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Honouring the 40th anniversary of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement



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Makivik Corporation

Makivik is the ethnic organization mandated to represent and promote the interests of Nunavik. Its membership is composed of the Inuit beneficiaries of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA). Makivik's responsibility is to ensure the proper implementation of the political, social, and cultural benefits of the Agreement, and to manage and invest the monetary compensation so as to enable the Inuit to become an integral part of the Northern economy.

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Makivik Magazine

Makivik Magazine is published quarterly by Makivik Corporation. It is distributed free of charge to Inuit beneficiaries of the JBNQA. The opinions expressed herein are not necessarily those of Makivik Corporation or its executive. We welcome letters to the editor and submissions of articles, artwork, or photographs. Please include your full name, address, and telephone number.

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Makivik Executive

Jobie Tukkiapik, President Michael Gordon, Economic Development Vice-President Adamie Delisle Alaku, Resource Development Vice-President Andy Pirti, Treasurer Andy Moorhouse, Corporate Secretary

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We wish to express our sincere thanks to all Makivik staff, as well as to all others who provided assistance and materials to make the production of this magazine possible

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*Contest participation in this magazine is limited to Inuit beneficiaries of the *JBNQA*.

Cover: *JBNQA* 40th anniversary logo designed by Tumiit Media – this design incorporates the Northern Quebec Inuit Association logo.

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As we mark the 40th anniversary of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) signing, we have much to be proud of. This issue aims to put the JBNQA into an historical perspective. First beginning from the time before the politics and pressure from Hydro-Québec to getting organized politically. This special edition of Makivik Magazine will inform you about JBNQA negotiations as well as those who were opposed to this agreement. Those who negotiated this agreement as well as those who were not in agreement with it both came from a place of strength, which you find in the heart of all Inuit. Please read this issue thoroughly as the aim while producing it was to give Nunavimmiut more information about Nunavik's history. We must commemorate those who brought Nunavik to where it is today and learn from their experience as it will help quide Nunavik's way to a brighter future.

Di da?/WHAT IS THIS?

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You could win \$200.00 if you correctly guess what this mystery photo is. Mail your answer to 'Mystery Photo Contest' at the address below or you can email your answer to: tmackay@makivik.org.

Makivik Corporation, P.O. Box 179, Kuujjuaq, Ouebec JOM 1C0



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Winners of the Mystery Photo Contest will be drawn at the Makivik head office on December 11, 2015. The first prize as noted is \$200.00 and four subsequent t-shirt prizes will be mailed to the runners up.





















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While Inuit nicknamed the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) "Here Before Christ"—because the HBC "arrived" in the Arctic before missionaries did—this piece is called BTA 'Before the Agreement.'

Nothing is so simple. Nothing is so absolute. Nothing is so black and white in any case. There was no doubt bliss before contact as there is today, there was also extreme hardship, suffering, famine and violent murders. Initial contact had moments of awe and gift giving and death. The post contact period continues to be marked by injustice and unfairness in terms of the chronic gaps in living conditions between Inuit and the rest of Canada, however the power dynamic has shifted significantly in favour of Inuit.

In slightly more detail, then, the time before contact with *qallunaat*, (fearsome white men with bushy eyebrows, aka Scottish), the Nunavik region we know today was occupied by Inuit for thousands of years. Regional groups of Inuit have been described, and mapped, such as the Siginirmiut, Tarramiut, and Itivimiut, each containing several local groups whose members intermarry and share linguistic and cultural characteristics.

Distinct geographic terms existed to describe Inuit that used a network of camps, and human relations. Examples included: *ungavamiut* – Inuit who live toward the sea or the *kangivamiut* – Inuit who live toward the land.

Inuit oral tradition passed down many stories about early life in the region. For example it is said that the brother and sister who are the origin of the sun and moon lived on the Ottawa Islands and their many descendants still live around Inukjuak.

It is believed there were "inland Inuit" living on the shores of Payne Lake, in one instance, eventually incorporated into coastal groups in the 1930s. Life was based on seasonal hunting and gathering which was based on animal migrations.

Inuit would typically meet for ceremonies, games, trading goods and matrimonial exchanges. An example of such an exchange was between an islander offering his ivory clad sled and harness to an interior hunter for a bale of skins and a complete suit of caribou clothing.

Examples of fashionable clothing at the time included a feathered outer parka made of eider duck skins, polar bear pants, a fish skin children's parka, or a waterproof parka and trousers made of vertical strips of seal gut.



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Well before the purchase of Air Inuit, First Air and NEAS, Nunavimmiut were masters of transportation over water, land, and ice. Proximity to trees meant the *umiaq* was a common sight along ocean coastlines and lakes. *Umiaqs*, *qajaq* and dogs were integral modes of transport.

Tremendous ingenuity was used then (techniques still evident in the elaborate *qamutik* cabs seen today) with the transformation of sleds into *umiaqs* at break-up, and the retransformation into sleds at freeze-up.





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Hunting was typically an individual activity, however it was vital to take advantage of natural migratory activity, and harvest as a collective, in order to store food for transition periods such as the beginning of winter. A late August fishing expedition to catch hundreds of migratory char in weirs is an example of this.

Caribou were hunted individually and collectively. As it took about 60 caribou skins to clothe a group of 30, collective hunting was needed. A group hunt at a river crossing was one such technique where men would spear crossing caribou from their *qajaq*.

As Bernard Salladin D'Anglure has written in his article, *Inuit of Quebec*, "At the time, the indispensible materials for Inuit were skins (for housing and bedding, boats and sled equipment, clothing, cooking and food preservation) and meat and fat (for human and dog food, heating, lighting, and cooking) all derived from wild game."

He provides a description of what was used in a year, "A well-off Tarramiut family of three adults and two children possessing a tent, a kayak, a dog team, and an *umiak* annually used about 15 bearded seal skins, 25 ringed seal skins, and 40 caribou skins (for clothing and bedding)."

It is fascinating to imagine what 'first contact' would have been like between Inuit and the first ship that sailed into view – seeking the 'Northwest Passage' to China. Salladin D'Anglure includes a reference to a 'first contact' experience in 1610 on Digges Island with Henry Hudson. It reportedly began with "euphoria and an





exchange of gifts," and disintegrated into a "murderous assault." The era was that of 'explorers' flying the British, Danish or French flags.

Once it became clear the Northwest Passage was not via the Hudson Strait, explorer traffic diminished, to be replaced by fur traders. The British Hudson's Bay Company, eventually established its first semi-permanent posts in Great Whale River in 1855, and Fort Chimo in 1830, following overland expeditions in the previous decades, and the takeover of rival Northwest Company in 1821.

The fledgling 'Dominion of Canada' began early explorations with a project to create five observation posts along the Hudson Strait during the winter of 1884-1885 to assess an Arctic shipping route for grain from western Canada to Europe from a port in Nelson or Churchill. The spartan observation posts were in Port Burwell, Ashe Inlet, Stupart Bay, Nottingham Island and Digges Island.

In yet another jurisdictional "stroke of a pen" as described colourfully in numerous speeches by CBC commentator Zebedee Nungak, Quebec acquired the Nunavik region from the Northwest Territories in the 1912 Quebec Boundaries Extension Act. The provision in the Act to "engage in treaty-making with the Aboriginal residents" was essential to engage Quebec (notably Hydro-Québec) in the eventual *James Bay and Nothern Québec Agreement (JBNQA*).

The life of Nunavik Inuit was documented for international audiences by Robert Flaherty's famous film *Nanook of the North* shot in Inukjuak in the early 1920s. As with many interactions with *qallunaat* - explorers, whalers, fur traders, and RCMP officers - more than just a movie was produced.

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The early part of the 1900s was also marked by tremendous competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and rival Revillon Frères. Trading Posts would be strategically opened in the effort to obtain the most furs. In some communities both companies opened posts. In 1924 a white fox pelt was worth \$39.00 (the equivalent of \$546.00 in 2015 dollars).

Missionaries also moved into the region, further changing fundamental aspects of Inuit life, as traditional shamans were banned by missionaries. Inuit were baptized into Christian beliefs. Shamans reportedly disappeared by 1930.

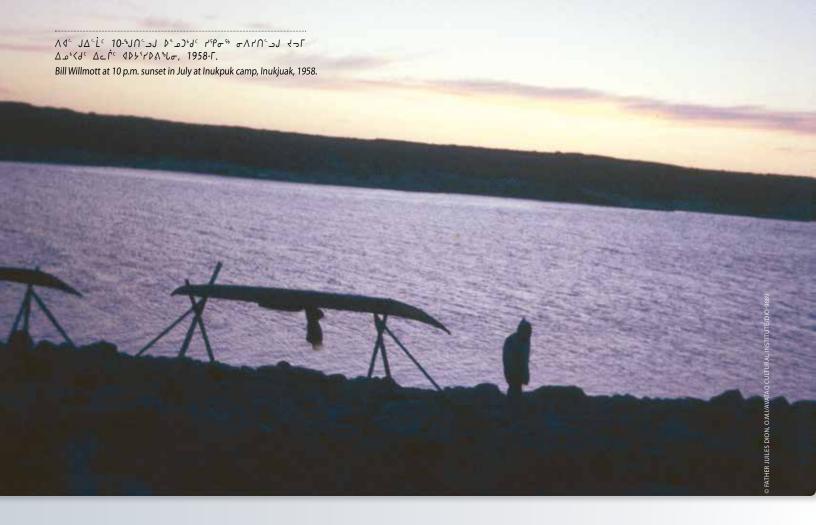
Major events such as the Great Depression, Hudson's Bay Company store closings, and World War II caused great stress on Inuit society. The subsequent military installations in Fort Chimo and Inukjuak, and greater and greater introduction of competing government services (Canada and Quebec), as well as competing religions (Catholic and Anglican primarily) caused additional turmoil.

Fundamental societal behaviour shifts took place as traditional practices of life based on nomadic, seasonal hunting gradually shifted by the 1960s into a more sedentary life in 'permanent wooden houses' in larger communities.

Inuit began to benefit from newly developed national programs such as family allowances. Thus in the early 1950s the annual individual income of an Inuk in Arctic Quebec was \$90.00 (\$908.00 in 2015). The estimated population of Nunavik in 1951 was 2,244 (over 10,000 in 2015).

Inuit were granted the right to vote in federal elections in 1950, though for all practical purposes this was useless as electoral ballots





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were only first sent to communities in the Eastern Arctic in the 1962 federal election.

Looking at this period from the vantage point of 2015 it is possible to observe major events that have caused immense suffering to Nunavik Inuit.

These include the highly offensive jurisdictional battles between

Canada and Quebec relating to Nunavik Inuit as illustrated in the Supreme Court Decision RE: Eskimo 1939; the RCMP dog slaughters of the 1950s motivated to keep Inuit in communities; the relocation of Inuit from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet to the High Arctic communities of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the late 1950s in order to assert Canadian sovereignty; and the separation of Inuit children from families to attend residential schools with the resulting traumas as chronicled in the recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report.

This is not an exhaustive list, but serves to indicate the extreme disruption to Inuit society as the province of Quebec and Canada began to swing their attention northward – to the bountiful riches of the Arctic. In the late 1960s and early 1970s notions

of 'Aboriginal rights' domestically were in their infancy, and 'Indigenous Rights' at the international level were virtually unheard of.

Furthermore, the Quebec context in the early 1960s was nothing short of revolutionary. As Paul Bussières wrote in 1995, "prior to 1960, the North had never been a concern, but with the nationalist fervor awakened by the Quiet Revolution, the job was done in double quick time. [Quebec] started to dispatch civil servants by the handful. Their main mandate was to occupy the territory. These newcomers, francophones of course, were young and enthusiastic, and their intentions were candid: they had come to conquer."

Exceptional Inuit leaders emerged in Nunavik during the decades before the Agreement. The list includes Tamusi Qumaq, Charlie Watt, Zebedee Nungak, Johnny Peters, Mark R. Gordon, Mary Simon, Sheila Watt-Cloutier. These are Inuit who have gone on to regional, national, and international leadership positions. Sadly, Mr. Tamusi Qumaq and Mark R. Gordon are no longer with us.

Nunavik needed exceptional leaders because the stakes at the time were massively against Inuit and Cree heading into the litigation, and very quick negotiations (less than two years). Bulldozers were waiting. Canada reportedly avoided enforcing areas of constitutional jurisdiction

under its control (migratory birds, marine mammals, navigable rivers, and the Canada Water Act), essentially agreeing with Quebec demands.

Quebec meanwhile essentially had Hydro-Québec - the developer - as a main negotiator (unseen in comprehensive claims negotiations). Aboriginal rights in the Canadian Charter did not yet exist. The Inuit leaders were left to fend for themselves in these conditions leading to

the JBNQA.

The years immediately leading to the signing of the JBNQA also coincided with the creation of regional, national, and International Inuit organizations. In Nunavik the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) lead the James Bay negotiations. Meanwhile the "Fédération des cooperatives du Nouveau Québec" (FCNQ) was launched in 1967. At the national level, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada formed in 1971 (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami), and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference was created in 1977 to represent Inuit from Canada, Greenland, Alaska, and Russia at the international level (now Inuit Circumpolar Council).

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When you consider the whole concept of 'land ownership' among Inuit in the decades leading to the *JBNQA*, it was radically different. This contributed to deep divisions among Inuit in the region, eventually, as these notions were intrinsic to the Crown's absolute need for establishing land use, occupation, and Inuit owned lands in three different categories of 'land use.'

As a concluding thought, one has to ask why the Crown (essentially "Western Society") could not, at the time, ever contemplate concepts of 'ownership' that would be less horribly divisive, and more culturally appropriate. In hindsight it appears an impossibility, but today, with instruments such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in place, perhaps future relations with the Crown will be less absolutely tilted towards Western thought concepts, on the road towards a country that will be truly based on social justice.

Nunavik Inuit have proven great patience in the years leading toward 'the agreement.' In many respects the Arctic is now Canada's new frontier and with more than one 'agreement' under its belt, Nunavik Inuit are poised to reap the benefits with characteristic resilience and determination all the while preserving language and culture for generations to come.

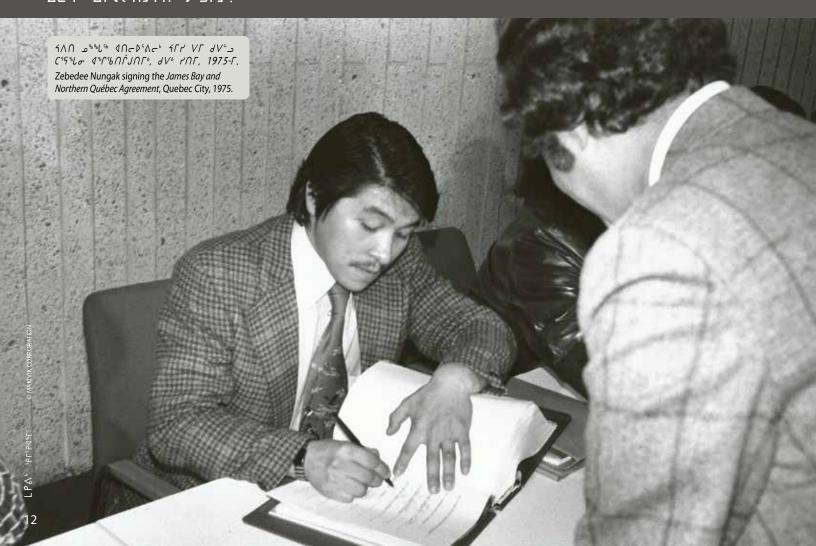
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Through Loops of Pain – Inuit in the JBNQA

By Zebedee Nungak

As one of the signatories of the James Bay Agreement, I've never accepted glowing descriptions of the Agreement as the greatest achievement in government/Aboriginal relations. Neither do I regard the Agreement, as many have, as the worst event in history, whereby the Cree and Inuit sold out their heritage for the equivalent of some modern 'trinkets.' I can say this: the James Bay Agreement was achieved through many loops of pain, some of which were conceived decades before its inception, but reverberate right to this day.



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he first loop of pain was established in 1912, when Canada transferred Ungava District of the Northwest Territories to the Province of Quebec. This was a ruthless colonial act, done without the participation and consent of Aboriginal people who happened to live in the transferred lands. Furthermore, Quebec was absent from its territorial gain for 52 years, arriving on scene only in 1964, when Natural Resources Minister René Lévesque, visited Fort Chimo.

