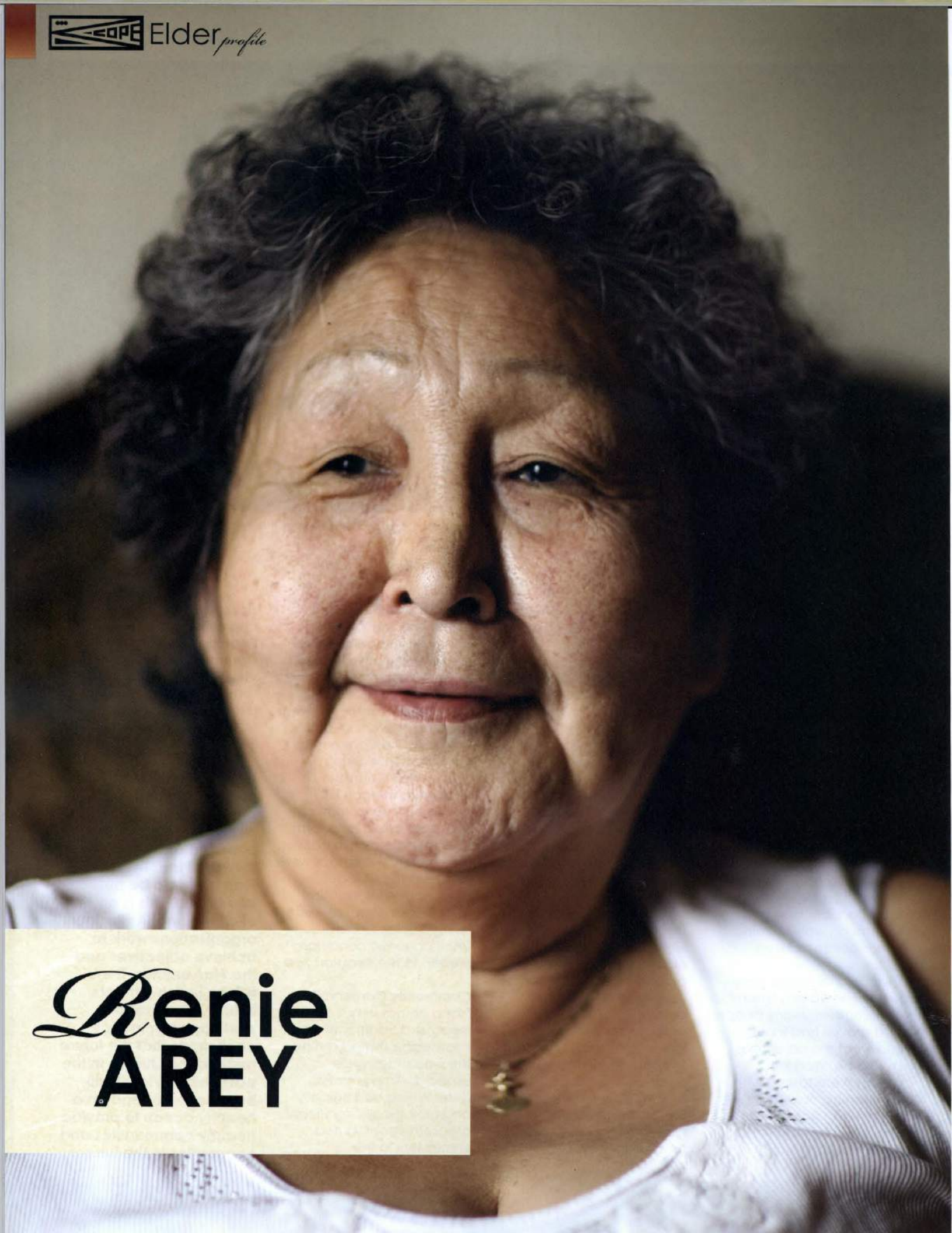
The Traditional Knowledge Working Group included a representative from each community, appointed by the community's HTC.

The objectives of the IOM Plan are related to objectives found in other plans. Several of the social, cultural and economic objectives are reflective of the Mackenzie Gas Pipeline Impact Fund and the Beaufort Delta Agenda. Some objectives are actions from the Beaufort Sea Strategic Regional Plan of Action, developed to address impacts from the oil and gas industry. In this way, the IOM Plan links with and builds on all the other initiatives related to the Beaufort Sea.

Communities in the ISR were involved in every step of this plan. The Community Consultation Working Group held a number of workshops in each ISR community, so community members could help form and validate the objectives. Community workshops were also held to put together background information on the Ecosystem, as well as the Social, Cultural and Economic conditions related to the Beaufort Sea.

Community Conservation Plans, community input, and traditional knowledge shared during the workshops were especially important in determining ecologically and biologically significant areas. This contributed immensely to the documentation of the characteristics of the Beaufort Sea ecosystem. Communities had expressed a desire to formally protect some of these areas, which led to planning for possible Marine Protected Areas in the Beaufort Sea.

This year marks the 25th anniversary of the IFA, and the conclusion of nearly three years of planning and developing the IOM Plan. The Plan is now to be put into action. This is an exciting time! As Partner organizations work to achieve objectives and the Plan unfolds, there will be improvements in how organizations work together to face challenges that the future might bring. Just as in the past, the Inuvialuit will be able to depend on a healthy ocean to provide healthy communities and economies in the future.



Renie AREY

Photos: (this page) Renie Arey (left) and Dora Mangelana discussing traditional knowledge as part of her work for ICRC; (far right) Renie as a negotiator for COPE.

It took three years of consideration, before the Government of Canada would grant the Inuvialuit a special license to conduct the 1991 Bowhead Harvest. The license was to be issued by the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans. The bowhead stocks in the Western Beaufort were healthy and growing, and the international Whaling Commission had granted the Inupiat of Alaska an increase in strikes for their Bowhead harvest, from 40 to 54. The IFA constitutionally guarantees traditional Inuvialuit subsistence rights including the harvesting of bowhead whales. However, the Inuvialuit met obstacles when they elected to apply for a special license to land just one bowhead whale. The last Inuvialuit bowhead harvest happened in the early 1940s.

Renie Arey was Chair of the Aklavik Hunters and Trappers Committee (AHTC) at the time. She had been on the COPE board when harvesting policies were defined in the IFA, working as a negotiator, and a fieldworker before that. "We were talking about the bowhead whale. Should we give people licenses when they ask for it? I was on the board then, I said no...like everybody else we have to ask to do things. Gee, I had to eat my words," she laughed.

In 1990, it took a pivotal Supreme Court decision in the Sparrow Case, where the concept of aboriginal rights in regards to subsistence harvesting was affirmed, before the government took the Inuvialuit license application seriously. Even as the license was about to arrive at the AHTC, Alaskan officials instructed Inupiat not to teach the Inuvialuit how to operate the special equipment ordered for the harvest. Americans were also discussing the idea of imposing trade sanctions against the Canadian seafood industry as punishment for the Canadian government's support of the hunt.

The license came through, and a legal and successful harvest followed on September 4, 1991, led by Captain Danny A. Gordon, with Titus Allen throwing the successful harpoon strike. Renie remembers the jubilation at the harvest, where over a hundred people helped, preparing the maktak and meat, feasting on their bounty. "People, especially the elders were just rejoicing, everything went so well," she said.

Renie stayed with the AHTC for about a decade, often making difficult decisions that were ultimately beneficial. "[AHTC] was in the red with I first got elected," she said. "They was still trying to pay their last board of directors, but we wrote a letter to them, saying, we cannot pay your honoraria from the past, because if we did that, we would be short. We were very sorry but that's how it was. You don't go paying your President $150 a day, it should be equal for everybody. Just because you are up there [position wise] doesn't mean you are a big shot looking down at everybody."

Renie believes in equality. She was born in Aklavik, on November 4, 1944, to Owen and Martha Allen. Her parents taught her the Inuvialuit value of sharing. "People used to build their houses where it's good for fishing, good for muskrat, good for trapping, good for snaring rabbits ...And families that did well helped families that were not doing so well," she said, remembering a woman who thanked her for something her grandmother did. "She came to me and said, when I came through here, my husband and I had just gotten married, we had nothing, just caribou skin. And when we left there, we had a big load. That's how people were long ago."

After her work as a negotiator and fieldworker for COPE, Renie took a communications-training course at the Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS). She became a producer for the TV program *Tamapta*.

"If you want to learn something, you make up your mind. You have a dream, a vision, of what you want to be. You can be what you want to be. I only went to Grade 7 and now I can work at jobs with computers."

"I went from a good paying job down to...[lower wages], but I enjoyed it, I really enjoyed it," said Renie. "Because I was able to go out there and talk to elders about long ago, in Ummarmiutun, Siglitun, Kargyuirmiutun, in the three dialects." She also got a thrill out of learning from the elders about her family's history. One of her achievements in communications includes a Japanese media award, for a program on subsistence harvesting.

Renie lost her ability to speak Inuvialuktun after attending residential school, but working for COPE and ICS helped her regain her fluency. "The one that really encouraged me to talk was Sarah Meyook. We were really good friends," she said. Sarah only spoke Inuvialuktun. "She knew I spoke Inuvialuktun. Sometimes we would laugh when it came out funny, and then she would correct me. The elders are the ones that got me going, getting my language back, and I really respect them for that."

"The elders even now, look at Winnie Elanik, Barbara Allen, and more, they were the ones who started this land claim. On Inuvialuit Day, I was very proud that they presented awards to the elders. Even though some have gone on ahead of us, the people still remembered what they did. It's amazing how time flies. When they had a drum dance at the Aklavik celebration, Andrew sang the *Elders Song*, and then the drum dancers came in, that's when Annie B. and I cried, we thought of the elders, you know," she said.

"They are the ones who brought drum dancing back, they are the ones who kept our culture alive, they are the ones who kept our younger children in touch with the past. It's going to be harder for the younger generation. It's been harder, even for us, because food wise, it's not like you can get it from the land for free. Now you have to buy it from the store... if you don't have a vehicle, you have to ask somebody else if they've got a caribou that you could buy some of... in the old days, they used to share," she said.

After recovering her language, Renie became an Inuvialuktun language teacher at Moose Kerr School in Aklavik. She became a certified teacher after going through the Teacher's Education Program for Aboriginal People at Aurora College.

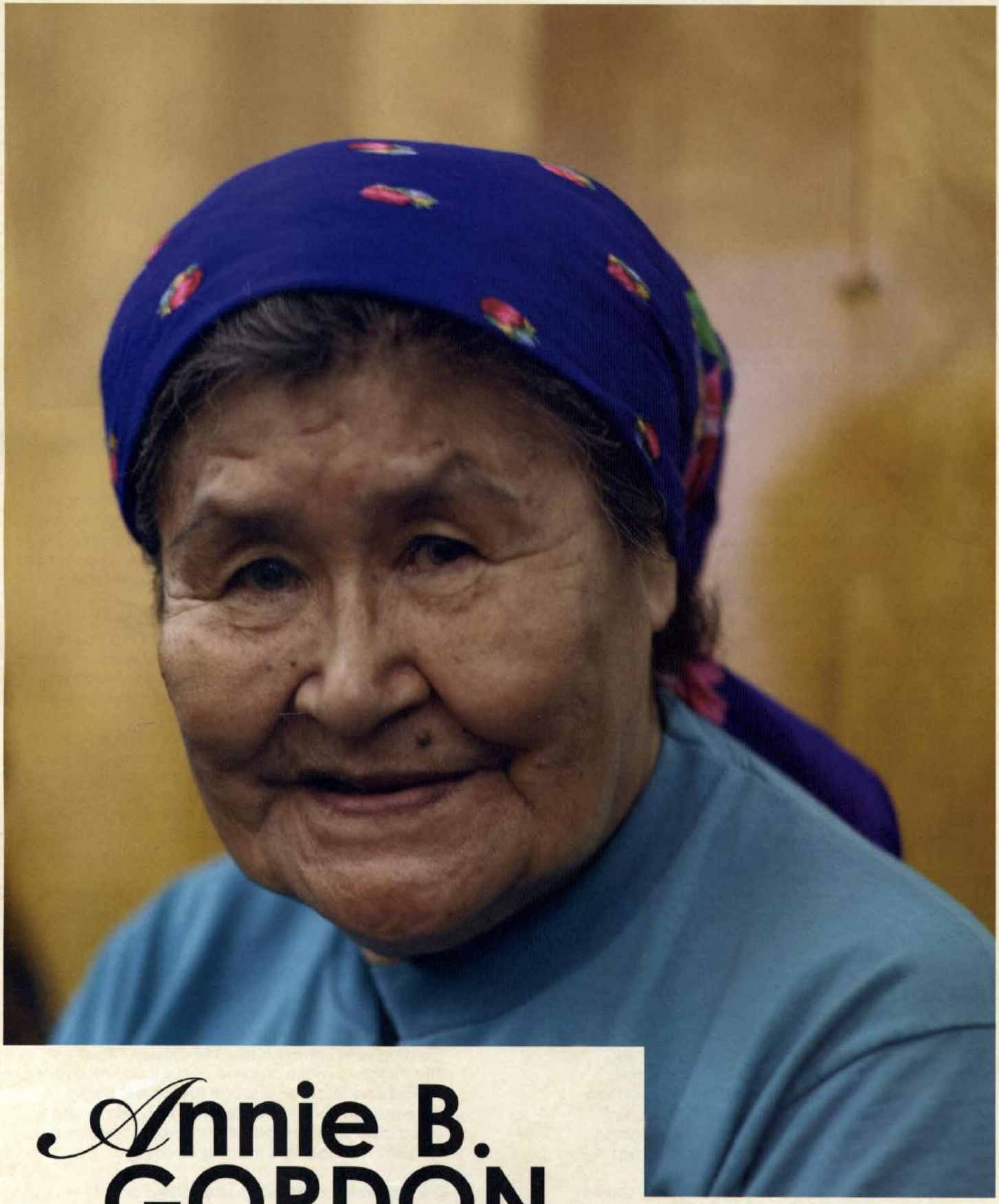
Renie said she had "the best students". "When I started teaching, there were no flash cards or anything to work with. After five years, I knew what we needed to teach in the classroom. I thought if I went to work for ICRC, I could help make materials for teaching. That's what encouraged me to go work there. I started making books with little words," she said.

When Renie became an elder, she went to work again at ICS, producing *Tamapta* until about two years ago. The technology for producing television shows had changed, but that did not stop Renie from becoming doing what it takes.

"If you want to learn something, you make up your mind. You have a dream, a vision, of what you want to be. You can be what you want to be. I only went to Grade 7 and now I can work at jobs with computers. Ooh this is a big thing in front of me. What am I going to do if it breaks down? I was a bit scared, but I knew if I wanted a good job, I had to learn how to do it. I'm not saying I'm good at computers, but I know how to put a show together," she smiled.

Today Renie's greatest joy is listening to her grandchildren Jodie and Petra sing Inuvialuktun nursery rhymes. "With the little ones, it is easier for them to learn, especially songs. They really like learning those. I am very proud of the way our schools are trying to teach our children to speak the language."

Photo: Renie Arey interviewing Lily Lipscomb in 1991, near a meat cache at Roland Bay.



Annie B. GORDON

Photos: (this page) Annie B. Gordon and her husband Danny A. on their 36th wedding anniversary; (next page left) family photo of her family.

It was late that night, after the 25th anniversary IFA celebrations in Aklavik, but Annie B. Gordon is jubilant and laughing, her home full of visitors. She told her children how she had always admired Wallace Goose, and how happy she was to have received the Wallace Goose Award that day.

She remembers seeing Wallace Goose at the signing of the Agreement in Principle at Sachs Harbour, in 1978. Agnes Semmler, her good friend, invited her. "I heard Wallace Goose talking...he said everybody did a lot of work together, and finally it was at this stage, where they figured they were close to their final agreement...everybody was so quiet, listening to what he had to say, they were clapping, and he mentioned that he wanted to see that elders get their payments, because we had started losing elders from all the communities. I didn't know if he went to school but he seemed like a very smart person, to be working in that position, for the people. He was also a good example for others. Not everybody has to be well educated to do his or her work right."