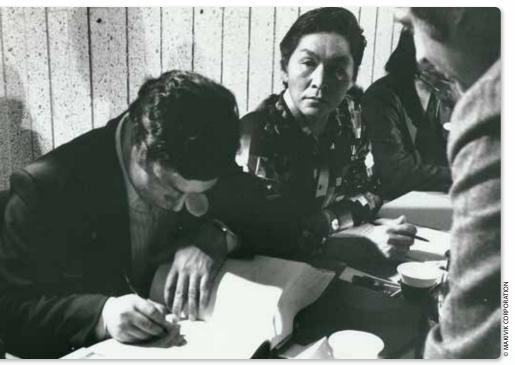
The territorial transfer contained a future loop of extreme pain, which required extinguishment and surrender of Aboriginal rights whenever the issue of rights was addressed in the vague future. In this equation, governments were automatically positioned as superior to Aboriginal people, who were predetermined to be inferior in any defined, formal relationship with governments.

The second loop of pain was delivered through the Quebec government's instigation of the James Bay Project in 1971. After Premier Robert Bourassa went to New York to obtain financing for his "Project of the Century," hydroelectric development went full steam ahead to bulldoze, dynamite, and steamroll into James Bay's rivers. The Cree inhabitants of the territory were not even issued a courtesy notice. The government and its development partners had no regard whatsoever for the concept of Aboriginal people having rights on these lands.

This loop contained plentiful displays of cavalier, arrogant attitudes toward the Cree and Inuit people. The Government of Quebec and its development cronies made themselves very clear, "We have jurisdiction and ownership over this land since 1898 and 1912. We can do whatever we damn well please! Our plans will benefit the great majority of Quebec's population. You have no rights! You cannot stop us!" Who could stand against such withering, merciless forces?

This loop also revealed the weakness of the only other party, which might have come to the defense of the Cree and Inuit: the Government of Canada. Section 91 (24) of the British North America Act gave the federal government authority over





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"Indians," and lands reserved for Indians." In 1970, the nation's political framework contained no provision other than this for Aboriginal people.

The Supreme Court decision, in RE: Eskimo, handed down in 1939, had classified Inuit in Quebec as 'Indians' for the purposes of legal definition. In the logical order of legalities and political definitions, the Cree and Inuit of Quebec could have expected support and protection from the federal government, as their rights were egregiously violated by hydroelectric development.

Canada held a 'fiduciary responsibility' for Indians and Inuit. This meant that Canada had a duty to protect Indians (Inuit included) from blatant exploitation and unjust treatment. Unfortunately, Canada was unable, or unwilling, to take this role seriously. I don't remember a single instance of Canada standing up to Quebec or its development super-agencies, to say, "No! Wait a minute! You are violating section 2 (c) of the 1912 Boundaries Extension Act, by ignoring legal obligations to first settle Aboriginal rights in these lands!"

My most distinctive memory of Canada during the court proceedings, and later, in negotiations for James Bay, is that of the proverbial 98-pound weakling, having sand kicked in its face

by the juggernaut steamrolling the James Bay Project at all costs. This was not so much a loop of pain; it was a loop of sad disappointment to see our only possible protector, Canada, being so passive.

The third loop of pain was, having to work alongside the Cree people. This was not due to the Cree being difficult to work with. Nor was it Cree objectives being detrimental to Inuit objectives. We were basically in the same boat, wrestling with the same shock-and-awe series of fast-moving events, from the launch of the court case, right through to the signing of the Agreement.

The pain here was battling the swirling currents of being a peripheral, secondary party by default in the whole process. The Cree were the main primary, front-and-centre party. Their lands, their rivers, their trap lines, and their very existence were under direct, clear, and present danger. The Cree people were under extreme pressure. Inuit felt that pressure from close by their side.

Inuit had gained entry into the court action against the Project, through two rivers in Inuit territory being included in development plans. Inuit leaders inside this loop considered the alternative possibility of striking out on their own, Inuit-only track. They had to weigh the merits of extracting themselves from the Cree orbit, to seek negotiations devoted to addressing Inuit issues exclusively.

We saw up close that a separate, Inuit-only track was not practical. The whole dynamic of everything was completely James Bay-driven. A separate, better opportunity for Inuit-specific negotiations, not connected to the Great Rush of James Bay, was highly unlikely. Besides, we saw how ruthless Quebec and its development attachés were, as they 'hard-charged' to get their way.

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Inuit leaders and negotiators made a determination to do their best for their constituents in the very imperfect arrangement of almost being a 'side party' in the negotiations. However hard and painful this was at certain times, they recognized that 'riding this sled' was something they had to do, to gain whatever they could from a process that moved in 'overdrive,' without any period of rest.

The fourth loop of pain was, having to go to court to seek an injunction against the James Bay Project. This was made unavoidable by nobody in the nation and the province's power structure standing for the principle that the Cree and Inuit had to be treated fairly, with their rights as Aboriginal people given due respect, as their lives were turned upside down by the Project.

Going to court to defend our rights was foreign enough in itself to Cree and Inuit ways. Facing the proponents of development, along with their governmental benefactors and protectors, was an extreme challenge to our sense of order and common sense. The main thrust of governments'/developers' objective in court was trying to prove that Aboriginal traditional life no longer existed; that, we now lived exclusively on store-bought food and not any longer on 'country food.'

Our adversaries went to great lengths in their efforts to prove that Cree and Inuit no longer lived 'off-the-land.' They were determined to prove that wholesale destruction of the ecology and environment would have no effect on what we ate, or how we lived. No question was too trivial. A Cree elder was asked, "What do you eat for breakfast?" If this elder ate anything 'civilized,' it was as if it would then be acceptable to carve up his hunting and trapping grounds.

The tangible pain of going through court was, first, winning the injunction that stopped the work on the James Bay Project, then, losing this win one week later, upon the

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judge's decision being overturned on appeal. Having to decide whether to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court was a hard decision to wrestle with. Should we risk everything, including an outright loss, in an attempt to force the hand of the Quebec government and its development allies?

The country's legal Aboriginal rights landscape was not a source of any great hope for winning this type of case. We had apparently hit a 'lucky strike' by convincing Judge Malouf of the merits of our case for stopping the work in James Bay. The attitudes and bearings of other judges in other courts was something that the best guesswork by the best legal experts could not predict with certainty.

This dilemma was resolved by the weight accorded to Judge Malouf's decision. Although overturned on appeal, its findings favoured the Cree and Inuit; the judgment ordered work on the Project to be stopped. This forced the governments of Quebec and Canada to negotiate a treaty with the Cree and Inuit.

This created the fifth loop of pain, the negotiations for the James Bay Agreement. In a documentary film on James Bay, I appear in archival footage making this declaration, "We have no doubt in our mind that we own the land. We're not going to go around trying to prove that we own it. It's up to the people who are invading it, to try to disprove our ownership!" I was a brash, fearless young man when somebody with a camera recorded me saying this.

However, the negotiations were premised on an altogether different and harsh reality. The governments were supreme. They held all the legal and political cards, pre-designed and accumulated since colonial times. They would

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 dictate the main terms and conditions of the Agreement. Governments were determined to attain legal finality. They wanted to avoid future lawsuits from Aboriginals taking issue with what was settled in this Agreement.

Thus, they used an extreme 'sledgehammer' to prevent all possible future challenges to the Agreement. They forced the Cree and Inuit to forever extinguish and surrender their Aboriginal rights to their ancestral lands, in exchange for the rights and benefits enumerated in the Agreement. This was a hard pill to swallow. But the brutal fix dictated by government was: no surrender, no agreement.

The negotiations' loop of pain included, i) a requirement for the Cree and Inuit to "extinguish and surrender their rights in and to lands" being negotiated over; ii) a tiny fraction of the total landmass to be held in ownership (Category I lands); and iii) attainment only of a regional municipality, and not the real 'government' we had pursued. We attained mere self-administration, not self-determination. These conditions cast a dark shadow over whatever was gained.

The sixth loop of pain generated by the James Bay Agreement was the most profound and most personally painful. Inuit harmony was completely shattered by a sizable portion of the Inuit population having intractable objections to the conditions imposed by the governments upon the Cree and Inuit. I say governments in plural, because Canada was in acquiescence with the draconian extinguishment measures, having had a hand in designing these in 1912.

The dissidents' objections to the Agreement resulted in an Inuit-upon-Inuit war of words, which degenerated into exchanges of personal attacks and threats. Had we still been in the shamanistic period, many a conjuring would have taken place to curse the entrenched positions of supporters of the Agreement and of those who opposed it. There was no middle ground, or room for arbitration. Such deep, and long-lasting, divisions among Inuit had never been known before.

Being originally from Puvirnituq, I carried a disproportionate share of these animosities.

Thirty-nine years after the James Bay Agreement was signed, in March 2014, eight out of nine surviving Inuit signatories attended the Makivik Corporation annual general meeting in Ivujivik. Each of them shared brief recollections of their most compelling memories of the work they had taken direct part in. The loops of pain they had all endured to accomplish this Agreement became very alive. But as a group, they also proclaimed a great, outstanding task.

Tangible emotion was in the air as all the signatories, in turn, called for healing, forgiveness, and reconciliation from the wounds caused by the *JBNQA* among the Inuit of Nunavik. They called for this to be deliberately pursued, soon.

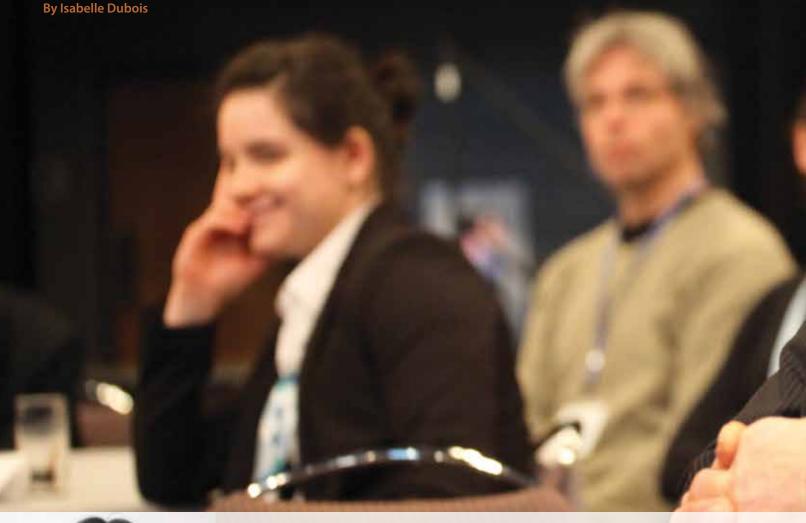
Such an undertaking would serve to 'bury the hatchet' among individuals who had become enemies during those years. Genuine reconciliation would pave the way for tackling the unfinished business of attaining self-government, and seeking protection for Inuktitut language, culture, and identity, from a base and foundation of renewed unity among the Inuit of Nunavik.

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Senator Charlie Watt

Reflecting on the JBNQA, then and now







Appointed to the Senate in 1984 by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Charlie Watt, was one of the youngest senators to be appointed at the time. But at 39 years of age, his career in politics was already far along, including the negotiation and signing in 1975 of the first major comprehensive land claims agreement in northern Canada: the *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA*). This historic treaty brought upon a new era in terms of Aboriginal rights and has since served as a model for many Aboriginal groups over the past 40 years.



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How did you become involved with politics in the first place?

My dream in terms of wanting to do something meaningful started at a very young age. Growing up in Old Fort Chimo, around the Hudson Bay Company's trading post, where there were not too many kids around at the time, I had a lot of time to think. I put a lot of thought into what should become of us as Inuit. I guess I was a dreamer, even later. Whether I was out hunting or in the canoe, I never stopped thinking, visualizing what kind of instrument I needed to put into place to defend Inuit rights and how.

When did you realize something needed to be done to defend Inuit rights?

Around 1964, when the Quebec government started coming in, -René Lévesque, who was the minister of Natural Resources at the time, came to Fort Chimo to meet with representatives from the various communities. He was also handing out turkeys. That didn't stick too well with me, because that could only imply that he wanted something in return. As a matter of fact, rivers with potential to produce electricity had already been identified by his department, so it did not take me very long to know what they were up to. It was just a matter of time before they were going to do something. This could not be kept under the lid. Somebody had to speak for the people up here. The government could not just move in like this. Back in 1912, without our forefathers being consulted, the Quebec territory was extended north. Within this 1912 Extension Act, there were provisions to the effect that before any major development could go ahead, the Aboriginal people living in the territory had to be consulted.

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Is this how the idea came about to form the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) to confront the government with their responsibility towards Inuit?

That was the background of it, yes, but it was a long time coming, until the opportunity came around, in 1971, when Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa made the announcement that they were already prepared to spend billions of dollars to dam the rivers for their hydroelectric project. The Quebec government had already made a move, and again, we were not consulted. The question of rights had not even come up. That's what triggered the whole thing. I felt that there were many issues that needed to be addressed and dealt with in the form of litigations in order to try to establish a bit more leverage on our side. So that's when I went ahead with my idea and created NQIA, in 1972, with the help of Mark R. Gordon, who was still a student at the time.

What did you anticipate the outcome would be when you took the government to court?

My honest belief is that if we did not make that move at the time that we did, we would not be where we are today. In the fashion that Justice Malouf laid it out when we first won the case at the Quebec Superior Court, granting us an interlocutory injunction halting the James Bay Project on the basis of our rights, that's when the question of Aboriginal rights started to become a reality. Unfortunately, it was not a permanent injunction and the Government of Quebec overturned his ruling in the Court of Appeal, but it allowed us to break the ice.



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What were your options after the ruling in your favour was overturned?

We had a choice: either we took it to the Supreme Court of Canada to try and overturn the appeal and get a permanent injunction, but we ended up negotiating instead. Given the circumstances, with an increasing population and the growing social needs of the communities, which were all in bad shape economically at the time, we felt that it was the best thing for us to do, an opportunity for us, while we were still in a bargaining position, before we lost any more leverage.

How was it negotiating with the government?

It was not easy to negotiate with the government because we were outnumbered even before we began. They had so many resources, while on our side, we had to rely on a number of non-native people to complement what we were missing in certain fields that we were less knowledgeable in. So we constantly had to double-check their intentions, their sincerity. But I think we did well, even with the limited number of people that we had. Nunavik Inuit were very much engaged. We had field workers communicating with every community, hearing their concerns, to make sure they were taken into consideration.

Were you satisfied with the result of the negotiations, leading to the signing of the JBNQA?

As a negotiator, I thought we did the right thing, even though there were some other people that had a different view. But if we could have

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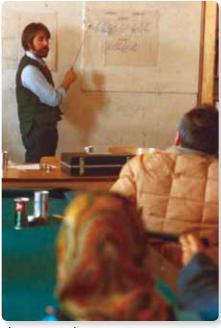




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done something different, I don't think it was available at the time. In the beginning of our movements, we had nothing; there were hardly any houses, we had shacks as schools, there were no social programs. A lot of what we have today, we can be thankful for because of the JBNQA. Now we do have schools and gymnasiums in every community; we have hospitals; and even though there are still a high number of houses needed, there is a lot more than there were to start with. And if you look at similar communities in Nunavut, for example, I see Nunavik way ahead in terms of infrastructure. So I believe there are a great deal of benefits that stem from that agreement we negotiated, not to mention the recognition of the Aboriginal peoples' rights, not only in Nunavik, not even only in Canada, but also internationally, as the JBNQA is used as a model by Aboriginals everywhere in the world, all the way to Australia. All in all I would say that we have achieved quite a bit, but we can still achieve a lot more.



Overall, are you satisfied with the way the *JBNQA* has been implemented since then?

The last 40 years have not been easy for Inuit leaders, for Makivik to assume this huge amount of responsibilities, for which they didn't have the necessary track records for. But I think they have done very well, actually, making sure the implementation takes place. Where the real problem has been is on the government's side. Even tough Inuit have brought up a number of times some issues that needed to be addressed by the government, more often than not they remained totally ignorant of their obligations towards Inuit. And it seems to me like they're operating in a fashion as though it was negotiated once and that is it, there's no more after that. To me, because things change over time, and rightfully so, as the population grows, it should constantly be subject to renegotiation.

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau being greeted (centre) at the Kuujjuaq airport, on the right is Charlie Watt, 1975.

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Charlie Watt, who was the first president of the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, talks with Eli Aullaluk at the Makivik office in Montreal in the 1970s.







CIVIK CORPORATION





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The 1975 JBNQA signatories. Back Row (L-R): Robbie Tookalook, Zebedee Nungak, George Koneak, Charlie Watt, Johnny Williams and Putulik Papigatuk. Front Row (L-R): Sarolie Weetaluktuk, Mark Annanack, Peter Inukpuk and Charlie Arngak. Missing in this picture: Tommy Cain.