Annie B. and her husband Danny A. are a highly respected couple in the community of Akavlik. Danny A. passed away a few years ago, but everyone in their community remembers the couple's dedication to helping others. Annie is currently on the boards of the Aklavik Elders Committee, the Justice Committee, and the District Education Authority. People who had gone to their on-the-land youth camps, or to the Shingle Point Games still miss Danny A.'s humour and wise teachings.

The Mayor of Aklavik Manny Arey said, "The Games started about four and a half years ago...we didn't have them when I was a kid, but Danny A. brought it back..." he says. "He would always tell stories to make us laugh. He's also a close friend, he taught us about culture. He taught youth to drum dance, he taught me to drum dance the right way, to do it from the heart. That makes the drummers really drum."

Annie B. is the driving force behind Danny A.'s community participation. "He used to not be so involved because he said he couldn't read and write that well. I told him the main thing is not reading and writing, it's what you share from your mind," she said.

She believes the traditional ways of intelligence are just as important as modern day learning. She said she became self-assured, "From my growing up and being around elders so much. They didn't need to have anything written down. And they didn't forget what they were taught in the past. So it was always there...and you keep passing the message down."

Annie was born around Aklavik and of Gwich'in origin, but her marriage to Danny A., an Inuvialuk, classified her under the Inuvialuit land claim. She learnt the Inuvialuit culture in every way, except language wise. She became a Gwich'in language teacher at Moose Kerr School.

She tried to keep her lessons interesting by always injecting new elements into the classes. "I just did little things, to make a game out of it, so whoever's the last one to come through the door is going to be the teacher, it's fun for them." Annie B. also faced down her nemesis, the computer, when she went for teacher's training at college.

She believes problems can be solved only if people are united. She hopes more people could attend public meetings, such as Justice

"[I am confident] From my growing up and being around elders so much. They didn't need to have anything written down. And they didn't forget what they were taught in the past. So it was always there...and you keep passing the message down."

Committee meetings. "It's for people who want to come out and ask questions," she said. "We try to advertise it, to organizations so they can have a rep there, still nobody shows up."

"We need more input from the community. There's so much we can do to deal with the problems caused by alcohol and such," she said. "We need to get more help within the community so we can have a cleaner place for younger people to grow up in. We have a lot of smart kids in this community, who can graduate and then further their education, make something out of themselves. If they are not getting the right direction or support, they can get into drugs and alcohol and lose track of everything."

Annie B. is working to bring these issues to the attention of the hamlet council. She hopes a treatment centre can be established in Aklavik. "You don't have to have a big fancy building, just a place where the community can get together, to see what we need," she said. She also thinks having aboriginal counselors, or taking people on the land, away from negative influences, will help.

Annie B. knows first hand how alcohol can hurt families, and is willing to talk about her experience to help others. She said, "When I quit drinking, that's when I started smartening up a bit, with what little brain I had left. I decided I wasn't going to be pushed around."

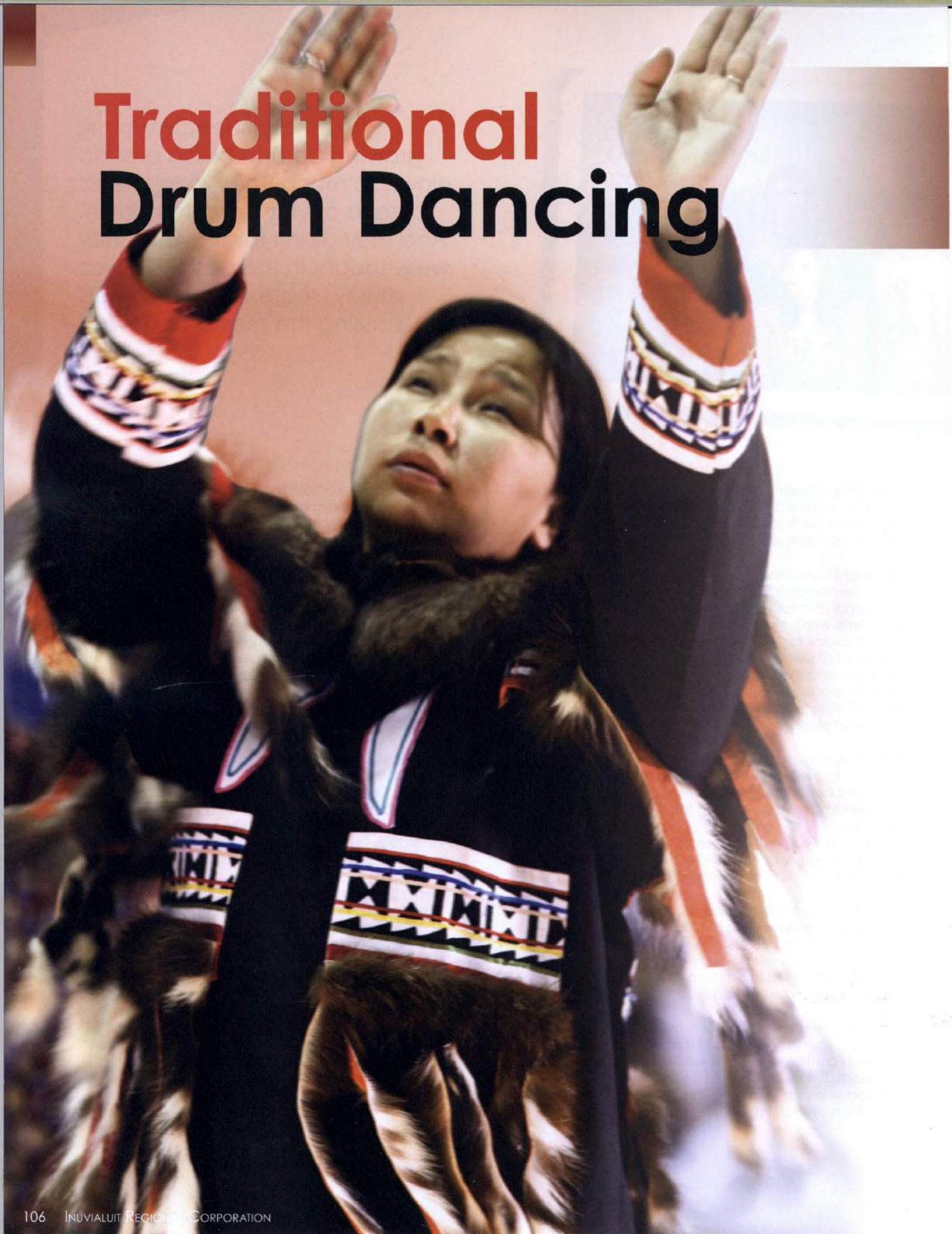
"Long ago, when women got married, their husband's their boss. Your husband can hit you for no reason, he was in control, women never had a chance to fight back. But many years of being treated like that had to come to an end somehow. I'm glad I learnt from all that, I don't hold anything against my husband. We both learnt a lesson. One day we woke up [from alcoholism] and I started getting to know him all over again. He was taken away from me but I am thankful for fifty-three years of a good life together. We had our ups and downs, but it's all a part of life, I guess. You go through those parts of it, and when you decide to change your life, you can with whatever years you have left," she said.

"Two years after we quit drinking, we started working with young people, and it has been going on since 1987. We took them out on the land and started trying to teach them on-the-land skills," she said.

"It's good. A lot of kids don't have the chance to go out on the land, [lacking] equipment, or sometimes parents aren't that involved. It's not the kid's fault that they are missing out so much." Aklavik Community Corporation organizes these on-the-land trips. Annie B. and Danny A. tried to take youth out whenever there is funding and a crew available. Today, she is still going strong, living by example and a guiding force for the community.

Annie B. was born near Aklavik in 1935, but you would never guess she is seventy-four years old. She laughs, "I tell you, never think of your age. Never worry about that. In your mind, always stay sixteen. And that's how I am. A lot of younger people, when they reach 50 years old, they see that number and it's in their mind, they act old, and they think old. So when we are together, they will look older than us. I never think of my age. If I think of my age I will get tired right now. I wake up in the morning, I am glad to get to another good, new day, and I am thankful for that."