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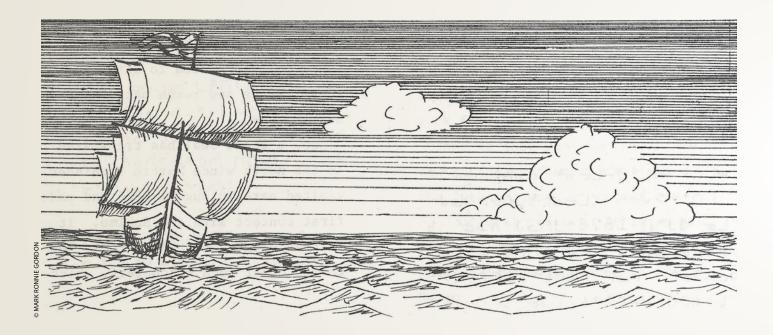
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What do you suggest remains to be done for the necessary actions to take place, to ensure the future of Nunavik Inuit is secured for forthcoming generations?

We have to make ourselves heard. If we want to get something, it can't just be all talk. We have to pinch them where it hurts. The only protections we have are legal protections. So if we want to obtain what they were supposed to implement in the first place, perhaps it's time to go back to court and deal with it, law-by-law, sector-by-sector. After 40 years, I believe it's time to go back and demand that the governments live up to their obligations.

With the new ruling from the Supreme Court in regards to the question of territory and Aboriginal title here in Canada, there is a new opportunity for Nunavimmiut and other Inuit alike to advance our case. Not only that but we also have to look at the bigger picture, at the international level. With global warming opening new routes and new ways to access raw materials through the continental shelf at the bottom of the oceans and threatening our lifestyle, the question of Arctic sovereignty also has to be raised.

With all this in mind, I believe the time has come to settle the question of rights once and for all, for the benefit of future generations, for Inuit to be recognized and have more say in what happens to them in terms of development, the environment and wildlife and things of that nature, rather than just being an observer within their homeland.

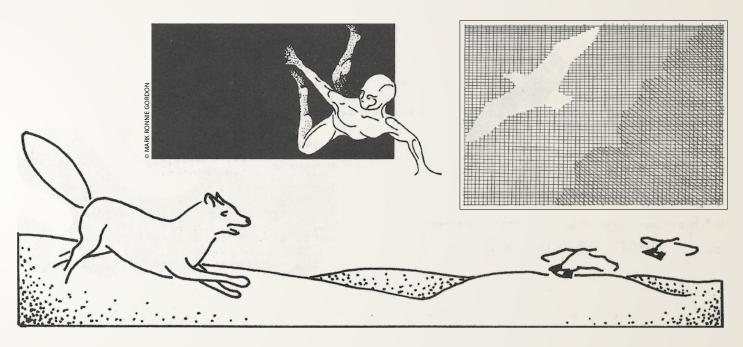




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As 2015 marks the 40th anniversary of the signing of the *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement*, it is with due respect that we honour a man who gave much of his life to the negotiation of this agreement, to Makivik, ultimately to Nunavik and all Inuit.

This man is the late Mark Ronnie Gordon. Those who knew him had the privilege of meeting someone who had a friendly, lighthearted personality. He loved to joke around and his charisma and wit drew many to him. It is important for the younger generations to know of him and about him.

Mark was born in Fort Chimo on March 30th, 1953. Fort Chimo was the original community before it was moved in the late 1950s across the river to the present location, which was renamed Kuujjuaq. The old community now called Old Fort Chimo is now used as a youth camp for Kuujjuaq's children.

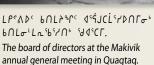
JBNQA signatory, former Makivik President, and current CBC Radio commentator, Zebedee Nungak, remarked, "Inuit were artists naturally, but Mark R went to school for it. He had an artist's sensibility."

Mark was at school in the early 1970s when NQIA President Charlie Watt went to Ottawa to bring him on board for the James Bay negotiations. "Previously I encouraged Mark to continue with his studies. With the negotiations underway I went to Ottawa and practically had to beg to get Mark to come and work for me. We lived together in various apartments in Montreal – NDG, Verdun, and LaSalle – to save money with Martha, his wife, and their firstborn child, Victoria."

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An illustration Mark drew from a picture of Charlie Watt during the *JBNQA* community consultations.







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Prime Minister Brian Mulroney visiting Kuujjuaq in July 1985, while Mark Ronnie Gordon was Makivik first vice-president.



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"He went straight from art school to the negotiations," says Zebedee. "A young man, 21 years old, not quite past his first shave. He was very sharp, a force to be reckoned with. It was awesome to observe Mark blossom into a competent young man. He had lost his Inuktitut in the South, but regained it almost overnight."

"He was a remarkable person," says Charlie Watt, "Always laughing and making people feel good about themselves. He had the ability to pull people in, rather than pushing them out."

"He was in his element," noted Zebedee Nungak. "A very quick study at what was at stake. He didn't take crap from people who tried to pull the wool over our eyes. He had a very accurate sense of who he was representing – a one man battering ram."

The stakes were high in the few years of the *JBNQA* negotiations. The contrast between the Inuit team and government was incredible. "On the whole the Cree and Inuit leadership were very young facing a bunch of old geezers who always had their way. It was like 300 against

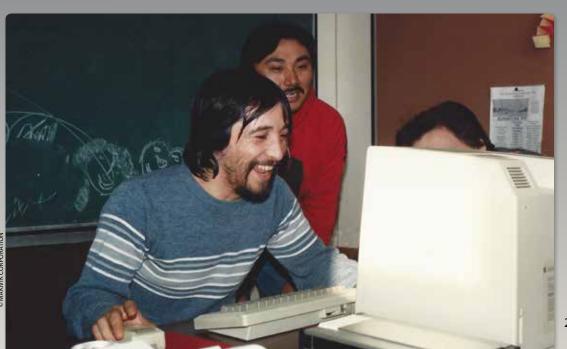
very few," says Zebedee Nungak. "But what the Cree and Inuit lacked in numbers we made up with youthful energy."

Greg Fisk, now the mayor of Juneau, Alaska, was NQIA senior negotiator at the time working alongside Mark who was chief negotiator for the Inuit. He recalls going to the negotiations in Montreal. "We would go to the James Bay Energy offices in Place Dupuis. The place had plush carpeting, and was full of lawyers in suits. Mark would walk in wearing Indian sandals, leather suede pants, jean jacket and a yellow t-shirt. He had stringy hair and a goatee. He had a swagger. It was such a contrast with government and Hydro negotiators in expensive suits."

Mark's style was unique. He was street smart, urbane, with a huge record collection. He drove a blue second hand Honda 450 motorcycle. He didn't like "no" for an answer, and gained the respect of his adversaries across the table.

Just one example of his quick wit came during prep meetings for First Ministers meetings on the Constitution. Mark shot back at a senior

L[®] D[©] りょう く[©] 1988-Г. Mark Ronnie Gordon and Paul Ogituk, 1988.







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official from British Columbia who returned from lunch over-refreshed and questioned one aspect of "Aboriginal rights" asking, "Do you think you actually own the animals?" Mark shot back, "Why do you fence in your vegetables?" The room exploded in laughter.

"He was very capable to criticize," says Charlie Watt, "But in the end he also made you laugh. I know he gained the respect of Armand Couture and John Ciaccia of the James Bay Energy Corporation and the Quebec government. They learned to love Mark."

In the years following the signing of the JBNQA Mark served in many roles in Inuit politics, working at times for the newly formed Kativik Regional Government as general manager, Makivik Corporation as first vice-president, and eventually Makivik president, as well as ICC vice-president.

Mark was instrumental in the creation of the Nunavik Research Centre. He was quoted in 1976, saying, "There are many ways to be poor but in today's world, not having the right kind of information represents a certain kind of poverty. As long as outsiders decide what is important and are in a position to ask all of the questions, we will never be able to solve our own problems." Mark also said, "Without information we are nothing at all and have no power to understand things or to change our life."

He was the guy Nunavik Inuit sent their Makivik logo contest entries to in 1976. As an artist he loved to see the designs. His former executive secretary Miyuki Matsushita recalls his love of artwork. "There wasn't a surface of paper that wasn't alive with his drawings and doodles; a sun, bird, waves or fish." His office, which was in the building where the Tumiit Media is now in Kuujjuag, was covered in cartoons."

Mark loved cartoons, especially the *National Lampoon* magazine. He'd photocopy cartoons and fake ads from the magazine and post them around the office, to the amusement of some and the horror of others.

Mark never lost the essential purpose of the NQIA, which was to increase the voice of the people of the North – to become the voice of Inuit. In so many forums following the signing of the *JBNQA* Mark became that voice.

When 10,000 caribou drowned on the Caniapiscau River in 1984 Mark was the Inuit voice who articulated the tragedy to media around the world.

Mark was just as eloquent when speaking on behalf of Makivik and Air Inuit at a Canadian Transport Commission hearing held in Kuujjuaq. He enlightened the commissioners on the realities of operating an Arctic based airline owned 100% by Inuit. The issues went well beyond merely operating an air transportation service. As Inuit were both the owners and the customers of the airline, they had a vested interest in ensuring the airline operated profitably and the profits were used wisely for the good of the community. Mark spoke of opening a transient house in Montreal for the benefit of Inuit patients and their families when obtaining health care. In *Taqralik Magazine* he was quoted, "We are under constant criticism by our members for not hiring enough Inuit, but we are definitely trying to improve this area. We will hire anyone qualified from the region."

Mark was President of Makivik Corporation in July 1985 when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney visited Kuujjuaq. He was among Inuit leaders, alongside Senator Charlie Watt, and Kuujjuaq councillor Tikilie Kleist, who articulated the fundamental unfairness between the "haves" in southern Canada, and the "have nots" in the North. Charlie spoke out for Inuit who were falling through the cracks partly because government programs for one reason or another "couldn't be applied to the North." Mark brought statistics, noting over 60% of Inuit were unemployed, and the population was expected to double within five years. He informed

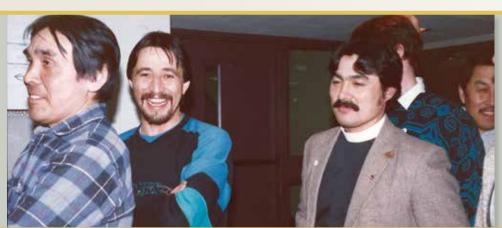
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AAKIVIK magazine

the prime minister of the salary injustices revealed in a Makivik study on jobs in the region. It showed that a southerner holding the same

job as a northerner, with the same qualifications, earned 115% more than the local person, and received more benefits. Mark ended on a visionary note to the Prime Minister, saying, "Inuit are proud Canadians and want to be paying partners in this country."

Mark represented Nunavik Inuit outside of the region on many occasions. He was appointed special advisor to the Canadian delegation to attend the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference in New York in April 1977. He said he wanted to "work at forming a way of getting the views of the Inuit represented properly in the laws that govern the seas and that protect the animals in the Arctic waters."

Mark was involved in the early years of the Inuit Circumpolar of Conference (ICC, now the Inuit Circumpolar Council). In the early 1980s he attended ICC Executive Council meetings with Inuit Tapirisat Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami) President John Amagoalik. At the time one of the issues Mark raised the alarm over was the Arctic Pilot Project, an initiative to transport liquefied natural gas using super-

for the better – albeit slowly – for Indigenous Peoples. In Canada Mark observed First Ministers meetings on the Constitution. He assisted Charlie

Watt in the days leading up to the patriation ceremony of the Canadian Constitution on a rainy April 17, 1982.

Charlie Watt tells the story that the section on Aboriginal rights was dropped during the famous "kitchen meeting with nine of the provinces and the prime minister." Charlie called Mark who was in Newfoundland working on a project with the Inuit Committee on National Issues and Makivik and came back to Ottawa right away, arriving very late at night. Charlie had arranged for an early morning meeting with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. They asked for more time, and Trudeau gave

them a week. They managed to work their networks to reinstate the Aboriginal rights section. Charlie said, "There was some hockey diplomacy involved at the Montreal Forum. Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed

(L-R) Mark Ronnie Gordon accepting his parting gift (he did not run again for the position of Makivik president), Tommy Cain Sr., Charlie Watt, Jackie Koneak, Tasiujaq, 1988.



tankers through the Davis Strait between Canada and Greenland en route to southern markets. He voiced the strong concerns Inuit had on the potential effects on marine mammals.

His many travels included voyages to Argentina in South America to visit the Toba Indians and northern Norway to exchange with the Sami. The contrasts between the visits were stark. Both included knowledge and cultural exchanges, and fundamental political communications.

Mark, travelling with former Makivik lawyer Gilles Gagné in the fall of 1988 encountered poverty and squalor among the Tobas in the Formosa province of northern Argentina. But despite the obvious poverty he connected deeply with the Chief on a human level and emerged re-energized to serve Nunavik Inuit. He was quoted on returning home, "If I hear anyone complain about anything...it better be good."

Among the Sami in northern Norway, Sweden, and Finland, there was much greater similarity with the contemporary development issues faced by the Sami, such as large hydro and mineral developments. He observed that the Sami did not have the equivalent of Inuit Tapirisat Canada (ITC), and were organized by their reindeer herding associations. They did have a lot of expertise on herd management, and Salmon run protection. Mark advocated knowledge exchange between Inuit and Sami so that both groups could benefit from gaps in each other's expertise.

Mark lived at a remarkable time of emerging political rights for Inuit and Indigenous peoples around the world. The world was changing

suggested the addition of the word "existing," and it worked.

Tragically, Mark Ronnie Gordon passed away on April 7, 1989. He took his own life. He is survived by his mother, Christina, siblings: Alec, Allen and Linda, his wife, Martha, and children: Victoria, Judy and Ron.

"We were all very saddened," says Zebedee Nungak. "He was such a brilliant man, someone worth listening to. It was a terrible loss, a very deep loss."

Charlie Watt said he could not even talk about Mark until the past five years, it was that difficult for him. "We were cousins, very close. He was like the brother I never had. It's important to recognize that he made sacrifices and tremendous accomplishments on behalf of all Inuit. He was a wise young man."

At the ICC General Assembly in Sisimiut, Greenland a few months following Mark's passing ITC President John Amagoalik delivered a moving speech to the delegations of Inuit from Canada, Greenland, Alaska, and Russia. He said, "I remember Noah Thomasie, Jayko Tikivik, Noah Idlout, and Mark R Gordon. I have shed a million tears."

The political process is all consuming. Elected political leaders in a sense belong to the people who put them in office. The work is 24/7, 365 days a year. Sometimes the price elected leaders pay is very heavy. The most beautiful motivation to do the work is a natural response to the call of social justice. Mark clearly responded to this call at a critical time for Nunavik Inuit. He will never be forgotten.

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Recalling Communities' Opposition to the JBNQA

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It is important and perhaps essential to educate those Inuit who are now 50 years of age and younger about what was happening in Nunavik in 1975, which was a time when they were barely old enough to grasp the depth of Inuit politics in the face of the "Project of the Century" that was introduced by the then Premier of Quebec, Robert Bourassa. Those of us that were adults at that time who recall the events that took place in our villages owe a great deal of information to them and to those that are younger.

My family had moved to Salluit, then called Sugluk, in 1958 by boat. It was then that I got enrolled into a federal day school run by the federal government. The school was the first one in the village and had two classrooms, its grades limited to no higher than grade five. No councils existed that I was aware of, but there was an administrator in charge of an office that recorded all Inuit citizens, especially when Inuit were just getting used to receiving family allowances. The administrator also had the task of looking after a warehouse, the powerhouse, the teachers' houses, his residence, his office building and a two-tracked wheeled snowmobile called a Muskeg. A bathhouse was later built. The only means of fast communication was through a two-way radio-telephone owned by the Roman Catholic Mission. Its buildings were warehouses and a little hall where 16-millimeter celluloid films were featured once or twice a week for those rich enough to afford the 10-cent admission fee, which later increased to 25 cents. There was really no Catholic congregation as all of the villages' Inuit were devout Anglicans attending the Sunday and Wednesday services at the new church. The rest of the buildings of the whole town, in 1958, belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company store, yet Inuit, by then likely felt they were rich in owning materials that the previous generation never had and yet the rest of the world no doubt looked at the village people as living in a third world.

Having passed all grades, the powers that be recommended, in 1964, that I go to Ottawa while my older peers went to Churchill, Manitoba. By then, the federal government had pretty well established its Inuit housing program in the village and the family igluit became obsolete. As it turns out, I continued to return to



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Inuuqatigiit Tunngavingat Nunamini Group: standing (L-R): Tullaugak Saviadjuk of Salluit; Ittuk Ainalik of Ivujivik; Nutaraaluk Iyaituk of Ivujivik; Jusi Ainalik of Ivujivik; Qaqqaajuk Kakayuk of Salluit; Paulusie Kanayuk of Puvirnituq; Mark Alasuaq of Puvirnituq. Sitting, (L-R): Qupaq Tayara of Salluit; Tamusi Qumaq of Puvirnituq; Aisa Sivuaraapik of Puvirnituq. Puvirnituq, 1975.