Traditional Drum Dancing



In 1987, children were surprised when Inuvialuit elders came to their elementary school music classes in Inuvik. These elders -- Alex Gordon, Hope Gordon, Jean Arey, Amos Paul, Kathleen Hansen, and Sarah Tingmiak -- were there to teach Inuvialuit traditional drum dancing. The children, who had only been taught 'western' style music at school, were delighted.

The revival of traditional Inuvialuit drum dancing became a pressing issue when Inuvialuit elders recognized that if these traditional forms of dance and song were not passed onto the younger generation, an integral part of Inuvialuit culture would be forever lost.

"When the whalers, traders and missionaries came, they believed the songs and dances of our people were heathen, thus taking away the pride of our ancestors. Our songs and dances used to be passed on orally. We told stories in song, reflecting the traditional ways of our people -- the important legends, their relationship with the land and lessons on traditional life," said drum dancer Debbie Gordon-Ruben.

A group of elders, led by Billy Day, persisted with promoting drum dancing during the 1960s. These elders from Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk did radio shows and made special trips to Ulukhaktok and to other Inuvialuit communities in the 1970s to host drum dancing workshops. George and Martha Harry, respected elders from Inuvik, held drum dancing classes in their home on Co-op Hill, using makeshift drums made out of cardboard and garbage can lids.

In response to concerns from elders in all ISR communities, ISDP, under IRC, obtained funding needed for these communities to practice and preserve their traditions. Over several phases during the early 1990s, elders and young trainees promoted drum dancing, holding workshops in ISR communities.

Today Inuvialuit drum dancing is flourishing in Aklavik, Inuvik, Paulatuk, Tuktoyaktuk and Ulukhaktok as well as several communities in Nunavut.

Aklavik had its first drum dancing lessons at Shingle Point, a heritage site for the Inuvialuit. "Our drums are no longer silent," reported Renie Arey, then supervisor for the Aklavik drum dance classes.

In Ulukhaktok, Agnes Kuptana said the first lessons had children eagerly making drums, and learning the stories behind the dances.

A young girl learning to drum at the IFA 25th Anniversary celebration in Ulukhaktok.

Photos: (previous page left) A drum dancer performing at the 25th IFA celebrations in Tuktoyaktuk; (next page) Inuvialuit who helped preserve drum dancing (L-R) Felix Nuyaviak, Alex Steffanson, and Kenneth Peelooluk; (page bottom L-R) Alec Gordon leading Mackenzie Delta Drum Dancers; the Mackenzie Delta Drum Dancers performing at the 1983 ICC General Assembly in Greenland.

Photo: (page right) The Paulatuk Moonlight Dancers gather to dance.

"Shepherd Felix told me three words, 'Never Give Up'. Our group became larger and larger, we now have about 40 youth who drum dance. The youngest one is about eight years old."

Justin Memogana, a young man from Ulukhaktok said, "I was taught drum dancing by Jimmy (my grandfather) ever since I was one to two years old. It feels like I've been doing it all my life! I love it, it's part of our lineage, and it makes me feel good inside. If I ever feel down, I just sing it all out. It also helps me understand the language."

Many of the elders who helped to revive drum dancing are no longer living, but they have given new life to drum dancing. Debbie Raddi remembers her father, Shepherd Felix, who was always proud to teach and sing songs passed to him by his father Felix Nuyaviak and grandfather, Mangilaluk.

"He was lead singer of the Tuktoyaktuk Drummers and Dancers. Even though my father had never attended school, he had the patience to teach drum making and drum dancing to others. He never criticized the students when they made mistakes, he just encouraged them to keep trying. I was fortunate to be with him the last time he traveled to Ulukhaktok. His friend Jimmy Memogana had called. They wanted to sing together one last time before either one of them passed on," she said.

Drum dance songs usually begin softly. Drummers tap their caribou skin drums, as dancers sway rhythmically. The drumbeat intensifies as a song starts over, and singers raise their voices. Dancers throw their bodies into the song with arms and knees bent, their outstretched, open hands wave to and fro capturing the drumbeat.

"Motion dances from Alaska have set routines and are popular in Aklavik and Inuvik. In Tuktoyaktuk, dancers freestyle to the beat of the drums. Men yell out chants and stomp their feet, women have more gentle movements," said elder Albert Elias from Ulukhaktok.

At feasts and celebrations today, the drum dance performance is eagerly awaited, as drum dancers of all ages take the stage to sing and dance in traditional dress. Often the audience joins in and young children compete with pride in drum dancing contests. Inuvialuit drum dancing has been performed all over Canada and internationally.

The Paulatuk Moonlight Dancers have performed to full houses in Germany, Alaska, Greenland, and all over the ISR. This drumming and dancing group, led by Nolan Green, began when its members were only about ten years old. Nolan still remembers the elders from Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk who came to his school to teach.

"We learnt from Shepherd Felix, as well as Sarah Mangelana and Sarah Tingmiak. They showed us the

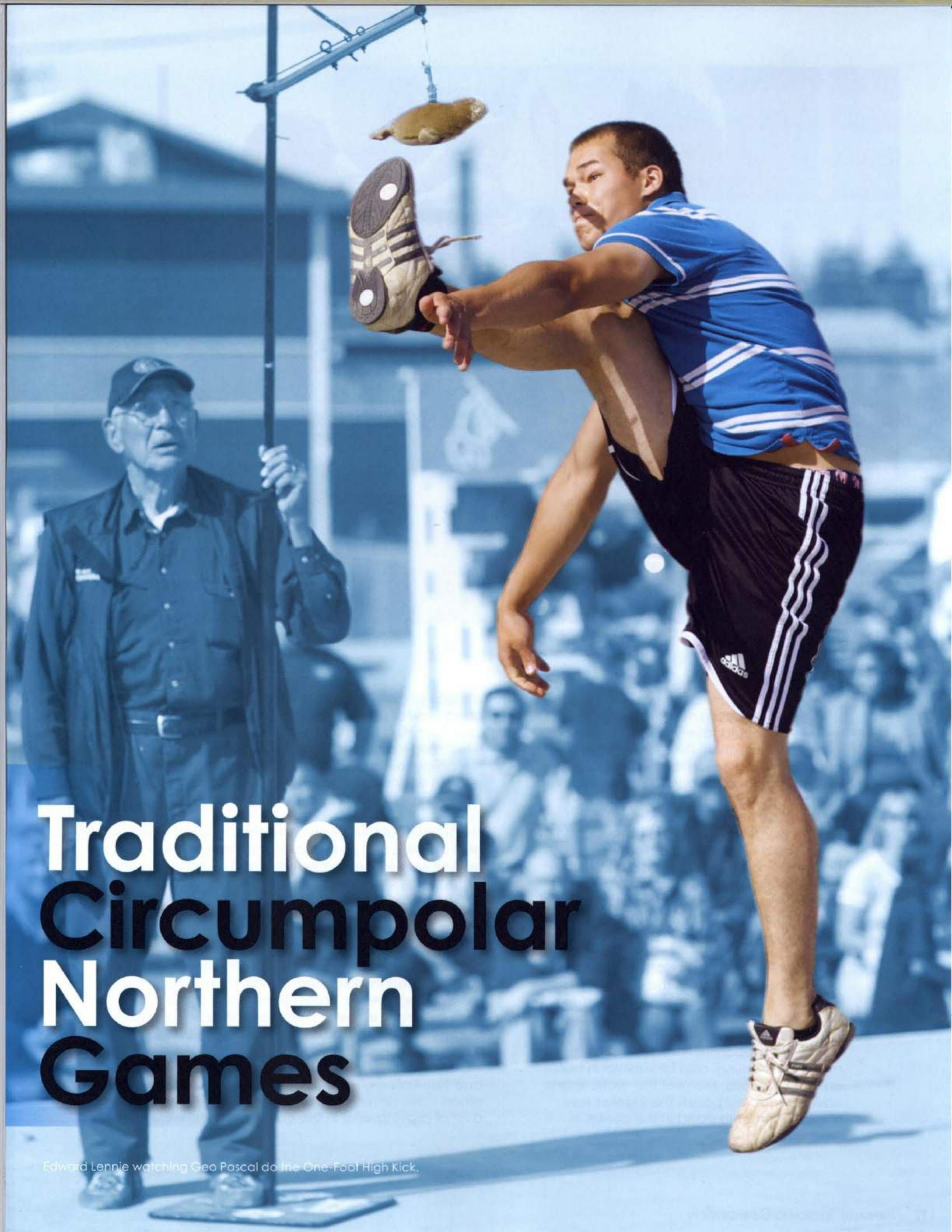
Aklavik Drummers and Dancers performing at the 2009 Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games, part of the 25th IFA anniversary celebrations.

movements and songs. After they left, we learnt from some videotapes. We started with five boys. When we first started, we used cardboard boxes and patched up rulers for our drums. The girls used to tease us, and I would say, 'What's so funny about drumming and dancing? Why don't you join us?'" he remembered. In 1988, IRC helped the group acquire their first real drums from Barrow, Alaska. The Paulatuk Moonlight Dancers then began their travels to perform in the region and overseas.