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Ottawa to get higher education. By 1974, I had become an adult and was required to discontinue school because my father was ill. It was June when he died. This time, the relatives highly recommended that we get back to Ivujivik in July to be with our closest relatives. I was not totally aware that there was a community council in Salluit, which had begun to operate but I did notice that Ivujivik had its newly established municipal corporation that was in charge of the rent collection for Inuit housing and providing water, which was running onto the street as wastewater. I later learned that there were 10 other similar offices in the northern Quebec region.

Having arrived in Ivujivik in July of 1974 by a Catalina amphibious plane owned by Austin Airways limited, which regularly brought in mail and cargo by landing on the sea while there were no ice floes to mar its way. I went back to Ottawa in September. By the winter of 1975, I returned to the village and noticed a huge change in the villages' day-to-day life in that the people were highly aware of the Northern Quebec Inuit Association's activities. The community council had been asked to join the NQIA, which had membership of the 11 villages then existing, excluding Akulivik, Umiujaq and Aupaluk.

The leaders of Ivujivik, Puvirnituq and Salluit had decided to oppose the *JBNQA* and did form leaders whose establishment was known as Inuuqatigiit Tungavingat Nunamini (ITN). In the Alasuak Case, these leaders had taken to court all of the signatories of the *JBNQA*, including the NQIA, the Quebec government, the federal government, the Crees, the Naskapis, James Bay Energy Corporation because they argued that the NQIA was selling off the category lands, in effect, repeating what the first nations peoples that had done by being put in lands known as reserves that Inuit leaders referred to as "little square ones" or "sikkitaapiit" lands. The Inuit were completely convinced that we were losing our land, selling it for little money.

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 $C^{\circ,\dot{\phi}^{c}}$ $4\Gamma\lambda^{d} > ^{b}\Gamma^{\circ}$ $4\sigma^{J} \cap ^{b}\Gamma^{c}$, $\Lambda_{\alpha}\lambda^{c} \cap C_{\alpha} > c_{-\alpha} \wedge ^{b}\Gamma^{c}$ $4^{c} \cap ^{\dot{\phi}}C^{\dot{\phi$

Furthermore, there is a section where it specified that we were surrendering all our rights and privileges in and to the governments for all time and that the governments accepted such surrender. This clause was not at all acceptable. There were public meetings that lasted hours and hours to let those people who had signed the petition to take the signatories to court. The community centre was 'smoke filled' whereby the leaders made their arguments clear. What was impressive was the large collective gathering of lnuit that were united in their beliefs.

In a matter of months, I was hired as the secretary-treasurer for what was then known as the Maniituk Corporation, which had recently been incorporated as a municipality of sorts in 1973, but which had no boundary. Its office was nothing more than two old rectangular "match-box" clapboard bungalows stuck together to form one building where one section comprised the conference room. There, the council decisions were made where Inuit decided on matters such as deciding to kill loose dogs, or to hire the admissions officer for showing 16 mm movies or to decide what is to be done for Christmas festivities.

It was quite remarkable that the people were highly active in voicing out their opinions on matters related to the *JBNQA*. The Northern Quebec Inuit Association was also a new organization that Inuit opposed vehemently because its leaders had signed the *JBNQA* to "sell the land." The CBC radio was used a lot by leaders such as Charlie Watt to explain the meaning of Category I, II and III lands.

There came a time when the federal government was being pushed aside to no longer run the municipalities. The leaders did not feel comfortable with the coming of the provincial government to coordinate the Northern villages as we now know them. The ITN leaders had to leave several times to do their court battles in the South. When they came back, they seriously looked into the matter of La Fédération des Cooperatives du Nouveau-Québec (FCNQ) running the municipal services rather than allowing the Kativik Regional Government to do that. To them, the money to fund the operation of the municipality would come from the provincial government and could be given to the municipality directly, without having to go through the Kativik Regional Government first because, they argued, the regional councillors would fight over those funds – a situation that did not appeal to the population members. The FCNQ, they argued, could just as easily operate the fleet to deliver water, dispose of it, collect garbage and dispose of it and to run the airport. It was a long and tedious manner in which this alternative was studied.

Soon, the municipal funds were depleted. The councillors argued that they would close down the municipal government and declare it bankrupt. The leaders were not at all intimidated into not getting any funds, again arguing that their ancestors survived without having to deal with such matters as damming rivers. Inuit, they said, still had the knowledge of building *iglus*, which they could still resort to as a way of showing their autonomy and identity. The people would not lose their land, would not sell it and would refuse to live in the reserve style of lands and to live on hand-outs given by the government.

Another part of the argument became evident when one day a woman representing the province's health board came to sell the health and social services. The little federal government

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 run nursing station was suffering from district management, but the leaders and people refused to change it into the health system that we know today. The woman came into the cold, hardly heated community hall, as I remember. There was a public meeting called hastily that the people were now so used to in the context of people fighting the battle in court. That poor woman had come in by plane, had hoped to start the health care system and then leave on the same day. But she had a difficult time reaching the people who were adamant about changing the little nursing station. As she prepared to leave, I remember mayor Audlaluk smoking his cigarette and asking someone for a pen and paper to ask who she was and what she was trying to say. The woman did not hesitate to repeat what she had said. This was a beginning of a change of things in the village.

The Inuit decided to boycott any schooling that was under the Kativik School Board (KSB). After some intense negotiations

However, there was no school during the year 1979–1980 for all the students of Ivujivik and Puvirnituq and roughly half of those in Salluit when KSB decided to implement its jurisdiction in all the villages. Salluit's leaders later decided to allow the students to attend school under KSB.

with the governments and KSB, it had been agreed by all parties concerned that the Commission Scolaire du Nouveau-Québec, as it was then called, would continue in the villages of Ivujivik, Puvirnituq and part of Salluit during the school year of 1978-1979. However, there was no school during the year 1979-1980 for all the students of Ivujivik and Puvirnituq and roughly half of those in Salluit when KSB decided to implement its jurisdiction in all the villages. Salluit's leaders later decided to allow the students to attend school under KSB.

During the school year of 1980-1981, there were students attending school in Ivujivik and Puvirnituq under the Ministry of Education and not KSB, but there was again no school in the year of 1981-1982. Then in the year 1982-1983, there was a school again under the Ministry of Education in Ivujivik.

After some meetings, an agreement had been reached between ITN and KSB as to the program that the leaders wanted to initiate that became known as the IPUIT (Ivujivik Puvirnituq UQAT Inuit Teachers) program, which would be budgeted by KSB but administered by the people of Ivujivik and Puvirnituq.





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The program allowed the teachers to have administrative autonomy that included teacher training, hiring teachers and curriculum. This ended in 1989-1990, except for teacher training, when the schools began to be run under KSB.

Interestingly enough, three objectives had been identified by the IPUIT program. These three needs were the preservation and development of Inuktitut language and culture, the traditional and contemporary training in survival skills and professional trades and the universal curriculum in the context of allowing the graduates to pursue further studies at university.

In 1981, the ITN leaders said they had agreed to start a new municipal government, which they would operate the way they had agreed with the Quebec government leaders. They had agreed to get a piece of municipal land, which was to be a certain size. A meeting was called to discuss this matter. While the leaders of Puvirnituq claimed that the ITN leaders had just signed the *JBNQA* by agreeing to start the municipal government, the Ivujivik ITN group said that the money to fund it would come directly from the province and that no one from the village would be part of the Kativik Regional Government. That was the condition they had agreed to, they said. With that, the Corporation of the Northern Village of Ivujivik was established.

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 It became evident that the other villages were getting better housing. The travellers began to say that the people of Salluit, for example, were having their old federal government three bedroom houses renovated and were converted to having running water and septic tanks were installed. This was unheard of in Ivujivik, except for the flush toilet that had once been put into the community hall by the Direction Général du Nouveau-Québec. Furthermore, they said, there were the new wheeled water delivery trucks and new wheeled sewage trucks that took over the jobs of the tracked Bombardier water delivery vehicles.

The Maniituk Corporation had become defunct. Gone were the quarterly resolutions asking for more funds to operate the municipality. Gone were the handcuffs used by the councillors in the absence of police and a local Inuk went for training to Sûreté du Québec to come back as a fully trained constable. The municipal office supplies were moved to the Co-op store that leased a small office space connected to the store. A door was made whereby one could by-pass going out of the building to go back and forth from one end of the building where the front door was. The councillors and secretary-treasurer could get from the municipal office to the Co-op manager's office through the door. When the community centre was torn down due to its unstable foundation, the post office, which had been there was moved to the Co-op store.

The ITN group had done all it could to be a leader of the community. Its lawyer had come to the community to see the village first hand at a time when the transition was in effect. The clause in the JBNQA where it reads, "In consideration of the rights and benefits herein set forth in favour of the James Bay Crees and the Inuit of Quebec, the James Bay Crees and the Inuit of Quebec hereby cede, release, surrender and convey all their native claims, rights, titles and interests, whatever they may be, in and to the land in the territory and in Quebec, and Quebec and Canada accept such surrender" was no longer contested by ITN. The leaders felt they had done all they could to warn people about losing the land for the 93 million or so dollars the people had heard of.

By 1983, the first Inuit housing under the Société du Habitation du Québec were built, thereby introducing the running water system we know today. The nursing station and the school were built with the half of a gym that the education committee members had said would require the second half to be added later. A six-wheeler water truck was obtained as was the sewage truck. The garbage was collected and disposed of using dump trucks or loader as was the raw sewage in garbage bags.

In 1984, the airport was built and soon the little airstrip that had been built by a bulldozer in 1973 was no longer used.

The village of Akulivik was established during those early years, obtaining its Category lands. The same was true for Umiujaq, whose people came from Kuujjuaraapik. The Kativik Regional Government (KRG) was to be the governing establishment that many people believed was the self-government they had sought for so many years. It was responsible for the health and social services in the region on top of the civil security, police services, hunters' support program, recreation, airports and municipal services.

When the KRG distributed the funds for the Hunters Support Program, the municipal council decided to divide it equally among the Inuit houses. The reasoning behind it was that since the Inuit



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are beneficiaries and they are being counted head-by-head in order to get the community funds, it made sense that they should benefit from it directly to be compensated by the JBNQA. The reasoning was to the effect of, "Since they're counting our heads to distribute the money to the organizations, then we had to stop the abuse of the money going elsewhere for somebody else's use when our heads were the reason for obtaining the money." It was not long before the auditors stepped in to make recommendations of using the money more properly.

The other thing that happened was the purchase of an airplane when one of the Inuit proposed to purchase one for the Hunters Support Program. The pilot was hired to go South to the supplier and the plane did come. It operated for a while until there was an accident that rendered it useless. This illustrates one of the events that happened as a result of the town starting a new way of running the municipal government.

There was still the feeling that the KRG was not quite the autonomous government the Inuit had been trying to attain. There was, for example, no real ethnicity about the whole matter and that where any person of any background including Scottish, German or African, could become mayor or regional councillor, it was not appealing to the Inuit who, for the moment anyway, comprised the majority of the population and who wanted some leader who would carry out the needs of Inuit as a people that own their land, language, heritage and way of life. The more the municipal governments performed, the



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more it became evident that Inuit could feasibly lose their culture through it. Whereas, they felt that the requirement of the mayor and council should include that he have full knowledge in surviving in the Arctic wilderness and should promote the Inuit culture and identity to ensure the continuation of Inuit lifestyle well into the future. The KRG was seen as an extension of the provincial government and was really only administering the giving out infrastructures for the general public with no regard for Inuit values.

What the ITN leaders attained was that they made the majority of the population in their village believe in opposing the JBNQA, but it was that same democratic system that, as members of the region wide population, they were a minority and therefore were required to live with that reality. Where some people wanted to get rid of them as being insignificant or immaterial, they made a point that the JBNQA is not a perfect document and that there are things in it that have to be contested and that the people must not just agree to it for ever. One of the Inuit said that the democracy that was used in the signing was such that it was so very strong as an agreement that it will be extremely difficult to undo it if anyone wants to change their minds and that it was such that we will be stuck with it whether we like it or not.

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NAPAVUGUT

Inside the battle that gave birth to Nunavik

The making of a documentary

By Ole Gjerstad, writer and director



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HOW WAS NUNAVIK BORN? HOW DO A PEOPLE BECOME A NATION?

In many cases, a gradual rise of awareness and social ferment gets a sudden boost, the old order buckles, and suddenly everything is on the table. But for a new order to take hold, there have to be leaders, men and women with a vision.

In late 1971, community leaders from all across Arctic Quebec came together in a series of long meetings. Some wanted to build on the experience of the Co-op movement and community councils to negotiate with the Quebec provincial government for Inuit self-government. Others argued that forming a territory-wide association would be a more effective move towards that goal. A few months later the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) was born. 'Elders' such as Johnny Watt, George Koneak and Lazaroosie Epoo, all in their thirties, teamed up with (very) 'young turks' like Zebedee Nungak and Johnny Peters to get things going. At the centre of the action, as president, was Charlie Watt.

The new organization had little time to find its feet. Down South in Quebec City, Premier Robert Bourassa was rolling out a hydro-electric project that would forever change the land of the Inuit and the James Bay Cree. He called it "Power From the North." Bourassa gave short shrift to Aboriginal rights; he believed indigenous people could be paid off with a pittance. Thus began a bruising battle that, four years later, would open the door to Nunavik and *Eeyou Istchee*, the Cree Nation. But the fight left deep marks on the Inuit in the front line.





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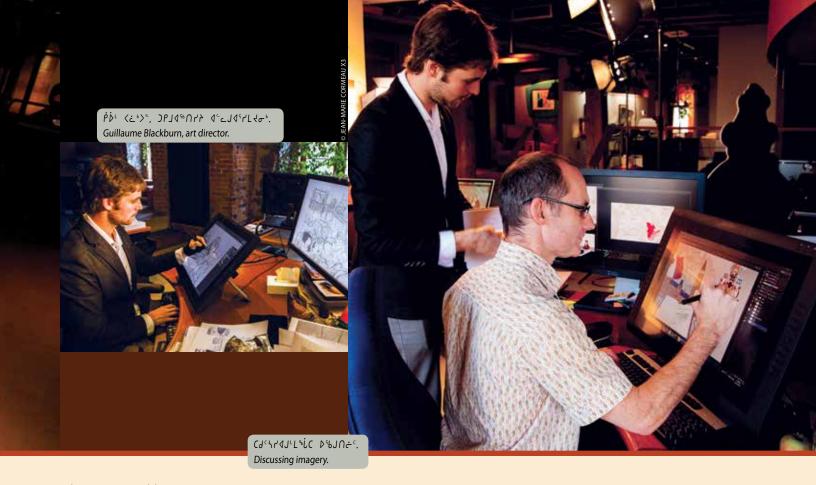
Ivujivik, February 2014

Makivik annual general meetings (AGM) are packed affairs. The issues are many, delegates have lots on their mind, sessions run late. But this year something special breaks the routine: for the first time in nearly 40 years, the surviving Inuit signatories to the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) are all in the same place. Of the eleven names on the document, George Koneak and Mark Annanack have passed away. The other nine have been invited to open their hearts about the price they paid while fighting off the dam-builders. Long absences in Montreal led to broken marriages and lonely children; they walked on concrete and ate qallunaat food; they were underdogs at the negotiation table, and people back home were angry at concessions they were forced to make. Forty years may seem a long time; the courage of youth has turned to the wisdom of elders, but emotions are still raw. As they speak, the hall is deadly silent. Kleenex boxes are passed around. Many AGM delegates never knew the human price of the 1975 victory. That signals the challenge ahead as we begin shooting this film.

Kuujjuaq, Kangirsuk, Inukjuak, Puvirnituq (POV), Tasiujaq and Umiujaq, June 2014 – February 2015

The backbone of the film is in-depth interviews with the JBNQA signatories. Charlie Arngak is the first in the hot seat. Born on the land, pushed by his mother to attend school every day. He was a teenage member of the community council in Wakeham Bay when Charlie Watt buttonholes him and refuses to let go until Arngak the kid agrees to be the Wakeham representative on the NQIA board. "I'm too young," he pleads. "We're all young," says the older Watt, then about 26.

The arrogance of youth might be a theme as we travel in Nunavik and interview one signatory after another, only they all emphasize how much they relied on advice from elders. The 'young turks' were the first generation to get more than basic formal education



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and begin to master the white man's language, but they needed the elders' knowledge of the land and Inuit history and culture to stand up to the dam-builders. With that, they could connect the thousand-year Inuit universe to the new nation they wanted to build.