Today, the original Paulatuk Moonlight Dancers are teaching younger youth to dance. "Shepherd Felix told me three words, 'Never Give Up'. Our group became larger and larger, we now have about 40 youth who drum dance. The youngest one is about eight years old," said Nolan.

"Drum dancing is excellent, it makes us feel alive. We get right into the rhythm of the drums and want to go all night," he said. "Especially at special events like the Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games, when you are dancing with drum dancers from all the sister communities and all our friends and relatives from Barrow, Alaska."

The Inuvik Drummers and Dancers performing at the Blanket of Belonging exhibition in Inuvik.



Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games

Edward Lennie watching Geo Pascal do the One-Foot High Kick.

James William (left) and Gerry Kisoun competing in the Arm Pull.

"The games are passed on so that we learn never to hesitate; it could save you in a dangerous situation. I've been on the coast, standing on ice that was just starting to form cracks; and I had to determine how to run and jump over it. Otherwise I wouldn't be here with you today. I don't like the words 'I can't' in the games or when you are hunting. The Northern Games Boys, if they ever said 'I can't', they immediately do 20 push-ups," said Edward Lennie, who received a National Aboriginal Achievement award in 2003 for protecting northern sports and heritage.

Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games are commonly known in the circumpolar region as Northern Games , Inuit Games or Arctic Sports. In the past, Inuit needed ways to strengthen their physique and stamina in preparation for the challenges met when hunting, and for survival in harsh arctic conditions. Many of the arctic sports have specific purposes. The Blanket Toss allows a hunter to stand in the centre of a piece of cloth or hide, and bounce high into the air for a good view of his surroundings and prey. The Knuckle Hop, One Foot High Kick, and Swing Kick train muscles groups which allow a hunter to make a quick getaway, or to have the ability to execute small but exact movements that will result in a successful hunt. The games are also a source of entertainment.

The Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games were once in peril of dying out. As Inuvialuit transitioned towards wage paying work in the communities and relied less on self-subsistence, little attention was given to the survival of the sport. Edward remembered working at a DEW Line site and focusing on providing his children with a good academic education above all else.

"In 1969, I heard the first Arctic Winter Games were to be held. I started thinking about it, and then it hit me, they were calling it Arctic Winter Games, but there was nothing from the arctic in there. They were all southern games; badminton, basketball, hockey, and ping pong. It bothered me so much that I talked to Billy Day about it, and together we approached a couple of elders, Kenneth Peeloolook and Tom Kalinek," said Edward. "These two elders, and some others have never let me down. I got their backing, and I did a lot of praying, and in the end my prayers were answered."

Roy Ipana and Gerry Kisoun, Master of Ceremonies at the games, keep the audience entertained year after year, while Abel Tingmiak and Steve Cockney supervise the events. They are all former 'Northern Games Boys'.

Manny Arey (far right) preparing two girls for a game of Head Pull at the Aklavik IFA 25th Anniversary celebrations.

Keeping the games, and our drum dancing alive, it is very important. We need our youth to know our culture. When you see our youth happily drum dancing, it's all worth it.

The first group of young men trained became known as the 'Northern Games Boys'. The momentum for the games revival has been unstoppable since their performance at the Arctic Winter Games in 1970, when Prime Minister Trudeau was so enthralled he requested an encore. Inuit in other arctic regions welcomed the revival, and regional Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games are held in Inuvialuit communities. The territorial Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games are held once every five years and going strong into its fourth decade.

Over 300 athletes participated in the 2009 Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games. It is a joyous gathering, an opportunity for friends and relatives to reconnect while celebrating their cultural games.

Participants came from Alaska, Nunavut (Kitikmeot, Kivalliq and Baffin regions), Northwest Territories (Beaufort Delta) and Nunatsiavut (Hopedale and Makkovik). In the past, participants from Nunavik (Northern Quebec), Greenland and Russia have also attended.

Edward, father of the Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games has passed the torch onto the 'Northern Games Boys', even though he continues to be part of a core group of volunteers that keeps the games going. Roy Ipana and Gerry Kisoun, Master of Ceremonies at the games, keep the audience entertained year after year, while Abel Tingmiak and Steve Cockney supervise the events.

Photos: (left) An athlete from Nunavut competing in Alaskan High Kick at the 2009 Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games, (Below) Sarah Tingmiak in a traditional skill competition: Muskrat Skinning.

They are all former 'Northern Games Boys'. Roy Ipana said, "Gerry and I are a great team. We are unscripted, it's all in the name of fun, I hope we have never offended anyone. We never ask to be paid a single cent. It is an honour for us to grandstand and showoff our Northern Games. For example, with Good Woman and Good Man contests, we get to promote what we do traditionally, to show the world our skills, how we have always skinned seals and plucked geese."

Traditional foods are served at the games. Volunteers stay on their feet for hours on end, preparing maktak, making Eskimo doughnuts, roasting fish and so on, keeping the delicious supply of country food flowing. "When you do anything, you want to do it to the fullest. It's the Inuvialuit way. We want to make sure everyone eats well and has a good time," said Roy.

Volunteers are indispensable to the games. Billie Lennie, head coordinator of the Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games said, "We worked really hard to prepare for the games, we started planning a year before. I was fortunate that my employer allowed me to organize the games from my office, it would not be possible otherwise. We have a core group of volunteers, Nellie, Roy, Abel, Edward, Steve, and Hans [her husband] helped for the first time as well this year. Most people don't attend our meetings, but they call ahead and come out to help at the days of the games, going above and beyond."

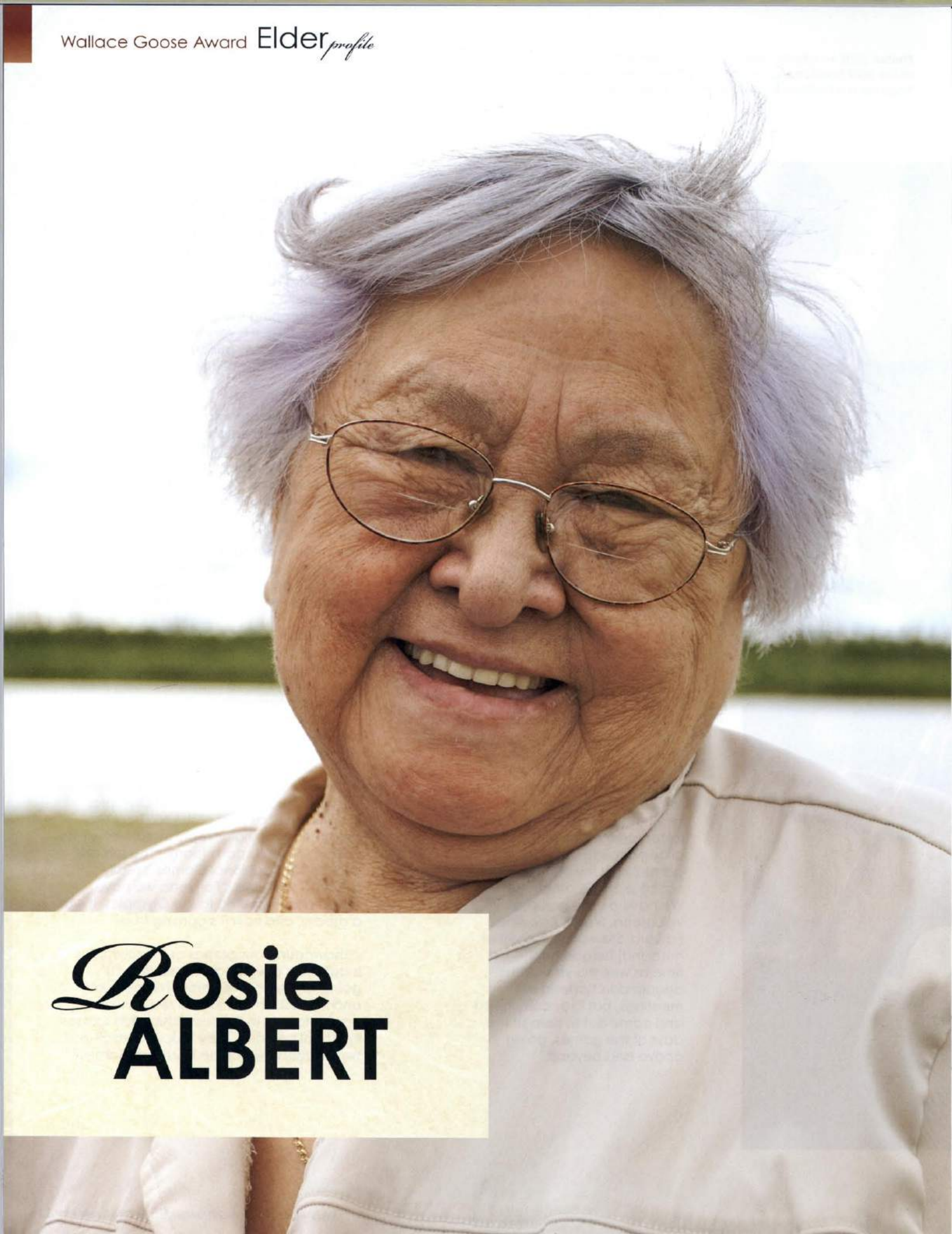
"My daughter Alisha was upset at first, she didn't understand why I dedicated so much time for the games. Then she learnt a new drum dance song from the Alaskan drum dancers at the games, and she was so excited, her face was glowing. I told her, 'The feeling that you have now, that's why I do this." She paused and then asked me, 'Cool. How can I help?'" Billie smiles. "Keeping the games, and our drum dancing alive, it is very important. We need our youth to know our culture. When you see our youth happily drum dancing, it's all worth it."

Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games are unique in its emphasis on friendship above competition. Athletes can often be seen giving each other advice so as to get better results in events, even if it means they could be costing themselves a medal. Byron Okheena, an athlete from Ulukhaktok shares insights selflessly with fellow competitors. He said ""I just want to go out there to have fun, and to help everyone if I could. It's good to see the friends I've met from other territories, from previous games."

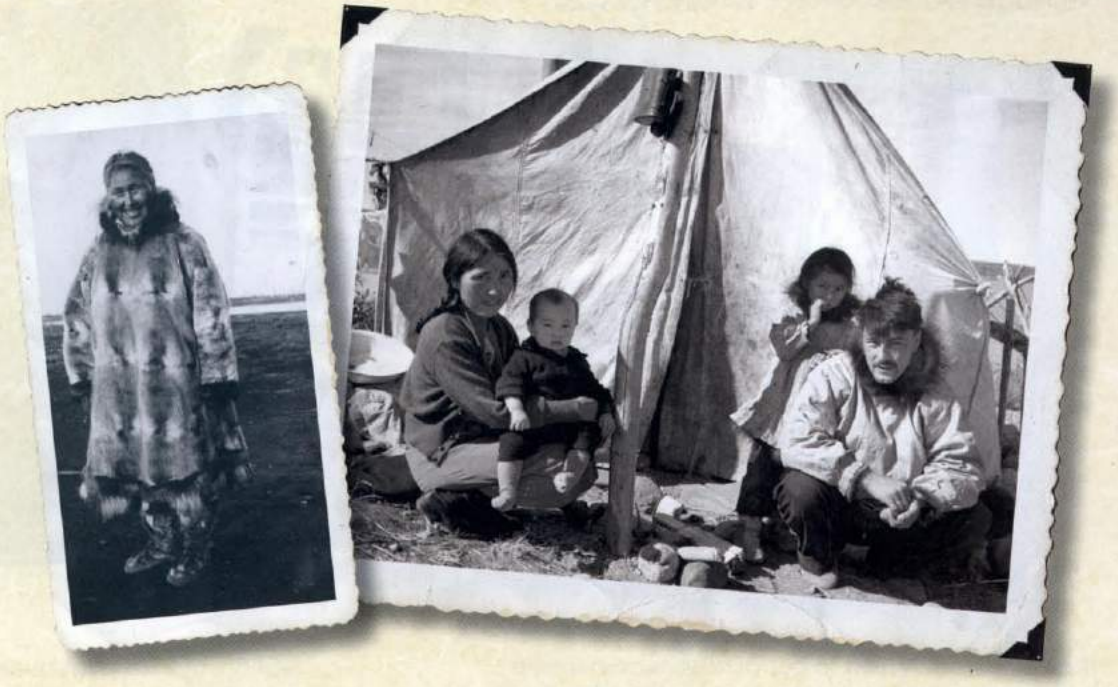
"It's always good to see young people teach each other," said Edward. "The coaches from the other teams used to be coached by me, so I hope one day, these teenagers competing will take over as coaches too. Breaking records is nice, but the most important thing is to learn from each attempt," he said.

Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games will be showcased at the 2010 Olympics in Vancouver as part of the NWT cultural delegation. Inuvialuit representatives will be part of the Inuit sports team. "The fortieth year of the Traditional Games is really special," said Billie. "For years we have talked about getting to the Olympics. It was a dream, and now it's coming true."

"Showcasing our games at the Olympics is definitely a high point," said Roy. "It's going to create even more momentum and interest. I hope to also see Inuvialuit games taught in Physical Education classes in school one day. They teach football and basketball, why not the Northern Games?"



Rosie ALBERT



Photos: (left) Panigavluk, Rosie's grandmother; (right) Rosie's parents, Mabel and Alec Stefansson with daughter Sally and son Sandy at a camp on the Mackenzie Delta.

Rosie Albert values independence. At seventy-five years old, she is proud to live in a home she owns. She remembered how her father taught her to be frugal. "My father would buy groceries in the fall to last all year," she said. "And we didn't eat everything we bought right away. We had to ration it," she said.

There was a stage on her family's bush camp, where cases of raisins, prunes, and figs were kept, but the children were only allowed the treats once in a while. When Rosie complained to her father that other families seemed to eat whenever they wished, her father took her to visit another camp.

"And all they offered us were frozen fish and a cup of tea. No bannock, no bread...nothing. They were out already. They had to wait until their next family allowance cheque comes, before they could go to town, buy more and eat it all up again. It's still like that with some families, living paycheque to paycheque, they spend it all and there's nothing left for later on," she said.

Rosie's grandmother Anne Panigavluk was from Alaska. She was arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson's seamstress and companion on expeditions. Her only son Alec Steffanson was born near Herschel Island. Panigavluk would always say to Rosie, "If you learn to read and write, you're going to be good for nothing. Like your grandfather." Steffanson would not have survived without Panigavluk's knowledge of hunting and the land, but Rosie's father encouraged her to think of him kindly. He encouraged Rosie to read.

Rosie is bilingual, fluent in English and Inuvialuktun. She remembers reading books written by her grandfather. "My father had books like The Friendly Arctic, we read it together and he explained to me about my grandmother and grandfather," she said. Alec said Steffanson had to return south for work, and Panigavluk had chosen to stay. "I was thinking how awful it for my grandfather to have left my father at the age of nine, but after my father explained I respected what he did," she said. Rosie attended residential school in Aklavik between 1939 and 1949, completing grade 10 in Inuvik's day school.