"I was there only to make coffee, but I listened to the discussion, and ideas began to churn around in my head," said Sarollie Weetaluktuk about a meeting in Inukjuak in 1971. Twenty-one-year-old Zebedee Nungak happened to walk into a meeting in POV. "I listened to the discussion, and I decided then and there that this was something I wanted to be part of," said Nungak. That was 44 years ago, and it's high time to get the signatories' stories on record. Some are now ailing. Johnny Williams passed away when we were still editing the film. He was one of the founding fathers of Nunavik, full of knowledge but you wouldn't know until you sat him down and started digging. I feel privileged to have the chance to do so.

The editing room, Montreal, November 2014 – September 2015

This is the moment of truth: what did we do right and what did we miss when shooting, in order to properly tell the dramatic story of the birth of Nunavik? We arrived with more than a hundred hours of interviews. Then we discover treasures, such as the archives at Avataq, and the reams of NQIA video shot in 1975 by Alec Gordon and friends. Hydro-Québec gives us footage from the construction (and destruction) and the Cree let us use an important interview with the late Grand Chief Billy Diamond.

Hundreds of hours, but we have max 90 minutes to do the job. Two-thirds of today's Nunavimmiut were not yet born when all this took place, so they need a lot of background information. Decisions, decisions and then we're out of time. Crossing my fingers, I sign off, praying that we've done justice to the young visionaries who stepped forward and opened the door to the Nunavik we know today.



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Jobie Tukkiapik President

was nine years old when the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement was signed so my memories are vague, more like little snapshots in the back of my mind. Just glimpses of my father and uncle talking about this idea that Charlie Watt and others in the Northern Quebec Inuit Association were pushing and Charlie's son Robbie, then a kid like myself, selling candy to raise money for the organization.

This special anniversary edition of our magazine and the commemoration that will follow on November 11, 2015 and onwards is to ensure all of us will have a clearer picture in our minds, on what was achieved, how and why it came about, and above all how it shapes us today and in the generations to come.

No matter where we are in time—the *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement*—signed 40 years ago will always encompass our history, our present and our future.

I am as pleased that as part of this celebration, we will be releasing a first class video documentary that captures our history and the remarkable achievements of those who made our land clam agreement a reality.

Remarkably, and thankfully, the majority of the original signatories to the agreement are still alive today and in the documentary, they tell their own stories. But let me now express on behalf of all beneficiaries our thanks and acknowledgement to those who have since passed on, George Koneak of Kuujjuaq, Mark Annanak of Kangiqsualujjuaq and Johnny Williams of Inukjuak. They along with the others leave a lasting legacy for their families and region.

To all who negotiated that claim and realized our aspirations for control over our lands and lives, let's all reflect and recognize what a remarkable accomplishment it was.

They were barely in their twenties and they stood up to the country's biggest political and economic powerhouses and personalities that dominated the national political landscape, including Pierre Trudeau and Jean Chretien in Ottawa; Robert Bourassa and Rene Levesque in Quebec; and in the middle Hydro Quebec and a development project worth billions of dollars designed to drive the province's economic future for generations.

To call it a 'David and Goliath' battle is an understatement.

Yet our very young leaders, under the most tremendous pressures and against these seeming impossible odds, somehow prevailed. They used every vehicle at their disposal and used them well, including: political negotiation, very effective public opinion and above all, the law and the courts.

In November 1973, they filed a lawsuit asking the courts to block the hydro development until a land claim agreement was negotiated. In a landmark decision that became a defining turning point in Aboriginal rights and constitutional law as the Quebec lower court granted the injunction. Inuit and our Cree partners were now powerful forces to be dealt with.

A week later the court's ruling was partially overturned by the Court of Appeal; it lifted the injunction on construction, but $\Delta = C^{-1} + C + C + C^{-1} + C + C^{-1} + C^{$

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upheld the decision that the province had a legal obligation to negotiate a treaty covering our lands.

Our young Inuit leaders led by Charlie Watt, our Cree friends and partners in the land claim battle for Northern Quebec resumed negotiations with Quebec and the federal government. Within two years, the monumental modern day treaty that we now celebrate was signed.



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It was the first comprehensive land claim in Canada and it set a precedent for all other Inuit regions.

In our celebrations let us also remember the many advances we made in strengthening the claim, such as the offshore claim signed signed more recently and the Sanarrutik Partnership Agreement.

Additionally, our participation in the Parnasimautik process was in response to the Government of Quebec's Plan Nord where we declared that Nunavik Inuit will accept "nothing less than a commitment from governments to a comprehensive, integrated, sustainable and equitable approach for improving our lives and our communities." We must also never forget it was the land claim agreement that gave us control over education, health and social services and our Kativik Regional Government.

I know from time to time, people question whether we got all we are entitled to and a few still refuse to recognize the accomplishment.

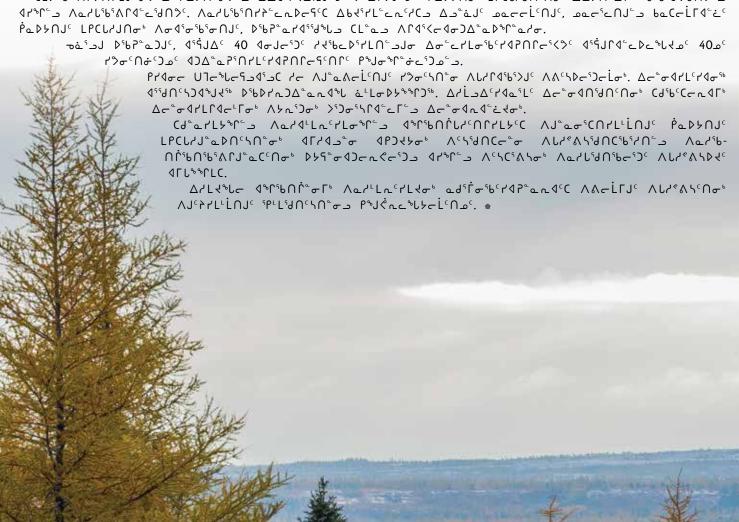
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It may be fair to look back and question what may have been missed or conceded in the negotiation as long as we consider where we would be without the Agreement. In my view we would be much worse off.

I think anniversaries are important because they allow us to look back and collectively say a sincere thank you. But I also believe anniversaries should focus on where we are going in the future, and equally important, how we will get there.

Our website clearly acknowledges what has been accomplished, "politically, culturally and economically, Makivik has led in the development of a vibrant region called Nunavik, where between the dualistic nations of Canada and Quebec, Inuit have established their own distinct place and identity."

That place and that identity are clearly visible in today's economy, including our airlines and other subsidiaries. We have become major employers and contributors to the overall regional, provincial and national economy and frankly, I think we are just getting started.

In short, what happened 40 years ago leaves us well positioned for the challenges of the next 40 years and decades beyond.

But we must also seize every future opportunity. Education is the key and I cannot emphasize it enough. It is gratifying to see more of our students graduate and entering post-secondary studies.

The vision and hard work of our negotiators equipped us with economic rights to vast areas with rich resources and the opportunities for partnerships with mining companies and other resource enterprises are unlimited.

I think the best way we can thank them for what they have done is take every advantage of the opportunities they have given us through their hard work and vision and ensure we leave more to our children.





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Michael Gordon Vice President, Economic Development

We owe much to our ancestors; they brought us to where we are today. In the same light, a debt of gratitude is due to those who contributed to the negotiation of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) in the early 1970s. It was then that global pressures were great on the people of Nunavik. The Quebec government's plan to build a massive system of dams in Northern Quebec resulted in a lengthy and divisive negotiation process that pitted Inuit against qallunaat and Inuit against Inuit. A fission occurred where a people mainly united were divided along political lines. That was the backdrop by which the JBNQA was signed and where Inuit in Northern Quebec began to have a bigger say in the development of what later became Nunavik.

Ever since the signing of the Agreement, Makivik Corporation has been instrumental in building and developing Nunavik. Makivik has played a major role in all aspects of Nunavik life, including but not limited to the creation of businesses, employment of beneficiaries, the development of infrastructures in the communities and negotiations on behalf of Inuit through the impact benefits agreements with mining companies.

There are many success stories, to mention just a few would be an injustice but for the sake of brevity I will mention only a few. Air Inuit as a business lifted off in 1978 and has grown from a fledgling airline to a major asset for Inuit of Nunavik. First Air having been purchased in the early 1990s and has contributed immensely to the northern economy and has been a consistent contributor to Makivik. In the shipping industry, from minority owners of NEAS, we now have a 50% stake in a company, which is an essential lifeline for the Arctic and that will continue to grow in the future.

Not everything in business is a sure thing, so even those companies that have not succeeded financially have helped create jobs and Nunavik infrastructure. Kigiak Builders, Imagpik Fisheries, Nunavik Biosciences, Cruise North may have not generated profits but they provided jobs and training that resulted in the advancement of Nunavimmiut human capacity.

Today Makivik continues to support Nunavik Inuit. For the construction of infrastructure including work on roads and houses, we have Kautaq Construction and Makivik Construction delivering on-time, on-budget projects. Our





Td ddCュ イドト゚ュ゚ ー゚トュ イdf゚ンアド dV゚ パロドィん゚, かんん 2015-Г. Michael Gordon and Aqqaluk Lynge of Greenland in Quebec City, February 2015.

 fisheries section continues to provide considerable royalties from shrimp licenses. More recently, we have been working alongside the KRG and Women's Auxiliary Groups on Food Kitchens that could eventually be available in all communities. The annual Nunavik Artistic Workshops continue to support Nunavik artists by providing training on various art disciplines. Our annual Ivakkak dog team race continues to add a special flavor to Nunavik life by keeping a once essential part of Inuit life visible in a culturally tangible fashion.

I would like to thank all of those executives who preceded me especially those who worked on Economic Development files. Without your contributions, Nunavik would not be where it is today. Makivik Corporation will continue being a positive contributor to the development and well-being of Nunavik and Nunavimmiut long into the future.







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Adamie Delisle Alaku Vice-President, Resource Development

What Motivates Me

 $oldsymbol{\mathsf{O}}$ n this year's commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA), I would like to honour the brave young men and women that paved the way for our future. Through my current eyes as a politician, I have had the opportunity to visit and see the other Inuit and some Indian homelands in Canada as well as to observe conditions of Aboriginal people in other countries. Based on these experiences I feel privileged to be a beneficiary from Nunavik. Of course there are many things with which we can be dissatisfied, however on balance I feel the advantages far outweighs the disadvantages. I was born after the JBNQA negotiations and grew up in Salluit where the split in opinion amongst Sallumiut regarding support of the JBNQA led to opposing factions and resulted in clashes even at the level of individual family members. As a youth growing up, I didn't see or appreciate all the emotional hardship nor the ripple effect this division created. I only found out about what had occurred, and the depth of the impacts, when I was in my early twenties—the age of a number of those leaders at the time when they had negotiated and signed the JBNQA.

Although Inuit Tungavinga Nunamini (ITN) may not be a big discussion topic nowadays, the core values and fundamental principles they espoused still resonate during meetings and community consultations. Economic development, language, essential services, ownership of the land, governance and many more were some of the main subjects of discussion before I was even born. I wish to underline my great respect for both ITN and Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) members who undertook the exceptional task of representing their constituents to the best of their ability.

They were fearless, courageous and proud to be Inuk. Although equally humble and respectful, they had rage and the blood boiled in their veins when the governments of the day attempted to relinquish and question their Aboriginal rights and titles. They pounded the negotiation tables and asked elders and leaders to substantiate and authenticate our records, our history and our culture. The herculean endeavour to face governments with little to no aid was a major challenge but they never drifted from their goals.

The interlocutory injunction, which halted the James Bay Project was unheard of around the world. Judge Albert Malouf recognized Aboriginal rights, which forced the government to negotiate an out-of-court agreement, the *JBNQA* – better known today as the first modern Canadian land claims agreement.

As progressive as they were for the early seventies, I am amazed with the amount of communication and consultation that happened back then without today's technology. We must remember that television was a novelty in Salluit





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community consultations. Ultimately, we have come a long way from dogsleds and the *qajaq*. When you think about it we are very lucky to be able to instantaneously message, chat or call one another with cell phones and computers.

Our elders are our source of wisdom and have much to teach us regarding how things came to be; it is we who must now take on the challenge of passing the torch to our future generations so they may know the struggles and hardship that Inuit went through to attain the successes of today. These successes are many; not only do we have a thriving culture, we have retained our Inuktitut language. We continue to respect the land and waters and harvest the many wildlife resources that provide subsistence food to our people, which is not only a dietary preference but distinguishes us as a unique people.

Seeing all the history and devotion that went into the negotiations and the implementation thereof motivates me greatly and makes me feel very proud to be a Nunavimmiuk. We understand that not all the points and issues were agreed to on that late night of November 11th in 1975, but it is our duty now as Nunavik Inuit to look at new ways to improve our wellbeing while concurrently preserving our identity by aligning ourselves with the Inuit way of doing things. For my part, in my capacity as Makivik Vice-President, I pledge to the people of Nunavik that I will do my very best to ensure continued sound management of our wildlife resources to ensure generations to come will be able to continue practicing the culture and lifestyle that our forefathers established.



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Andy Pirti Treasurer

was a year old when the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) was signed. My family lived in Puvirnituq at the time and, of course, I couldn't understand Nunavik politics at such a young age. By then the historic signing was settled and changed the course of our shared history to which I am profoundly proud of.

Few years had passed, and during a summer in Akulivik, a boat arrived and went to the shore near the Co-op. Back then it was still at the point, where the new Co-op hotel now stands. Us kids, as curious as we were, ran towards the boat. It was Charlie Watt's boat. He shook their hands and spoke with them. After listening to him talk I ran home to tell my mother what I encountered. I said, "A white man arrived by the boat. He speaks Inuttitut!" My mother had a good laugh.

That was my first recollection of meeting someone from Makivik. During that time funds had started to flow to Makivik and would eventually total \$92 million. Over 30 years have passed and today Makivik is worth \$364 million. The decisions taken during the course of the decades has worked in our favor. Although some investments weren't always profitable, in the end, today Makivik's subsidiaries are helping the



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growth of the corporation and it has provided substantial amounts of donations to the communities along with the construction of infrastructure in our communities.

The decision to invest in stocks and bonds has paid dividends immensely as well. Makivik initially invested \$9.6 million in stocks. Today, stocks are worth \$103 million at a market value and in total stocks and bonds are worth \$125 million as of September 30, 2014.

Also, some of the subsidiaries of Makivik have faired pretty well. In Makivik's equity the subsidiaries account for in book value of over \$200 million. The funds have been well managed through the years of growth while sustaining regular donations, which have now totaled \$104 million.

Recently, Makivik's board of directors passed a resolution to adopt a new investment policy. This policy will allow for better planning on the return of investments, and also ensure that community projects are funded to the maximum while also ensuring growth of capital in line with Nunavik cost of living increases and population growth.

The JBNQA is not a perfect agreement. We lost a great deal of rights in the process. Yet we also gained secure and firmly written rights including the subsequent rights we received in the Constitution of Canada. Going forward we need to focus not on what we lost but what we gained and what we will continue to gain.





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Andy Moorhouse Corporate Secretary

Reflections on the 40th Anniversary of the *JBNOA*

congratulate Nunavimmiut for your dedication and continued support of Makivik Corporation over the last 40 years, since the signing of the *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA)*.

I have been part of this proud Nunavik legacy for all my life, now 36 years. This includes the past six years as a member of the Makivik executive committee. I commend the courageous individuals who first took the necessary

> steps in that battle with a polar bear—the Government of Quebec—as these negotiators of the JBNQA were under extreme pressure to settle an agreement that was the first of its kind notably among Inuit in Canada. This special edition of *Makivik* Magazine is tailored to give more information to Nunavik beneficiaries about Nunavik's history, including the negotiating and signing of the JBNQA. It is meant to educate as well as to celebrate our strength as Nunavik Inuit. It is important that we are aware of our Inuit ability to persevere and adapt to ever-changing realities that we have faced in the last several decades. We will face more challenges but the continuance of this legacy is our mandate as leaders.

I would also like to commend Makivik's previous corporate secretaries: Annie Lock Popert, Simeonie Nalukturuk, Johnny Adams, the late Martha Kauki, Daniel Epoo, Sheila Watt Cloutier and George Berthe whom were also elected by Nunavik beneficiaries to help ensure the administration of Makivik; the smooth, successful business practices of our subsidiaries and the implementation of the *JBNQA*. Without the active and determined commitment of all former executives, we would not be where we are today. We continue to work towards shaping Nunavik for the betterment of all beneficiaries.

As we mark the 40th year of the signing of the *JBNQA*, I think back on our progress and how fortunate we must feel for the work of our former leaders. Although we have experienced projects and ventures that fell short, we should look at the bigger picture and the greater share of successful initiatives. A couple of great examples are our airlines: First Air and Air Inuit. These two wholly-owned Makivik companies provide essential transportation services that the North requires and we will ensure they continue to prosper for many years to come.

Other advancements that we take pride in are the affiliations with our Inuit counterparts across Canada. These partnerships demonstrate our common interests and our





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unified position as Inuit standing together. We continue to strengthen our Inuit stance, as a people who share commonalities that stem from our history, traditions, culture, language and, of course, the struggles we see today. We are working towards finding solutions for these struggles in a modern and holistic fashion that will be conducive to our unique Inuit needs.

Nunavik will continue to develop and Inuit will continue to be strongly involved in this development. The JBNQA will continue to need implementation in the years ahead. The commitment and work of past, present and future elected officials ensures that Makivik will continue to stand up for the social, economic and cultural viability of future Nunavik generations.

I thank all my staff in the Corporate Secretary's Department who have contributed to Makivik through carrying out their daily professional duties – from our janitors and maintenance crew to our administrative and senior staff. On behalf of this dedicated team, I also wish to express my gratitude to Nunavik Inuit for your trust and support.

With another 40 years and more to come, best regards.



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Le 11 novembre 2015 marquera le 40° anniversaire de la signature de la Convention de la Baie-James et du Nord québécois (CBJNQ). En ma qualité de premier ministre du Québec, je suis heureux de commémorer cet événement historique, grâce auquel la culture et le mode de vie distinctifs du peuple inuit ont été dûment reconnus. Cette signature a également fondé les assises de la mise en valeur du territoire québécois à ses latitudes les plus nordiques, sur la base des droits et des avantages que la CBJNQ instaurait pour les Inuites et les Inuits peuplant le vaste territoire du Nunavik, au cœur de leur identité.

La signature de la CBJNQ a ouvert la porte aux relations entre le gouvernement du Québec et les Inuits et Inuites du Nunavik. Ce traité sans précédent a assuré la participation de ces derniers dans les domaines les plus importants des responsabilités gouvernementales liées au bien-être de leur population et à l'épanouissement de leur société. Sur cette base, la CBJNQ a par la suite ouvert la voie à la conclusion de plusieurs ententes importantes, telles que l'Entente de partenariat sur le développement économique et communautaire au Nunavik (entente Sanarrutik). Le gouvernement du Québec accorde une attention toute particulière au respect des engagements convenus en vertu des ententes avec le peuple inuit.

Au cours des dernières années, la nation inuite a entrepris une vaste démarche de consultation au sein de laquelle sa population s'est exprimée sur son développement et ses aspirations. Ce travail s'incarne dans le rapport Parnasimautik, lequel permettra au gouvernement du Québec de mieux comprendre les réalités de la nation inuite et de poser des repères quant aux actions concrètes qui devraient être planifiées pour répondre aux aspirations des Nunavikoises et des Nunavikois.

Les besoins de la société inuite sont nombreux, et les réalités sociales et économiques vécues par sa population placent le Nunavik devant des défis énormes. L'affirmation de la fierté et de l'identité du peuple inuit de même que la protection et la promotion de sa culture, de sa langue et de son mode de vie traditionnel nécessitent assurément des actions accrues qui devront être conjuguées aux efforts déjà consentis.

La collaboration entre le gouvernement du Québec et la nation inuite, qui se caractérise notamment par la coopération, le partenariat et le respect mutuel, renforce leurs relations politiques, économiques et sociales, dans le but de favoriser, en priorité, le développement économique et communautaire du Nunavik.

Aujourd'hui encore, et plus que jamais, je suis fermement convaincu que les efforts conjugués de nos deux nations doivent continuer à converger afin qu'ensemble, nous puissions offrir à toutes les Nunavikoises et à tous les Nunavikois un avenir meilleur.

Philippe Couillard Premier ministre du Ouébec November 11, 2015 will mark the 40th anniversary of the signing of the *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA*). As premier of Quebec, I am glad to commemorate this historic event whereby the distinctive culture and way of life of Inuit were duly recognized. That signing also provided the foundation for the development of the territory of Quebec in its more northern latitudes, on the basis of the rights and benefits that the *JBNQA* instigated for the Inuit people inhabiting the vast territory of Nunavik, at the heart of their identity.

The signing of the JBNQA opened the door to relations between the Government of Quebec and Nunavik Inuit. This unprecedented treaty enabled the latter to participate in the most important fields of governmental responsibility connected with the well-being of their population and the growth and development of their society. On this basis, the JBNQA then opened the way to the conclusion of several important agreements, such as the Partnership Agreement on Economic and Community Development in Nunavik (the Sanarrutik Agreement). The Government of Quebec devotes particular attention to respecting the commitments agreed upon under the agreements with Inuit.

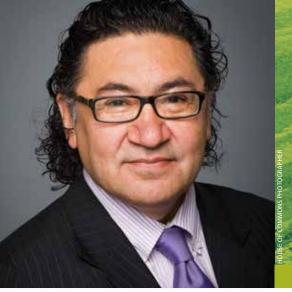
Over the past several years, Inuit have undertaken extensive consultation process, through which its population has expressed itself on its development and aspirations. This work is enshrined in the *Parnasimautik Consultation Report*, which will enable the Government of Quebec to better understand the realities of Inuit and to set indicators for the concrete actions that should be planned in order to respond to the aspirations of the men and women of Nunavik.

The needs of Inuit society are numerous, and the social and economic realities faced by its population pose huge challenges for Nunavik. The assertion of the pride and identity of Inuit as well as the protection and promotion of its culture, its language and its traditional way of life certainly necessitate heightened actions, which should be combined with the efforts already being made.

The collaboration between the Government of Quebec and Inuit, which is characterized by cooperation, partnership and mutual respect, strengthens their political, economic and social relations, with a view to fostering, as a priority, the economic and community development of Nunavik.

Even today, and more so than ever, I am firmly convinced that the combined efforts of our two nations must continue to converge, so that together we may provide all the people of Nunavik with a brighter future.

Philippe Couillard Premier of Québec



Congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the signing of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement

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Over the years I have gotten to know Nunavik as the beautiful territory that encompasses the lands, waters and resources of the Nunavimmiut. For thousands of years, you have occupied, governed, used, protected and managed your traditional territory. You have continued to do so in a spirit of sharing while preserving your profound relationship with your land and its resources and environment.

When it was signed in 1975, the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement changed the way that Indigenous rights were seen in Canada and was a new beginning for future relations in our territories. This foundation has led to achieving other important agreements

that should make Nunavimmiut equal partners in decision making and sharing of benefits.

This anniversary has deep meaning for me as it demonstrates how far we have come in asserting our Indigenous rights and it shows our strength and determination. Nunavimmiut are a model of how to live traditional values with modern-day principles; I look forward to seeing where you take your people and your nation.

Romeo Saganash

Member of Parliament for Abitibi-Baie-James-Nunavik-Eeyou



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Air Inuit, Nunavik's airline

Coming together is a beginning, keeping together is progress, working together is success.

The employees of Air Inuit would like to express their sincere congratulations to Makivik on the occasion of its 40th anniversary. The achievement of this important milestone is a testament to Makivik's dedication towards the growth and development of Nunavik.

Collectively owned by the Inuit of Nunavik through their participation in the Makivik Corporation, Air Inuit is proud to have participated, and continue to do so, in the social, economic and local employment development of the region, as highlighted by the following timeline depicting the history of Air Inuit.

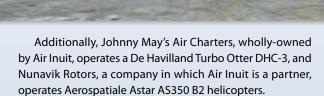
Following its creation, Air Inuit has established bases in a number of Nunavik communities and has since broadened its horizons with bases located in the South as well as Quebec's North shore. Air Inuit aircraft are now based in Montreal, Kuujjuaq, Kuujjuaraapik, Puvirnituq, Radisson, Salluit, Sept-Îles and Schefferville.

Air Inuit's growth can also be attested by its fleet of aircraft, which is specifically adapted to northern conditions. Today, the 23 aircraft fleet consists of:

- · 2 Boeing 737-200C
- · 7 Bombardier Dash-8 Combi 300
- · 2 Bombardier Dash-8 Cargo 300
- · 2 Bombardier Dash-8 Combi 100
- · 1 British Aerospace Hawker Siddeley 748 LFD
- 6 De Havilland Twin Otter 300
- · 3 Beechcraft King Air 100



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As Air Inuit has grown, its key success factor resides in the regional cooperation it believes in, by creating and encouraging multiple programs such as:

- Ilaujuq program, a joint Makivik and Air Inuit initiative created to help make air travel more accessible for the Inuit of Nunavik by granting each beneficiary three return airline tickets per year at a 75% reduction from the regular fare.
- Katutjiniq, an incentive program intended to serve as a catalyst for promising new business ventures and existing businesses with expansion plans in areas primarily served by Air Inuit. Katutjiniq helps stimulate economic development throughout the Nunavik region for the benefit of its population.
- Increased access to air travel for children and seniors with special fares equivalent to 50% off the regular adult fare for children two to eleven years of age and elders aged 60 or older.
- A compassionate travel program granting all passengers travelling for a funeral to a 75% discount, and those travelling to visit a severely ill loved one to either 75% discount for immediate family members or 50% discount for other family members or friends.



 $\Delta_{\varpi}\Delta^{c}~~\text{b-u-c-d-h}~~\text{DHC-3}~~\text{ACD-c-d-h}~~\Delta_{L^{c}}L^{c}~~\text{C-i-h}.$ Air Inuit DHC-3 Single Otter on floats.



DHC-6-200 L $^{\circ}$ /C $^{\circ}$ /b $^{\circ}$ (Δ $_{\circ}$ /b $^{\circ}$ l $^{\circ}$ C $^{\circ}$ %), $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ DHC-6-200 Twin Otter (Air Inuit), Kuujjuaq, 1978-1979.

Δα ΔαΔ Λατιβίλθηίλθ σοληθής τλεςίθ βουςCib/OrFib αCDrcbcc DeHavilland Beaver	1978	Founding of Air Inuit and purchase of a first airplane: a DeHavilland Beaver.
۵۹ ۵-۵۷ بههادرناماسهاد ۶-ها-دیور.	1980	Air Inuit's fleet grows to five aircraft.
۵۵ ۵۵۵ ۵۵۵۹۴۶>۰ ۱۵۰۵ ۱۵۹۵۰۵۴۵۵ (۲۵۶۶۶۹۵۲) ۵۰۵ ۵۵۵ ۵۵۵۹۴۶۹۵۲	1983	Air Inuit purchases the routes along the northeast coast of Hudson Bay from Austin Airways.
Lናʔ፫ላጔ፦ 748-፫፦ Hawker Siddeley ኄኤኒናርቭህበጔና Δ፫ርጐህንኈ.	1985	A Hawker Siddeley 748 is added to the fleet.
۵۹ ۵۵۵ ح۵۵٬۶۰ نح ۱ ۴۵٬۷۲۰ ۱٬۲۵۹۴٬۵۲۴ ۵۰٬۵۱۸۴٬۵۲۲	1988	Air Inuit acquires Johnny May's Air Charters.
ΔΦC 4NCP%5N% 4¼ÅJσ-4Γለσ 4%°°%10°%%°°%%°°%%°°%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%	1991	Air Inuit signs a multi-year cooperative agreement to operate Hydro- Québec's fleet of aircraft.
σρασθηραθώνου» Δα ΔΩΩς ζ,8-100-ε,ευρυμού. βρηταφορίτου νεσημούς σας Γ,8-100-ε,ευρυμού.	1995	Purchase of Air Inuit's first Bombardier Dash-8 100 turboprop allowing scheduled service to begin between Montreal and Nunavik.
۵۹ ۵۵۵ ۱٬٬۴۵۸٬۲۵۴ عد۵٬۲ ۱۵-۲۱ اله کمد۵۰ ۱۵۵٬۶۵۸ ۵۵ ۵۸ مد۵٬۲ ۸۵٬۷۱۵٬۵۲۹٬۹۵۲٬۹۵۲٬۹۵۲ مد۵۲٬۲۵۴ مد	1998	Air Inuit creates Nunavik Rotors in a joint partnership with Nunavik entrepreneurs.
Ċ'-8 100- \leftarrow ° ∇ < <cናcþ<math>^{\circ}% ርተኦኑጎላΓ Λለ‹ተትነበኦነቴናርታላ\leftarrowናጋΓ°.</cናcþ<math>	2001	A second Dash-8 100 is purchased to serve the Hudson coast.
$\Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta C$ $\Delta \sigma^c$ $\Delta \sigma^c \delta^c \delta^c \delta^c \delta^c \delta^c \delta^c \delta^c \delta^c \delta^c \delta$	2003	Air Inuit establishes a base in Schefferville with a locally-based King Air.
᠘᠙᠘᠘᠙᠘᠙᠘᠙᠙᠘᠙᠘᠙᠘᠙᠘ ۲۵۹۷۹۵۰۲ - ۱۳۶۹۵۸۶۲۲ ۵۰۹۵۹۹۹۹۹ ۱۹۶۹۵۱۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹۹	2004	Two new Dash-8 100 aircraft join the fleet, marking the start of service between the Ungava coast and Montreal via Schefferville. Air Inuit also introduces its proprietary reservation system and call centre.
Δ4 ΔΔΔδδ 4%ΓεΓ4ኝ>° σΡΔ°4Π° >4ε4Δ'Γ° >"¬åΓ° 737-200C-εΓ°.	2008	Air Inuit expands reach with the purchase of its first Boeing 737-200C.
ᠲ᠋᠘ᢗ᠐ᢣᡟᡆᡃ᠘᠙᠋᠋ᡗᡴᠬᡪᢗᠲᡃᢗᢪ᠋ᡆᠣ᠅᠕ᢉᡏᡣᢗ᠐᠀᠂ᡬ᠂᠐ᢃ᠐᠐᠆᠆ᢅᠴ ᠐᠘ᢗᠲᢖᠣ᠋᠘᠘ᢐᠧᢃᠣᢖᡝᠲᢉᠳᡆᠻᠫ᠅᠘ᡣᡳ᠙᠐ᢗᠲᢪᡆᢣᠣ᠘ᠮᠳᠳ,᠘ᡏ ᠘᠘᠘᠂ᡣᡳ᠘ᡷ᠙ᢗᠲᡕ᠂ᠳᢐᠾᢗᡳᠯ᠌ᡊᡣᡳᡶᢅᠴ᠂᠘᠘᠘	2009	Electronic ticketing is introduced and the Dash-8 300 Combi with a 45-seat configuration, unique to Air Inuit, is added to the fleet.
۵۵ ۵م۵٬ ۱مه۱۵۶ ۴د٬۶۹۵-۱۲ کې دزیمار۱۲ ز۰-۶ 300-۵۰، که ۵۲ که ۱۳۵۱ کې د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د ۲۰۵۰ کې د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د د د ۱۳۵۰ کې د د د د د د د د د د د د د د د د د د	2010	Air Inuit accomplishes the world's first repurposing of a Dash-8 300 into a freighter aircraft.
>לבש" > השל ' 737-2000 " ∇' <c'(۵۶% (۵۶٬۲۵۴)="" th="" کادهای="" کادهای<="" کی="" ۱۳۵۰-۱۳۵۰="" ۵۵۰۲=""><th>2011</th><th>A second Boeing 737-200C joins the fleet as Air Inuit unveils its new brand image and livery design.</th></c'(۵۶%>	2011	A second Boeing 737-200C joins the fleet as Air Inuit unveils its new brand image and livery design.
۵۰۹۵۲۵ فیون، ۵۰،۵۵۲ فیون، ۱۳۵۸ و ۱۳۵۰ میر کی ۱۳۵۸ و ۱۳۸۸ و ۱۳۵۸ و ۱۳۸۸ و ۱۳۵۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۵۸ و ۱۳۸۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱۳۸ و ۱	2012	Inauguration of the new head office, technical centre and FBO terminal in Montreal.
۸۲۹٬۵۳۵ مورورک که ۱۵۲۵ مورور که ۱۵۵۵ مورورک که در دورور که که درون که کورورک که درون که درون که کورورک که درون که درو	2013	Launch of Air Inuit's own loyalty program, Isaruuk, allowing passengers to earn points every time they fly Air Inuit. Points earned can be redeemed against promotional items, gift certificates or free flights.
Δ4 ΔΔΔ ^c b4rJΠ ^b 6 ^t) th Δσ ^c _c ΠPΠΓ ^c σ ^t (^t αPΠΓ ^c σ ^t) ΔcΩα ^c γΠ ^t α ^c Vσ ^t d ^c Prb ^c CPPσ ^f τ Λ ^c 4PJΠΓ ^c σ ^t Λ ^t dΠ ^t bΠ ^c CF ΔΔ ^c Λ ^c 4y ^t bσ ^f Γ ^t 21σ ^t μασ ^c σ, 14 μαδ ^l CC ^c tbσ ^c γΠ ^t /Π ^c Γ ^c tbσ ^c γΠ ^t 23σ ^t b4rJΠ ^t 6 ^t) ΛαγJΠΓ ^c σ ^t Λγ ^t bσ ^c γΓ ^c γρ ^c γΓ ΛJ ^c tσ4rLyΓ ^c σ ^t .	2015	Air Inuit continues to deploy its infrastructure plan by building a cargo service warehouse in Inukjuak. The airline now services 21 destinations, 14 of which are Nunavik villages, with a fleet of 23 aircraft and continues to work towards achieving its vision for the future.