To provide for the family, her father would leave the home in the fall to go hunting, and her mother was always working, hunting, or checking her trap lines. "People said they saw me packing my brother around, ever since I was old enough to hold one of them on my back," recalled Rosie.

During summers at whaling camp, Rosie had to work on chores all day, baking, cleaning up after her brothers and preparing meals. "One time, I was really upset. I saw my friends walking around, they were as young as I was, about twelve years old. They were playing prisoner of base and they stayed up all night, visiting. They didn't have to do anything and I finally asked if I could go join them," she said.

Her grandmother refused. Rosie remembered being upset, and saying, "Goodness sakes, don't I ever have a break?"

Her grandmother, whose hair was graying at that time, told Rosie to put her hand on her head. "And she said, 'what's under your hand? You're just a young girl, and you're already complaining. You see your grandma? She's getting gray; she never ever got done yet. OK, go bake your bread.'"

Rosie remembers with humour and love the challenges and good times in her childhood: journeys to whaling camp on the family's schooner the Bluenose, and when

the whole family had to corral rabbits on a frozen lake to her father so there would be food for dinner.

Rosie knew she did not want the hard life of a trapper's wife. "They used to 'force marry' people a lot. Me, I ran away. I was not even sixteen, I refused to get married so my father got me a job," she said. "I was the oldest of six children, and I didn't want to start all over again. Didn't I have a life of my own? I wanted to work for myself and I didn't want to work for somebody, like my mother did. She never complained, but I wouldn't do that, I am not going to look after all these kids and make them labour for me."

Working in Inuvik was not easy, but Rosie tackled the challenges head on. She worked at the hospital, and at the North Star restaurant, while completing her Grade 10. She was delighted to find work as a waitress at the restaurant in front of Semmler's shop, making $2 a day. "If I went back to the hospital I was getting $1 a day. For 10 hours a day, we only got 10 cents an hour. But it was better for me than going home or marrying somebody. To me it was heaven, working so many hours, being on my own, and getting paid for it," she laughed.

Rosie decided to become a nurse, working the night shift for two years as a nurses' aide. Unfortunately, she fainted at the sight of a birth, and again, during a skin grafting operation. She moved on to train as a cook, working at a camp in Colville Lake before returning to Aklavik.

She married Fred Albert, her longtime friend, in 1958. Her husband shared Rosie's independent spirit. He had joined the army and stayed in Edmonton and Germany before returning to the North after the war. "We both didn't want to be hunters and trappers, or go whaling or work with someone, we both wanted to be independent," said Rosie. "When we got married I was a cook at Reindeer Station, he was a labourer. When they built the school in Tuk I worked there, and he got a job at the DEW Line as a heavy equipment operator."

They remained at the DEW Line for six years, adopting two boys, before returning to Inuvik in 1966. To pay off a house they bought, her husband returned to the DEW Line and Rosie began working for COPE, and as an interpreter/ translator for the Berger Inquiry.

At that time, Inuvialuktun language was experiencing demise. Rosie was one of few people who stayed connected with the elders and the language. "With my mother, even if we're out on the land on a Sunday, we had a [religious] service of our own," said Rosie. They continued this when her mother was in long-term care. The elders would pick a song out of the Inuvialuktun/ Gwich'in language hymnbook, and a service would be held every Wednesday. It got to the point when only three people attended Inuvialuktun church services: Rosie, Martha and George Harry. The younger generations did not come, and the minister decided to stop having services in the language.

Rosie translated newsletters from oil and gas companies, and helped elders to understand the information. "The elders always used to sit outside their house, they used to be so glad. 'Rosie, quyannaini, quyannaini, to tell us about this and that, we wouldn't know what's going on if not for these newsletters'," she said. "I knew all of them because I grew up with them. I didn't say it's none of my business, I don't care what you Inuvialuit do, I helped them."

Rosie's family had experienced discrimination as her father was of mixed ethnicity, however when her family found trappers from the south showing up "trapping right where we trapped", her father took action. "He talked to his two brother-in-laws. He was always under white status, people thought he had no right to complain even though he was

"It's muskrat hunting time, and people are out on the land hunting muskrats, until June 15...the ducks would be flying in from down south. We even made muskrat callers with wood bark...They just loved making muskrats callers...Then we walked down to the lake and see if we could call muskrats."

Photos: (left to right) Rosie in her early days of teaching; Rosie as a translator at the AiP signing; Rosie demonstrating a muskrat caller she made.

making his living out on the land with the Inuit. But my father told his two brother-in-laws (Owen and Herbert Okpik) they could start up an organization."

"First they started having registered areas, for hunting and trapping..., but then the oil companies started coming around and they knew their livelihood was going to be gone," remembered Rosie. This made her want to work as a translator for COPE.

When a ten-year moratorium was imposed on oil and gas development in the area, Rosie needed a new job to make ends meet. The only translation work available was part-time, with CBC. Emma Dick was retiring the post of Cultural Inclusion teacher at Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, so Rosie took over. Teaching turned out to be Rosie's true calling. A natural storyteller and performer, children were enthralled by her stories and songs.

"If it was right now, if I'd been there I would've been telling them stories like... [Rosie adopts her storytelling voice]...it's muskrat hunting time, and people are out on the land hunting muskrats, until June 15. The ducks will be coming down from down south," said Rosie. "We even made muskrat callers with wood bark. They just loved making muskrats callers. Then we walked down to the lake and see if we could call muskrats."

Dougie Joe was in Rosie's first grade-four class. He is nostalgic about the Eskimo doughnuts Rosie would bring, the stories she told about life in the bush, and of her grandfather. Students got to build igloos out of Styrofoam, and to make crafts of gammiqs [boots]. "It was fun, everybody looked forward to her classes, it's a break from the 'school stuff'," said Dougie.

Rosie's favourite memory of her students is "When they start singing Inuvialuktun. And when I say 'ilaatnilu' [see you later], they say, 'Awwww'. They just hate to leave my class, they just want to stay!"

In the beginning, all cultural inclusion classes were taught in English. "When the Inuvialuit were going about getting their land claim, they wanted their language back. It was their first priority," said Rosie. It was decided that dictionaries and a writing system had to be developed. Rosie worked alongside forty directors from the communities, using her knowledge of Inuvialuktun dialects, honing correct pronunciations of words for the dictionary.

After the dictionaries were published, Rosie attended COPE's training program for Inuvialuktun teachers. At that time, said Rosie, "Inuvialuktun classes were just verbal, there was no writing." Rosie remembers trying to teach with no printed material, hauling cultural items in a big box from class to class.

Rosie had an opportunity to become fully literate when new requirements were imposed on teachers by the government. She went to Arctic College daily for two years while she continuing to teach.

Rosie taught over seventeen years, retiring in 1998. Today, she has many accolades for her untiring protection and promotion of Inuvialuit language and culture, including the 2001 Language Leader Award (GNWT), and the 2004 Wallace Goose Award (IRC). She recently translated at the Joint Review Panel Hearings.

When asked how she kept motivated as a teacher for so many years, Rosie said, "The Inuvialuit say, if you don't use your culture, it will be gone forever. And I didn't want it to go away. And what's going to happen if it all goes away? Poor people, they won't really know who they are then. I hope they will pick it up sooner or later. We met with the Icelandic people, and it took them a hundred years or so to get language back on track."

Frank & Martha KUDLAK

Photos: (next page, left) Three of the Kudlak children: Eileen, Joe and Mona; (right top) Frank and Martha with their children Joe and Annie; (right bottom) The Kudlak family at Minto Inlet, 1958.

Frank and Martha Kudlak's marriage was arranged by their parents. The couple has now celebrated fifty-nine wedding anniversaries. "We try to help each another, to raise our children," said Martha. "Like anybody else, we have bad times sometimes. Our parents always told us, when you have children, don't take their part when your partner corrects them," she said.

Frank, seventy-nine, was born between Reid Island and Coppermine. Martha is three years younger. The couple now lives in Sachs Harbour, in a house that Frank built with the help of friends and relatives.