Air Inuit management and its team of more than 600 employees would like to take this opportunity to express their appreciation to Makivik, its board of directors and the residents of Nunavik for your continuous support. We look forward to extending the legacy over many more years.





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Happy 40th anniversary from First Air

On behalf of the entire organization at First Air, we would like to convey a congratulatory message to the management, employees, and beneficiaries of Makivik on the 40-year anniversary occasion.

First Air is honoured to be 100% owned by Makivik since 1990. With 70 years of flying experience, First Air is the leading airline in Canada's Arctic, providing scheduled service to 30 Northern communities, including three hubs and four southern gateways in Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg, and Edmonton. First Air operates a fleet of 20 aircraft, carries over 250,000 passengers and 25 million kilograms of cargo per year. We also provide handling services to many customer airlines and have the largest ATR maintenance facility in North America with combi modification capabilities, C-check inspections, and complex supplemental type certificate.

As one of the largest private sector employers in the North, our First Air team actively participates in community events in the North, by supporting our communities through sponsorships, youth development initiatives, and literacy and educational programs.

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First Air recently entered a codeshare agreement with both Calm Air and Canadian North on selected flights operated by each airline. These agreements have allowed us to introduce code-sharing on several flights across our networks. The codeshare agreements are a breakthrough for First Air, allowing for the creation of a flight schedule that provides more air travel choices and

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significantly improved connectivity in northern hubs. Another key advantage of the codeshare partnerships is the creation of opportunities for new operating efficiencies, which are critical

for sustaining long-term operations.

At First Air we have reached another significant milestone in our 70-year history. We are pleased to announce that the first of our three newly acquired ATR-42's landed in Ottawa on June 18th. Our new ATR's are newer generation 500-series that are 'a first' in Canada. Type certification, modifications, and training will see this new aircraft coming online soon, possibly by the end of the year. The newer generation ATR-42-500's are faster, have a more modern flight deck, and provide more cargo payload and effectiveness with planned fixed combi configurations.

We look forward to welcoming you onboard one of our flights.

Once again, congratulations from everyone at First Air!



 $U_{L^{\circ}}U^{\circ}$ 2002-\$JΠ´¬J, Δαδ'Γ ΛαδΑ΄ Λαλυν' Lα΄<>' Λεβην' Λεβην' Παγραμία Αργικα Αργικ







Taking traditional Inuit clothing into the future

Since its inception in 2002, Nunavik Creations has worked diligently to achieve the mandate given by Makivik Corporation to support the local economy and to promote the knowledge of Inuit women and Nunavik clothing traditions.

While taking the company from its humble beginnings to the international recognition it now bestows, the socio-economic goals of the company have been maintained through its current ten full-time employment positions, numerous individual contracts as well as continual purchases of products from local artists.

Nunavik Creations has an undisputed reputation for producing quality products. In keeping with our mandate to create jobs and with the goal of

ensuring that a new generation of seamstresses have all the skills to succeed, the company provides skill development training to its seamstresses for the mastering and proper use of complex machinery and advanced techniques.

The design team have created many garment and accessory collections of exceptional quality, which are unique to Nunavik Creations. Our products are sold at various points of sale in Canada as well as internationally. We have had requests from boutiques and museums in Holland, Switzerland, France and Denmark.

At this time Nunavik Creations is enjoying a renewed popularity. This is due in part to the revamping of the Nunavik Creations'

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brand, its interactive website and Facebook page as well as its advertising campaign. Nunavik Creations' partnerships with other Makivik subsidiaries (Air Inuit and First Air), other Inuit organizations (KRG for Nunavik Parks, the Arctic Winter Games, Nunavik Tourism), and participation with several other Aboriginal communities have added greatly to our visibility both nationally and internationally.

Nunavik Creations' expanded marketing approach over the past couple of years was recognized the 2015 Quebec Aboriginal Tourism Award in the marketing category at the Entrepreneurship Recognition Gala during the fourth International Aboriginal Tourism Conference in Quebec City.

Nunavik Creations is proud to be part of its community and would like all beneficiaries to benefit from the community and commercial activities of the company. It is to this purpose that a Rewards Program Ilaugutik has introduced a 30% discount applicable on-line at www.nunavikcreations.com and at the boutique and showrooms in Kuujjuaq, Inukjuak and Ville St-Laurent.

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From the JBNQA to Parnasimautik

A lot has been said and written about the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) in the past decades and for a good reason. This document constitutes a milestone in the legal and political history of the Nunavik Inuit and the Crees as well as for Quebec and Canada.

We can fairly state that it marked the beginning of a new era for Nunavik and that it paved the way to the signing of other treaties throughout Canada. Clearly, there was a pre-JBNQA and a post-JBNQA. The JBNQA has impacts in almost every aspect of the lives of Nunavimmiut; from housing to lands, from the environment to municipal services, from hunting to justice—the list goes on. The new era is one where Nunavik Inuit can no longer be ignored, where development cannot happen without them being consulted and involved.

The JBNQA is not perfect, but still it helped achieve a lot in terms of developing the communities, of accessing much-needed services, of creating institutions controlled by Nunavik Inuit, etc. To quote Zebedee Nungak (from an interview to Makivik News for the 20th anniversary of the signing of the JBNQA), "So, in a way, it was a major accomplishment just to have reached an agreement, incomplete as it was, and deficient and defective as it was. It gave us certain basic tools, certain basic institutions that would do nothing but advance our desire to be more self-governing.



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It gave us institutions such as the Kativik School Board, the Kativik Regional Government, the municipalities, an environment watchdog, and land ownership corporations."

Forty years after its signing, improvements are still required to the Agreement: some sections have not been fully implemented and some of the regimes provided for in the *JBNQA* need to be updated, revamped or even rethought. Nonetheless, the *JBNQA* is a constitutionally protected treaty from which the Nunavik Inuit derived great benefits and will continue to do so for the generations to come. Despite the fact that it is, in a way, an out-of-court settlement that was negotiated fairly quickly, those who negotiated it still deserve to be seen as pioneers who deserve great respect and recognition.

Going back to the need to update this important Agreement and some of the regimes derived from it, it is useful to paraphrase a former premier of Quebec who described the *JBNQA* as an organic document that should be allowed to evolve. The numerous complementary Agreements to the *JBNQA* constitute clear evidence of this ongoing evolution. After all, as societies evolve, rights follow.

What can we expect for the coming years that will lead us to the 50th anniversary of the signing of the JBNQA and beyond? Although it is very difficult to predict the future, you will find pretty clear indications if you read carefully the Parnasimautik consultation report. Parnasimautik calls for renewed relationships between the Nunavik Inuit and the governments as well as with the industrial developers. From the conclusion of the report, "This process [the Parnasimautik consultations] has been a critical step in the pathway to a new autonomous governance structure for Nunavik. ... Nunavik Inuit will no longer be silent or invisible. ... Parnasimautik is not an end: it is a new beginning."



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In March 2014 the Quebec government mandated the Bureau d'Audience Publiques sur l'Environnement (*Office of public consultation on the environment*, BAPE) to hold an inquiry and public hearing on uranium industry issues in Quebec. Because this



mandate included all territories within Quebec, including those covered by the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement (NEQA), the BAPE contacted both the Kativik Environmental Advisory Committee (KEAC) and the James Bay Advisory Committee on the Environment (JBACE) to co-chair the public consultations in the Nunavik and James Bay regions.

Three phases of public consultations were carried out by the BAPE, KEAC and JBACE special commissions in various villages in Nunavik and James Bay between May and December 2014. During these sessions, the public was asked to voice their opinions, give comments, or ask questions. Overall, participants expressed concern about the effect of the uranium industry on their natural environment, the animals they hunt and plants they collect, their own health and safety and the difficulty in comparing the economic benefits with the risks.

In July 2015, the Minister of Sustainable Development, Environment and the Fight Against Climate Change released the BAPE inquiry commission report detailing their examination and public opinion of the uranium industry

KEAC-d° C'bd∩ja Λας\b'&άc'rdσfrσ adfi?L° Cffrogac-brook dibdd, brookdok dochron accbrook bldl-drbib Δοςiσ bn°bnorrbccbbtlc σαστισ Δονβοςντθί Δοςiσ δηθο Λαγολ Λαγολος σαστισ Δονβοςντσ Δοβορο Λαγολογος σανισ. • in Quebec. Chapter 13 of this report, which has been translated into Inuktitut, Cree and English, covers the northern Québec territory and was co-written by the KEAC and JBACE. This chapter concludes, "The uranium industry is rejected almost unanimously by the Aboriginal communities in territories subject to land claims agreements in James Bay and Nunavik, and in southern Quebec".

The BAPE also states that should the government decide to open the door to uranium mining in Quebec, it must satisfy three requirements: it must ensure social acceptability; it must generate reliable knowledge to overcome the current lack of information; and it must take time to develop a legal framework that will allow for sufficient control over mining operations. Coming next, a comprehensive analysis of the findings of the BAPE should be carried out by an inter-ministerial committee.

The full BAPE report (available in French only), as well as the translated versions of Chapter 13, are available on the KEAC website at: www.keac-ccek.ca; as well as the BAPE website at: http://www.bape.gouv.qc.ca/sections/mandats/uranium-enjeux/index.htm.

The KEAC would like to take this opportunity to thank the Northern Villages of Kuujjuaq and Kaniqsualujjuaq, as well as the village of Kawawachikamach, for hosting public consultations in their community and for the participation of all community members and organizations in Nunavik.



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NEAS Inc. would like to express its good wishes, congratulations and continued success to Makivik Corporation on this 40-year anniversary occasion.

NEAS would also like to express

its sincerest appreciation to Makivik Corporation, for through the NEAS investment, Makivik has shown its commitment to the North and continues to actively work on behalf of the Nunavik communities, to build and enhance essential marine transportation links and services for all the Inuit of Nunavik.

NEAS, through its managing partner, has over 50 years of experience in the marine transportation services geared to Canada's Arctic. The NEAS business and economic development record is unparalleled for growth and service. Over the years the NEAS fleet has grown and today includes MV Umiavut, MV Avataq, MV Qamutik and MV Mitiq. The investment in NEAS positively contributes to the North's economic development by solidifying beneficial ownership participation for Inuit in the essential marine transportation business.

NEAS is also actively training, employing and promoting Inuit on our vessels as well as having local Inuit management in different regions

of the Arctic. NEAS is committed to the North and is determined to improve all aspects of marine transportation in the North. NEAS has been instrumental in the introduction and evolution of container usage in the North, the innovative one-stop-shop cargo service centre, all risk marine cargo insurance and the standard 15 metric ton lift in all communities. NEAS seeks to further improve sealift services through consulting, lobbying and written expression with all levels of government advocating for northern interests. The issues covered are all related to improving transportation infrastructure and costs in the North.

NEAS would like to thank Makivik Corporation for its quality leadership and continued support in the quest to provide the best marine transportation services in the North, for now and in the years to come.



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Fisheries – Makivik's joint venture



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▷∧⅃ネ゚ﺩトሮ゚ィ' Brian McNamara/>ሗ₫゚ ĹቴፌĹና ₫ዬኒዛናቴቴቴ, Newfound Resources Ltd./┲▷ሮ▷゚ ሒቭኒና ፫୮በ՞ As we celebrate the 10th year of our partnership in the shrimp industry with Makivik Corporation we are extremely proud to acknowledge and congratulate Makivik on your 40 years of growth and development in the North. It has been a pleasure to work with you and grow the northern shrimp industry particularly in adjacent waters off Nunavik. In addition to a successful venture in the traditional fishery off Canada's east coast we have enjoyed developing





The NQIA Logo

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the montagui shrimp resource in Ungava Bay and working together to advance product and market development in China and Europe.

We've faced challenging times together but have jointly developed a successful fishery in the North. Next year marks the beginning of a whole near era as we welcome the introduction of our brand new 79-meter shrimp trawler into our fishery, a venture that surely will benefit not only current residents but also future generations.

We look forward to working with you for decades to come on shrimp and other species and wish you and all the residents of Nunavik every success in your future endeavors.

Congratulations
Brian McNamara
President, Newfound Resources Ltd.





When the Northern Quebec Inuit Association was incorporated in 1972, its board of directors opened a competition for the design of the organization's logo. This contest was applicable to the region's Inuit members, then slightly over 4,000, living in 11 communities.

By deadline time, over 30 entries had been received. Some people expressed their sense of empowerment in the Association's formation through humor. One drawing that stands out in my memory was, an Inuk bonking a *Qallunaaq* on the head with a piece of wood.

A drawing, which I had submitted, was chosen. The map outline of what later became Nunavik shows 11 communities: Akulivik, Aupaluk, and Umiujaq did not yet exist. There were no breaks in the lines attaching Puvirnituq, Ivujivik, and Salluit, to the entranceway of the great igloo, with the inscription: "Communities United."

This logo truly represented the whole region under the symbolic roof of a *qaggiq*, a great igloo built for extraordinary gatherings of the people. It reflected the Inuit identity of the region and its people. There was no doubt about what these symbols stood for. During the heyday of the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, Inuit proudly wore this logo on their shoulder.



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'b σέ Προ 4 Π'b'r'h The Right To Be Cold: One Woman's Story of Protecting Her Culture, the Arctic and the Whole Planet.σ'. Jά'-d σ'r'Δ σ'r'ά σ'r'4' βη Γ'ο δο Δο Δο Δο Δο δο δο κοι το διαθορίου διαθορίου διά μο κοι διά μο δια διά μο διά







Woman of Distinction

Nunavik's environmental and human rights activist, Sheila Watt Cloutier, won in the environment category at the 22nd Women of Distinction Awards. The benefit, held September 29th at the *Palais des congrès* de Montreal, honoured 13 strong, women leaders in wide-ranging roles from arts and culture to education to entrepreneurship.

Watt Cloutier, who was raised in Kuujjuaq and is a champion of the Arctic, tying together health, economics, and foreign policy when she speaks with passion about climate change. She was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize in 2007, is an Officer of the Order of Canada, and has won an Aboriginal Achievement Award, a UN Champion of the Earth Award, as well as the Norwegian Sophie Prize.

She is also the author of the this year's well-regarded *The Right To Be Cold: One Woman's Story of Protecting Her Culture, the Arctic and the Whole Planet.* Watt Cloutier served as the Canadian President of the Inuit Circumpolar Council for seven years and then spent another five years as the ICC's International Chair. •

Nunavik

בת Δρά⁵לה ל בעשר סיר דל⁶ ጋላ¹ΓዾልኄЬኄል \ኈሆ፟፞፞፞፞፞፞፞፝፞፞፞፞፞፟፝ፚ፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟

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Groundbreaking boarding home

Ground was broken late in September for a new temporary home for Nunavik residents travelling to Montreal for medical treatment. Although the Montreal Gazette reported the residence— which will be close to the Dorval shopping cen-

tre and the airport—will not open until Christmas 2016, plans

Reverend Annie Ittoshat, who preaches in Inuktitut, opened Tulugak, the chairperson of Inuulitsivik Health Centre and Elisapi Uitangak, the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services chairperson, as well as a MNQ client from Nunavik.

The plan is for the building to have four floors with 143 earlier in 2015. •



















NUULITED





マソット CRPC-3 もりもかものかて ひってい もののもっしょう かしっ Lieutenant-Colonel Bruno Plourde, 2 CRPC -3 かっていかしい

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Facebook.com/2GPRC.2CRBG.

Gir-Punk Adein Ashlet Vire Pulk Activation and Lieutenant-Colonel
Bruno Plourdo, 2 CRPG Commanding Officer.

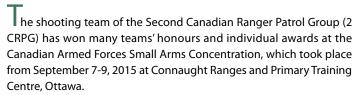


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Master Corporal Jean-Marie Beaulne transported by his team to be paraded with the other top shooters of the Canadian Armed Forces.



By: Captain Karine Roy, 2 CRPG Information Officer



This year, the team had eight shooters from Nunavik (see box) and has participated in all events addressed to the Rangers. For the fifth consecutive year, Master Corporal Jean-Marie Beaulne (Puvirnituq) won the title of best shooter of all Canadian Rangers (CR) and had the honour of being the first Ranger to sit on Chair of the best Ranger shooter and to be transported by his team to be paraded with the other top shooters of the Canadian Armed Forces to the awards site. Participating in this competition since 2008, Master Corporal Beaulne says that the



training received over the years, has allowed him to improve his shot and be more effective in his hunting activities. For its part, the Ranger Mustafa Dedeci (Puvirnituq) distinguished himself by being the best novice shooter among CR during the Concentration. These results are testimony of the dedication and teamwork demonstrated by all participants. It was a very successful edition. And as mentioned Lieutenant Colonel Bruno Plourde, Commanding Officer of the 2 CRPG, "I am very proud of the results achieved by our team. These successes are inspiring for our Rangers, but the most important is that each of the Rangers gained experience and knowledge that he will share with others once he gets back in his community as well as Rangers and Junior Rangers."

To see the shooting competition of photographs and follow the activities of the Second CRPG: Facebook.com/2GPRC.2CRPG.

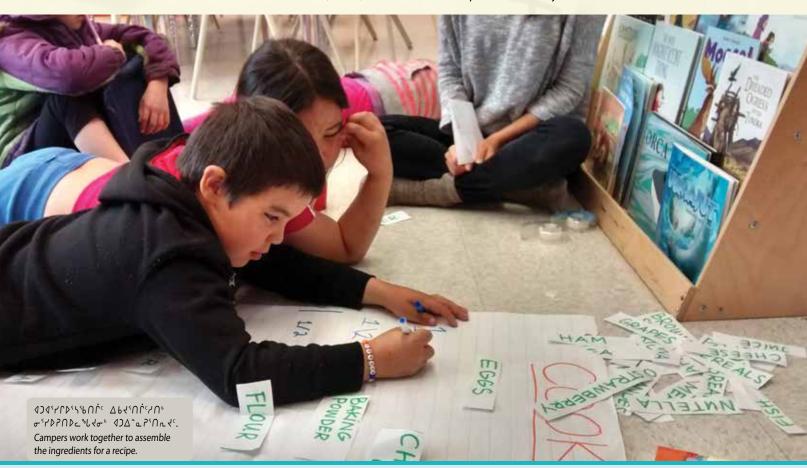
2 CRPG Shooting Team/ቫያየባት ዮና Δሮ Γናጋና	Second CRPG Shooting Team
٥٩٥(٢)٦، ٩٥٢،١٩٢٢ ١٦٠ > ٩٠ (١٥٧٤)	Sergeant Juani Beaulne (Puvirnituq)
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(۴۵۰٫۵۰۵) ځداد ۱۹۵۵ کام	Corporal Jackussie Echalook (Inukjuak)
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(۱۹۵۴) ۵۰ (۱۹۵۰ عدم ۱۲۵۴)	Ranger Nullukie Oweetaluktuk (Inukjuak)
₽ ℴ ℂՙጋԿ ⁰ ⅃ՙℂペ በበ [‹] Ł (ኦልՙᠳጋ [৻] ၿ)	Ranger Mustafa Dedeci (Puvirnituq)
٥٠٦٠,٥ ٢٠ ٢٠ (٩،٤٩٠)	Ranger Johnny Berthe (Kuujjuaq)
ዸቇ፞፞፞ኯ፟ጜዸኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯኯ	Captain François Duchesneau, Team Captain
۵ (۱۳۵۱-۲۰۵۶ ۵۰٬۷۰۰) کی ۱۳۵۰ کی ۱۳۶۵ کی ۱۳۶۵ کی کد ۱۹۵۰ کی ۱۳۹۵ کی ۱۳۵۰ کی ۱۳۵۰ کی ۱۳۵۰ کی ۱۳۵۰ کی ۱۳۵۰ کی ۱۳۵	Warrant Officer Michel Desbiens, 2IC and coach
ᡏᡒᠮᠻ᠙ᠮ᠙᠘᠘ᡒᢩᢔ᠘ᠸᡣᠳᡧ᠘ᢣ	Sergeant Alain Garnier, coach



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Summer literacy camps in Nunavik

n July and August 2015, with support from the Kativik School Board, the ESUMA Fund, the Ungaluk Fund and the Jump Start Foundation, Frontier College, a Canada-wide literacy organization, set up and delivered summer literacy camps in four Nunavik communities: Kuujjuaq, Kuujjuaraapik, Salluit and Tasiujaq. A total of 148 children aged five to twelve years old took part in four weeks of fun, educational activities to develop their language, literacy and numeracy skills through games, arts and crafts, cultural activities, field trips and opportunities to learn with special visitors from their community. Each day, children were provided healthy snacks to fuel their bodies and minds



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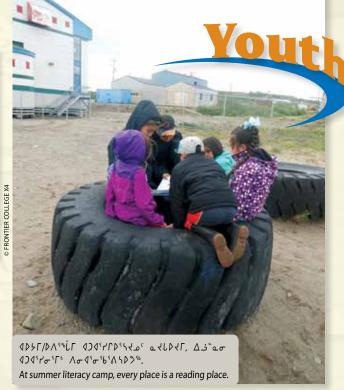
 $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$

for learning and play. These summer literacy camps are part of a national initiative, which reached 99 Aboriginal communities in 2015 across the country, including two communities in Nunavut.

Building on the previous successes of the first Nunavik summer literacy camp held in Kuujjuaraapik during summer 2014, 16 local and southern staff were hired and trained to deliver community-based literacy activities in Inuktitut and English or French. Each camp received 300 free, high-quality books for the



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campers to enjoy over the summer months and for the community to keep at the end of camp.

Parents, elders and other community members were invited to participate in camps by facilitating activities or by simply reading with children. A total of 64 parents visited camp at least once. Here is what a parent had to say about the summer literacy camp, "It has given my kids more interest in books and reading, which I appreciate a great deal. I truly believe that our community needs this and I do hope that it will continue in the following years." •

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ϤʹʹϚʹͿ¹ **Lʹ**¹**PCĹ**² **ԵΩL***σ*²**∀4ΔαΔ**² **ΒΩL**²**σ**² **2015-Γ**

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 $\Delta \alpha^{l}\Gamma \rho^{c}$ $\Delta \alpha^{l} \Omega^{c}$ $\Delta \alpha^{l} \Gamma \rho^{c}$ $\Delta \alpha^{l} \Gamma \rho^{$



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Biennial National Inuit Youth Summit 2015

Attendees at the 2015 National Inuit Youth Summit were treated to five days of speeches and workshops. The summit, held in Iqaluit Aug. 20th to 24th, is a biennial event for Inuit youth. Daily panels covered discussed many of the issues Inuit youth face. Morning panels looked at questions pertaining to education and research, as well as language and culture. Others discussed heavier topics like suicide prevention, an important yet difficult issue given suicide rates for Inuit youth are 11 times the national average and among the highest in the world.

Nunavik's youth delegation was the largest in numbers, showing that Nunavik is doing well to support its youth. Some Nunavik youth spoke, including Michael Petagumskum of Kuujjuaq. He stood up at the podium and shared his experience taking part in the 27-day 500-kilometer walk last February/March from Schefferville to Kuujjuaq - many of the youth were inspired by him.

Makivik Corporate Secretary, Andy Moorhouse, attended the summit in support of Inuit youth. He participated in the focus groups with the youth as a leader listening to what their concerns are today while also offering advice. Youth said they would like to take part in more cultural activities. Moorhouse encouraged the youth to inform their communities that they would like more cultural programming noting that Inuit "have the biggest back yard." One of the youth said that it should be mandatory to go on the land, especially at a young age so you can build your interest and peak it.

Afterwards, Moorhouse spoke to all the Inuit youth in attendance highlighting what the youth in the focus groups talked to him about. He noted that youth would like more excursions with a focus on learning traditional activities through hands-on experience. It was very apparent that Inuit youth would like to spend more time on the land as it









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is part of Inuit wellness and cultural continuance. Also, Moorhouse speaking at the podium said, "Something as simple as an elder visiting your classrooms, this will give the youth the opportunity to learn from an elder. Sitting down for 45 minutes with an elder can teach so much to our youth and it should be done more in the education system."

The summit provided an opportunity for more hands-on involvement, everything from fur and beading sessions to art and video sessions, as well as discussions on climate change and, very importantly given predictions that only a handful of indigenous languages will still be around in the next 50 years, language revitalization. Near the end of the youth summit, attendees also spent time on the land fishing at Sylvia Grinnell, followed by a wholesome meal of country food: *mataaq*, Arctic char and caribou (provided by Nunavik), followed by tea and bannock.

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Introducing the Nunavik Youth Forum

he first board elections of the new Nunavik Youth Forum, a replacement of the Saputiit Youth Association, have been concluded. Nominations for nine different positions were open for the majority of the month of August and all nine positions were acclaimed. An elder appointee to the board has yet to be determined.

Alicia Aragutak of Umiujaq, is the new president, alongside vice-president Louisa Yeates from Kuujjuaq. The executive secretary-treasurer position will be filled by Aleashia Echalook of Inukjuak. The two board member, Ungava positions are now occupied by Michael Petagumskum of Kuujjuaq and Olivia Ikey, also of Kuujjuaq. The Hudson Strait board member positions are occupied by Kululak Saviadjuk of Salluit and Kaitak Saviadjuk of Salluit. The Hudson Coast board member positions will be filled by Vanessa Aragutak of Kuujjuaraapik and Audrey Fleming of Kuujjuaraapik. Makivik Corporate Secretary, Andy Moorhouse, has been appointed by the Makivik Corporation as a board member.

The Forum's goal is to better represent the interests of youth across Nunavik at all three levels of government: regional, provincial and national. The Forum will lobby for issues deemed important by Nunavik youth between the ages of 15 and 35 and will work to create youth-focused projects on a regional level.





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Lood'L' 1'10U_U'

December 25, 1995

۱۰۰د۱۹م

Place of birth: Kuujjuaq

Home community: Kangiqsualujjuaq

Role model: my Ataatatsiak Jean-Guy, my

Anaana Vini Baron and my

Ataata Felis St-Aubin

Favorite sport: ice hockey

Favorite food: pitsik

Future goal: become a skilled videographer

Most difficult my shyness, I'm still working

obstacle to overcome: on it

Quote to live by: follow your bliss and the

universe will open doors where

there were only walls

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Date of birth: February 5, 1992

Place of birth: Montreal
Home community: Puvirnituq

Role model: a good hunter I know

Favorite sport: volleyball and table tennis

Favorite food: pizza!

Future goal: learn to operate heavy machinery

Most difficult

obstacle to overcome: living away from family

Quote to live by: nothing worth having comes easy





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The Nunavik Research Centre - 40 years

n recent years northerners have become increasingly engaged in all types of research and one of the pioneers in this movement is the Nunavik Research Centre (NRC). The NRC is a semi-autonomous unit housed within the Resource Development Department at Makivik Corporation. The centre was established in Kuujjuaq in 1978 and the majority of the work carried out by staff over the years has involved conducting scientific research on the natural environment and wildlife (country food). This research ultimately supports the policy

development and political work carried out by other Makivik colleagues. The NRC also administers monitoring programs (notably regarding beluga and walrus) that directly responds to the needs of Inuit in all of the 15 Nunavik communities as well as in neighboring Inuit regions. As well, the NRC has engaged in numerous collaborative research projects over the decades and continues to partner on a regular basis with other northern organizations (such as wildlife co-management boards, hunting associations, northern villages and landholding corporations)

as well as with southern research institutions, universities and all levels of government in order to address issues that are of direct relevance to northerners.

The NRC boasts not only state-of-theart laboratories, conference space, and cartographic services but will also soon be home to a brand new library that will be named in honour of the late Dr. D.W. (Bill) Doidge, the centre's longest serving Director, who passed away in early 2015. Much of the NRC's success can be credited to the fact that the centre

> has adopted a unique approach to doing research; one that has fostered the "meshing" of conventional science and traditionalknowledge. The centre also has a long history of hiring students and young people (from both the North and the South), and this remains a core part of the NRC's mission. It goes almost without saying that the success of the NRC over the last 40 years is due in no small part to the dedication of its staff, many of whom have been working at the centre since the very early days, and who remain, to this day, its greatest resource.



(L-R): Lilian Tran (fisheries biologist), Barrie Ford (wildlife biologist) and Sandy Suppa (wildlife technician). Preparing for the Dry Bay Arctic Charr Monitoring Project, summer 2015.

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Amautik

My earliest memory in life was my best moment in life.

I was asleep when I heard my mother talking. I could feel the vibration of her voice with my head leaning on her back. I looked up to see and saw white covering me. It was the hood of the *amautik*.

I was so relaxed covered in *immutik* (baby wrap with sheets).

I felt comfort being nurtured by my mother; it made me fall asleep again. I had no concept of stress, or no concept of nervous and anxious feelings. I only knew comfort.

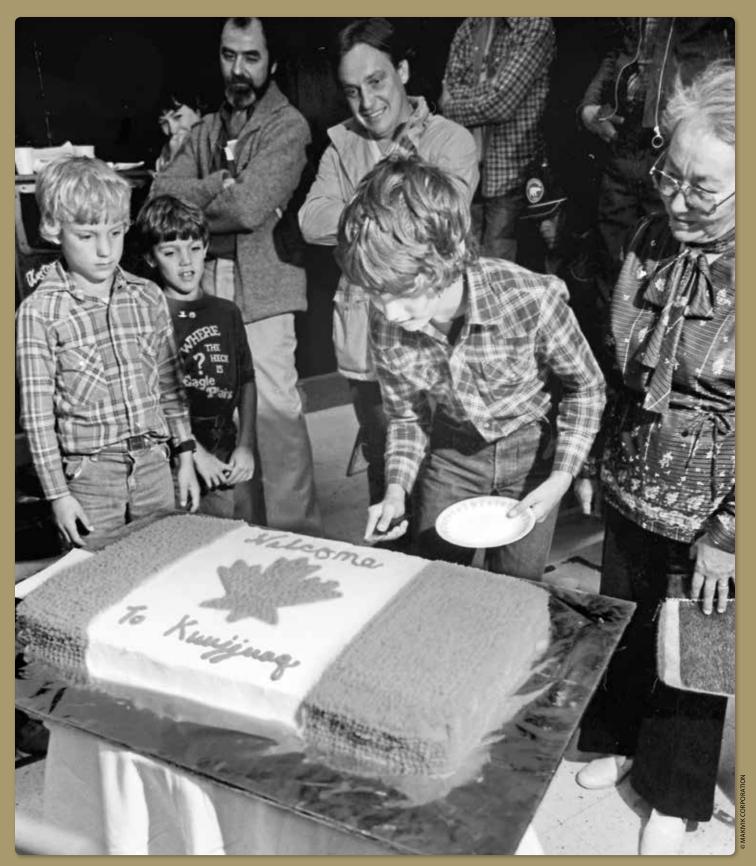
-Jeannie Louisa Thomassie



∇α ἀαδος <αδια, νέα, γρδολλά νηδ (βδηνίκ ἀδισ), το 2015-Γ.

Aina Annahatak with her daughter, Selena, at Qingnguak (Kangirsuk up river), July 2015.





ϟϒͶ΅ ϽΫϽ ϷͼϹΓ ϶ΫϤʹͼʹϐʹͶ϶Ϳ Ϸ·ϽΛϫ 19, 2015-Γ ϷͼϹͿʹ ϤʹͰϤʹʹʹϐϹʹϪϧϷϲϷϥʹϧʹʹ·. ʹϔͰϗϪϤʹϽϒͰϤʹ ͼʹϤϤͿʹ Ϟϧ ʹͿ983-Γ ϤϹϹʹϞͿϧ, ϷͼϹΓ ϤʹʹͰϤʹʹʹʹϧʹͿͰͰϤʹʹ·, ϧϓϹʹ ۹°ΡΓ· ϷͼϹΓϷʹ ϒ·ͰϤϒϷϹʹʹϧͿϤʹʹͰͼ· ϹʹʹϞϲ·ʹΓ· ͼͰͶϫʹϤϧϷϤϪͼ· ͼϫ·ͺͰͼ·ʹϧʹϹϲͺϫͰϧϤΓͼ· ϥϲ·ʹϧʹϹ ϽϔϽϹʹ϶ (ϤϷΓϤͼʹϽʹʹ·) ΓϒϤʹ ϽϔϽϹʹ϶ Ϥͼϝʹϒϲϝ, ͼʹϒϤΓϷʹ· ΔͽͰͰϫ· Ͷϒ ͿϤʹ ϹͿʹͼͺϹʹ϶Ϳ

Justin Trudeau won the national election on October 19, 2015 to become Canada's new Prime Minister. During a vacation to Kuujjuaq in July 1983 with his father, former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Justin was invited to cut a Canadian flag cake for the community feast. His two brothers Alexandre Trudeau (left) and Michel Trudeau stood beside him for the official task, while community elder Daisy Watt also looked on.