Frank and Martha remember life being very different when they were young. They both grew up on the land in the Victoria Island area, except for the four years when Martha went to the Roman Catholic residential school in Aklavik (1940 to 1944). "It was such a big change when I came home from school, all at once I was living in a snow house again. Then we got used to it. My sister and I re-learnt our language," she said. Frank never attended school. He learnt to speak English in order to communicate with his children who were educated in English.

They reminisce about when they traveled year round, with a few other families on the land, from De Salis Bay to Sachs Harbour, crossing Egg River, Naqhaaluk, Lennie Harbour, Thomsen River and further. "We used to travel with Morris and Mabel Nigiyok, the Haogaks, Timothy and his wife, Palviitguk, Unnayaaqs, about six families. They all moved away," said Martha.

"We have lived most of our lives in Sachs Harbour and Berkeley Point (Nuvuk)," she continues. "My first child Joe was born around Minto Inlet, at Kuukyuaq. Annie Rose in the lakes. Mabel while living in a tent...in the fall of 1955. From there we moved to Uluksaqtuuq (Ulukhaktok), where Pat was born."

Martha remembers walking long distances to hunt caribou with their four small children Pat, Mabel, Annie and Joe. "Annie used to get tired so I packed Mabel. And Frank packed Pat," she said. "In the winter time it was hard to keep the children warm. We lived in a tent, with snow around it. That was better than an igloo, but it got hard, when we could not find wood. For heat, we would pick white cotton in the fall, before it falls off the stems. We pound frozen seal blubber with the horn of a muskox, to make oil. We dip the cotton in seal oil, to burn in our qulliq," she said. "We stopped using a qulliq in 1960."

"The most important thing is, be kind to everyone. People should always help one another, whether they are related or not, whether they are rich or poor."

Frank said, "Long ago, you did't worry about how to run a house, a stove. You never complained. Later on, we started using gas lamps. They were really bright. We mostly lived on the ocean back then, hunting. People did not work at jobs, they didn't know what jobs were."

"We never thought about money, there was never any rush. We didn't go to the store everyday," smiled Martha. They moved to Sachs Harbour in 1960. Martha was reluctant to leave Ulukhaktok, but the Hudson Bay store could no longer give them credit.

"Frank heard about a place that was good for trapping foxes. I didn't want to move, but I had to follow him. Sachs Harbour turned out to be the best place. It was peaceful. I really liked it," she said. "I would not move anywhere else now."

There were only three families in Sachs Harbour when Frank and Martha settled there. Fred Carpenter, the first man who settled in Sachs Harbour, was close to Frank. They trapped and hunted together. Frank and Martha always shared what they hunted with those who needed food. Frank's first wage paying job began when the local school was being construction. "It was 1968. After ten days I wanted to quit but they didn't want to lose me. I had never been to school, but I liked learning on the job in school," said Frank. He was a janitor at the school for twenty-eight years before retiring in 1995.

From 1972, Martha worked at the school too. She was a classroom assistant for eight years before switching to work at the post office, retiring only a few years ago. Both Frank and Martha have won outstanding employee awards from their work.

"I never missed work at the post office, not for a single day, that's why they gave me an award," she said.

Frank has all the awards that he received on one side of the living room, while Martha's awards are displayed on the other side. The couple is active in their community. They have sat on Sachs Harbour's Elders Committee, helped Parks Canada with archaeology research, and participated in climate change and sea ice research with the University of Calgary. At the 2009 IFA celebrations in Sachs Harbour, they were awarded the Wallace Goose Award for their contributions to Inuvialuit culture and knowledge.

The couple is thankful for the award. They believe the most important Inuvialuit value is compassion. "The most important thing is, be kind to everyone. People should always help one another, whether they are related or not, whether they are rich or poor," said Martha. "When we were young, that's what we were taught. We would help people who needed help, whether it was getting ice, or cleaning inside their snow house. If somebody asks me to sew something, I helped. Now, it's different, when we sew for others, we get paid."

Frank lost his mother when he was very young. He remembers receiving the help from others then, who sewed clothing for him so he could survive. Many of Frank and Martha's children and grandchildren are now working to help others. Their son Joe Kudlak works for Parks Canada, their adopted son Manny Kudlak is the Chair of Sachs Harbour's Community Corporation, while their granddaughter Donna Goose works as a nurse in Inuvik.

Credits

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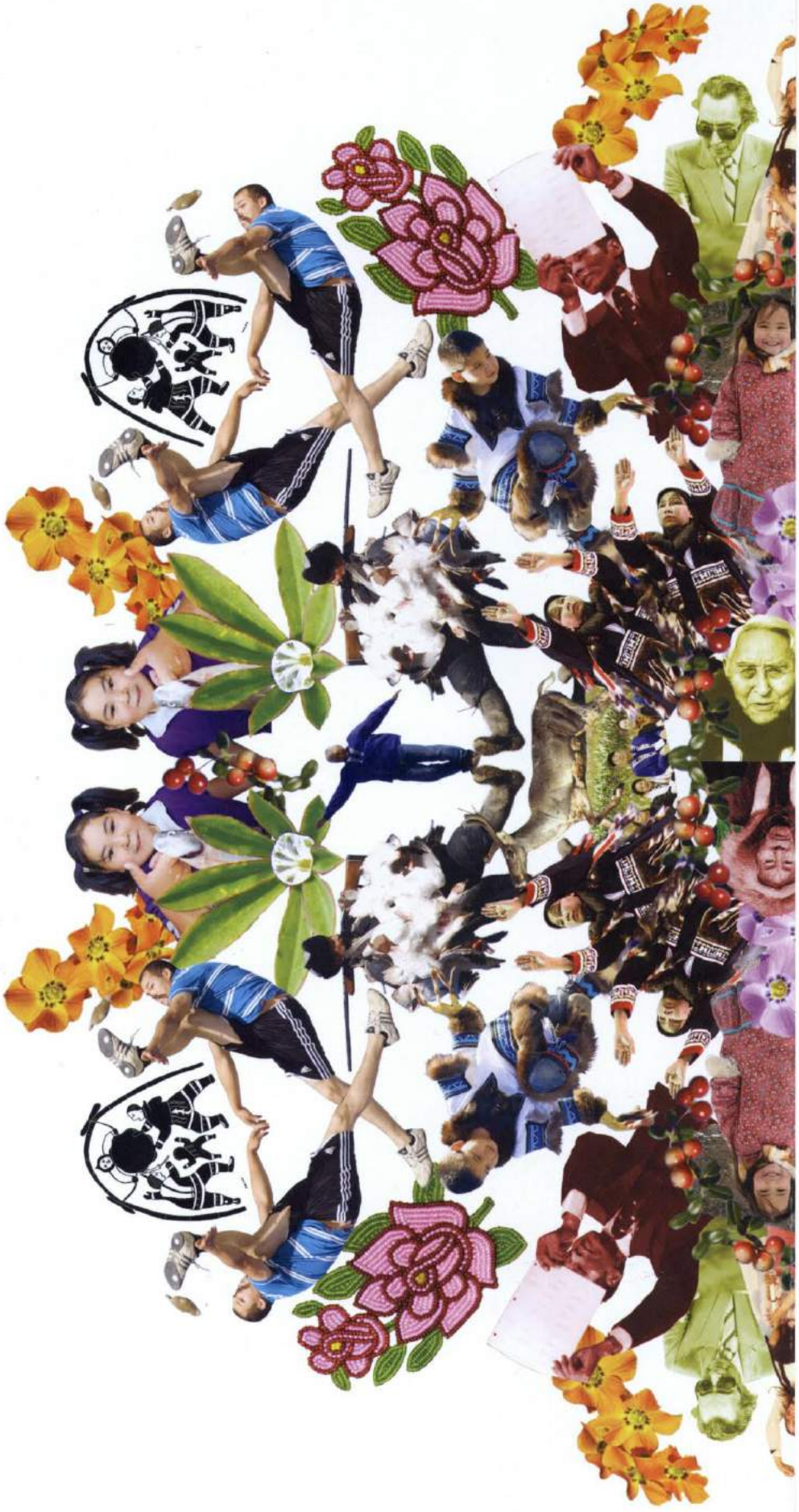
Naomi Haogak playing on the beach in Sachs Harbour, on IFA Day 2009.



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